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"CANTARTE HEI, GALICIA, NA LENGUA GALLEGA": MUSIC, DANCE AND THE NORMALIZATION OF THE GALICIAN LANGUAGE IN SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

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KEYWORDS: Traditional music; traditional dance; sociolinguistics; Galician language; identity; nationalism; authenticity; *foliada;* rural; *os vellos*; Galicia; Santiago de Compostela; *paleofalante*; *neofalante*.

PALAVRAS-CHAVES: música tradicional; dança tradicional; sociolinguística; a língua galega; identidade; nacionalismo; autenticidade; *foliada*; rural; *os vellos*; Galiza; Santiago de Compostela; *paleofalante; neofalante*.

ABSTRACT

The following study is an ethnographic exploration of the interrelation between music, dance and language in Galicia, one of the northern coastal Atlantic regions of the Iberian Peninsula. Through an ethnomusicological and sociolinguistic lens, it observes the involvement of an urban community living in the capital city of Santiago de Compostela with “traditional” music and dance practices (*foliadas*). Taking into consideration the historical imposition of the Spanish state on Galician culture and language, it seeks to show how in the social environment of a *foliada* a certain social, political and sociolinguistic “identity” is shaped and celebrated. It questions how the identifying elements of music and dance are formed and shared; and furthermore, how the social contexts where music and dance take place influence language choice. Developed over three months of fieldwork in Santiago de Compostela, this study takes witness to participants involved in these cultural practices and is accompanied by eight interviews of individuals identifying either as *neofalantes* (new Galician speakers) or *paleofalantes* (Galician as mother tongue). These observations provide insight as to how they observe their current cultural and social expression and their concern for the advocacy of Galician language use, where notions of “authenticity” play a vital role. Through a thematic analysis of this ethnography and interviews, I hope to establish a relationship between “traditional” Galician music, dance and language.

RESUMO

A presente dissertação é uma exploração etnográfica da interrelação entre a música, a dança e a língua na região atlântica litoral da Península Ibérica, mais concretamente na Galiza. A partir de um referencial teórico-metodológico baseado na etnomusicologia e na sociolinguística, observa o envolvimento de uma comunidade urbana que vive na capital da região, Santiago de Compostela, com práticas de música e dança “tradicionais” (*foliadas*). Considerando a imposição histórica do estado espanhol na cultura e na língua galega, analisa como uma certa “identidade” social, política e sociolinguística é moldada e celebrada através destas práticas da *foliada*; questiona como os elementos de “identidade” se formam e se partilham em redor da música e da dança; e ainda como os contextos sociais em que a música e dança acontecem influenciam a escolha da língua. Desenvolvido com base num trabalho de terreno de três meses em Santiago de Compostela, este estudo testemunha o envolvimento dos participantes com estas práticas culturais e é acompanhado

por oito entrevistas de indivíduos identificando-se quer como *neofalantes* (novos galegos) quer como *paleofalantes* (galegos como língua nativa). Estas observações fornecem informações sobre como eles observam a sua expressão cultural e social atual e sobre a sua preocupação com a defesa do uso da língua galega, onde noções de "autenticidade" desempenham um papel vital. Através da análise temática desta etnografia e das entrevistas, espero estabelecer uma relação entre a música e a dança "tradicionais" e a língua galega.

For Sara.

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I would like to dedicate this project to all those who inspired me during my experiences in Galicia. To all those who opened their doors to me, who shared their home, families, customs, music, dance and language. First, to all those who I met during my first year in Ourense; my fellow teachers in Xinzo de Lima who presented me with my first *pandeireta*, Nuria who taught me Galician rhythms and songs, Tania who lent me her *gaita*, Manolo who taught me my first steps of the *muiñeira*, and Xavi and Lucie who accompanied me in my first *foliadas*.

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INDEX

Introduction

a. Motivation

Reflecting on the five years that I lived in the northern Atlantic region of Galicia, I can recall numerous occasions where I heard, "You are more Galician than many Galicians." Given that I was born in California, how did they arrive at this conclusion? What did being "Galician" even mean? Where was the context in which this was expressed? Typically, a comment like this arose among situations in which I was either playing, singing or dancing to "traditional" Galician music; or in daily conversation in which I consistently spoke the Galician language. Having arrived to Galicia with the intention of teaching English for one year, I was unexpectedly captivated by the "traditional" music, dance and language, becoming highly involved in various dance, *pandeireta* [tambourine] and *gaita* [bagpipe] classes and festive musical gatherings, alluring me enough to stay for a total of five years. I had also arrived as a Castilian speaker, but eventually converted to the Galician language, as I witnessed these music and dance environments to foster Galician language use. Therefore, I noticed notions of the Galician "identity" to be reflected in music and language, where my own identity as a Galician had been constructed out of my dedication to traditional Galician music practices and the Galician language. Considering my own linguistic conversion as well as a consistent affirmation of the musical and linguistic components of Galician identity overtime, it seemed plausible to suggest that these two identity markers could influence each other. Namely, the social environments constructed within these music and dance contexts were potential spaces for Galician language to thrive among a predominantly Castilian speaking region.

Therefore, the following study explores the interrelation between music, dance and sociolinguistics, concentrating on the northern coastal region of the Iberian Peninsula: Galicia. This interest stems from observations of a community highly involved in its "traditional" music practices and concerned with the advocacy of its language use. My initial motivation developed over a five-year period living and actively participating in traditional music contexts throughout Galicia know to many as *foliadas*[1], which are recognized as music gatherings where participants typically play the *gaita* (bagpipes), *pandeireta* (tambourine), *cunchas* (scallop shells), *culleres* (spoons), and often accordion, accompanied by the singing of "traditional" songs and display of dances known as the *muiñeira, jota, maneo, rumba* and *pasadobre.* As they do so often take place in the evening, I have witnessed people use the term and initiate this type of gathering at any time of day. The drone of the

[1] According to the Dicionario da Real Academia Galega (RAG), a *foliada* is a "*Reunión nocturna de xente para divertirse, cantar e bailar"* [*A nocturnal gathering for people to enjoy themselves, sing and dance*"] (https://academia.gal/dicionario/-/termo/busca/foliada).

bagpipe and beating of the tambourine accompanied by seemingly spontaneous yet synchronized dance are conceivably alluring not only to the initial outsider like myself, but also to a community of Galicians composed of diverse ages; where a certain social, political and sociolinguistic "identity" appears to take shape and be celebrated. Although I witnessed these expressive musical practices prosper throughout the region, I primarily experienced them where I resided for four of the five years, in the capital Santiago de Compostela, a home to many musicians and dancers frequently creating social spaces attracting considerable participation across generations. This is displayed in both the quantity and quality of associations and cultural centers teaching traditional Galician music and dance in Santiago, as well as in the populous participation in organized and spontaneous events alike, where music and dance are a focal point. It is in these environments where I witnessed *galego,* Galician language, as a primary medium used by speakers in a "normal" way.

Due to the diglossia (Galician and Castilian are both official languages in Galicia) within the entire region and the domination of the Spanish state, the Castilian language is more often than not prioritized over Galician, and has continued to be considered "the language of prestige" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015: 163). This concept has been influenced by a long history of depreciation of the Galician language which can most recently be observed during Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975) in Spain[2], where Galician language use was prohibited. Linguistic rights policies post-Franco have encouraged Galicians to be willingly defend the use and existence of Galician language in *all* social contexts, advocating for a normalization[3] of the Galician language, which was supported by the Law of Linguistic Normalization in 1983[4]. The contexts in which I have had the closest contact with in observing a dedication to, defending of, or normalized use of

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[2] "Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil war erased all the gains obtained by Galician through many decades of constant struggle and achievements…[there was] brutal repression and open hostility toward regional languages …[and] In 1951 public use of Galician was still considered an act of defiance against the Government" Alonso Montero, p. 103. Marban, Jorge A. "The Current Status of Galician in Spain." *Hispania*, vol. 63, no. 3, 1980, pp. 560.

[3] "In the Spanish sociolinguistic context, the term 'Linguistic Normalisation' primarily refers to the process of increasing the number of speakers of the regional languages through appropriate corpus and acquisition planning (COOPER, 1989)" (Anik Nandi 2018:33).

[4] "The 1983 Law of Linguistic Normalization states in its article 3 that the public powers will adopt the necessary measures without the possibility of anyone being discriminate on the basis of language; in its article 4.1 that Galician, as the native language of Galicia, is an official language of the Autonomous Community public institutions, of its administration, its local administration and the public entities dependent on the Autonomous Community; in its article 6.1, that citizens have the right to use Galician both in oral and in written speech, in their interactions with public administrations into the Autonomous Community; in its article 6.2, that the administrative proceedings in Galicia will be valid and will have an effect whatever the official language used; in its article 6.3, that the public powers will promote the use of the Galician language both in oral and in written speech in their interaction with the citizens; and in its article 10 that the Galician place names will have as the only official form the Galician name and the Government of Galicia has to determine the official place names of Galicia" (https://www.lingua.gal/basic-data-on-galician-language/legal-status).

the Galician language have been those involving traditional Galician music and dance. However, not only in music and dance associations, *foliadas*, or music festivals have these linguistic freedoms been observed, but also at political demonstrations carrying nationalistic sentiment, where more often than not, the defending and promoting of Galician language use and the Galician *nación* [nation] has been accompanied by the cries of the bagpipe and the rattles of the tambourine. It is in these contexts that the identity markers embedded in music, dance and language seem to be intertwined, thus having an influence on one another.

I would therefore concur that these musical spaces could encourage the use of Galician language by their participants within a region known for historical linguistic prejudices. Considering my personal situation of having arrived in Galicia employing the Castilian language, but eventually converting to the use of Galician as my primary source of communication, (a linguistic phenomenon recognized as "majority language displacement[5]"), I would infer that this shift was encouraged by an active participation in cultural associations, events and gatherings involving music and dance. Furthermore, I do not consider myself a rare case in what I consider a "musically" influenced majority language displacement, leaving me eager to discover the different elements which have carried others within these traditional music contexts to do the same.

b. Justification

Sociolinguist Anik Nandi mentions in her article that "the motivations that can cause such a 'majority language displacement' are diverse and often socially, economically, ideologically, politically and culturally driven. However, the complexities of these practices are yet to be investigated" (Nandi 2017: 40). I believe that one of these yet to be studied "complexities" that has potential to encourage both majority language displacement and a maintenance of language is related to the traditional Galician music scene. Separate studies have been conducted regarding Galician music, the relation between Galician music and identity, as well as concerns for the Galician language; and while these are all helpful to arrive at a clearer understanding of the Galician music and language use phenomenon, I encountered a lack of information on the relation between Galician music expression and the Galician language.

In the 1970s, a Galician writer and journalist by the name of Carlos Durán expressed in an article that "*o idioma galego pode morrer nista década que estamos a encetar*[6]" (Marbán 1980:

[5] When "neofalantes 'abandon' Spanish altogether, adopting somewhat similar linguistic practices...in the context of one of Spain's other minority languages " (O'Rourke; Ramallo, 2013, p. 288)

[6] Carlos Durán, "A vixilia da razón," *GRIAL*, XLIII (Jan., Feb., March 1971), p. 82

562), [“the Galician language may die in this following decade”], raising awareness of the possible near death of the Galician language following the end Franco’s dictatorship. Fortunately, studies have shown a notable increase in bilingual practices over the past decades due to policy changes established in Galicia during the 1980s (O’Rourke and Ramallo 2015: 149) which authorized educational and sociopolitical changes in favor of a bilingual state. Despite this, it was noted that “while the inclusion of Galician in the education system plays an important role in raising the status of the language, it does not however guarantee increased levels of language use at a societal level” (ibid).

Education, family socialization, publishing industries, theater and Galician dubbing on TV and in movies have all been noted to be factors in the normalizing process of the Galician language (Ramallo 2007), but I have noticed little mention of music. Meanwhile, in José Colmeiro’s contemporary research presented in his book “*Galeg@s sen fronteiras*,” [Galicians without borders], he argues that “the role of music is central to national [Galician] consciousness” (Romero 2013: 160)…and how “the role of Galician language in preserving the historical past, but also the role of preserving other traditions, and cultural practices, like Galician music... are essential to maintaining cultural identity”(ibid). This study therefore addresses how music and language traditions interact, how both Galician music and language carry strong notions of identity, and how this sense of identity carried in the music can therefore be a vindication for traditional Galician speakers as well as an invitation for new Galician speakers to share in another component of the Galician identity — language.

In the article “*Neofalantes* as an active minority,” a young Galician was interviewed expressing her experience of majority language displacement as a result of playing traditional Galician music: “‘I was embarrassed that I was playing the bagpipes and at the same time speaking Castilian… It looks bad’”(O’Rourke and Ramallo 2015: 157). In this instance it seems apparent that by participating in these traditional practices comes a sort of cultural responsibility, one in which has the potential to enact a language shift from Castilian to Galician, to encourage the continuation of a previous language shift, or to validate a continuation of an ever-existent use of the language. If one identity marker of Galician culture is recognizably Galician music and another is recognizably the Galician language, it seems only appropriate to further explore the impact that these identifiers have on each other, further examining the sentiments and experiences expressed by others involved in similar music settings, which could be likely to have similar backgrounds and stories.

c. Objectives

This study intends to explore the following three complementary relationships: between music and identity, identity and language use and finally music and language use. It hopes to demonstrate the relevance of traditional Galician music and dance practices in Santiago de Compostela within the use of the Galician language. Given the current state of the Galician language dominated by Castilian language throughout the region, advocacy of Galician language normalization is carried out by both legislative and non-administrative action. This research pursues to recognize and establish modern forms of musical expression in *foliadas* as another non-administrative component of the Galician language normalization movement.

While it will focus on the current state of Galician identity within the traditional music scene and what it is presently instigating among participants' language choice or maintenance, it will evenly address relevant academic literature pertaining to the historical origins of music and language as Galician identity markers. It will thus examine how the traditional culture and literary revivals of the late nineteenth century took part in the construction of Galician nationalism, and will observe how these symbols of identity established during that time have been carried over to a modern-day nationalism present in traditional music environments. Highlighting the historic foundation of these symbols anticipates to clarify varied language ideologies shared among participants involved in social spaces of Galician music and dance.

This study will briefly touch upon how these cultural practices were expressed before, during and after the Spanish dictatorship at the beginning of the twentieth century. It will provide insight to how these traditional practices were and continue to be documented through what are recognized as *recollidas*, and how they now provide a foundation for what is taught in music and dance centers throughout Santiago de Compostela. It will analyze the opinions and personal experiences of those who attend various social cultural centers and who also participate in local music and dance gatherings in the capital. It will take into consideration the role of these centers in the spreading of "tradition" through the culture courses they offer and the events they organize.

Due to the quantity as well as quality of traditional Galician music associations and centers, along with the frequent gatherings where these teachings can be applied, displayed, and open to learners; this study aims to demonstrate the influence that music and dance expressions have on the ways in which the Galician language is naturally expressed in daily life among those involved in the traditional Galician music scene in the city of Santiago, and the influence they have on others to become affiliated with these practices and linguistic choice. It will address the perception of "authenticity" within the origins of these practices, and will also recognize a common sentiment of nostalgia for cultural loss among the aging and malleability of these traditions, be it in

foliada practices or how people speak Galician. Despite this, it aims to examine how current practices continue to be recognized as identifying and inviting spaces, therefore recreating a new era for Galician music, dance and language. These ever-changing cultural practices could be perceived as serving a purpose within the normalizing of the Galician language, impacting new-speakers and native speakers of Galician. It will also observe predictions for the future of Galician music, dance and the Galician language.

d. Location of study

This research study took place in Santiago de Compostela, Galicia for the following reasons: it is the capital of Galicia and therefore is the hub of cultural activities, it is where I was actively involved in "traditional" music and dance scenes for four years, and consequently it is where I had established contacts with Galician musicians, dancers and devoted *foliada* participants. A major part of this study was intended to observe attendees of *foliadas* within Santiago or outside the capital, where "natural" language exchange and expressions of identity could have been observed. Unfortunately, public opportunities for musical congregation were prohibited due to Covid-19 restrictions, and thus were limited to a few brief and essentially "secret" musically inspired encounters. Despite the absence of *foliadas*, the conducted fieldwork maintained its overall objective of documenting experiences of *foliada* participants through casual conversation and interviews in Santiago de Compostela.

e. Research questions and hypothesis

Before entering the field, I pondered the following questions: What is the relation between "traditional" Galician music contexts and the use of the Galician language, specifically within Santiago de Compostela? How have "traditional" music and dance expressions assisted in the shaping of Galician identity? How has language been observed and employed to defend a national identity? While immersed in the field, I built upon these questions with the following: How is identity constructed through music, dance and language, causing the components to interact with one another? How does the *foliada* act as a component in the Galician language normalization process? How does the *foliada* participants in Santiago de Compostela identify themselves musically and linguistically? What is the role of "authenticity" in Galician music, dance and language and how does it play a part in the use of Galician language?

Before entering the field, I construed the following hypothesis: Galician identity is observed in expressions of "traditional" music and dance, as well as the use of Galician language. While they are recognized as separate components of Galician identity, they are not devoid of interplay. Music and dance gatherings known as *foliadas* are carried out through participatory and presentational performances embodying the Galician "identity," and therefore interact with another Galician identity marker — the Galician language. Thus, these musical practices serve as a component in the normalization process of the Galician language. The engaging and identifying environments have the potential to enact *majority language displacement,* both by encouraging customary Castilian speakers in a language shift to Galician or by reinforcing an already initiated transition from Castilian to Galician; as well as vindicate language maintenance and the habitual use of the Galician language by *paleofalantes*.

f. Definition of concepts

Regarding the concepts of *music, identity, and language,* it would be best to define their significance within this context of Galicia, for they are all variables in this study. For *music*, the focus will be on what is often referred to as "traditional" Galician music and dance. As recognized by the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM):

> "*O conceito de 'tradição' adoptado pelo ICTM [International Council for Traditional Music] [...] alicerça-se numa visão interpretativa e dinâmica da música e da cultura. Nesta óptica, uma 'tradição' é um modelo do passado que não é separável da sua interpretação no presente. Remete para um passado recente ou mais remoto, reconstruído a partir de registos escritos, sonoros ou de fragmentos da memória*" (Castelo-Branco 2010: 887)
>
> [The concept of "tradition" adopted by the ICTM [International Council for Traditional Music] [...] is rooted in an interpretive and dynamic vision of music and culture. In this view, a "tradition" is a model of the past that is inseparable from its interpretation in the present. It refers to a recent or more remote past, reconstructed from written records, sounds or fragments of memory] (Personal translation).

What is recognized as "traditional" music and dance in Galicia, specifically in Santiago, is lived out in expressive environments called *foliadas.* These practices are based on the continuation of documented music and dance expressions among aging rural communities. The two main musical instruments in these musical gatherings are the *gaita* [bagpipe] and *pandeireta* [tambourine]. Other prominent accompanying instruments observed are *cunchas*, *culleres*, *zanfona*,

tambor, *bombo, acordeón*[7] and violin. Main rhythms that are played are *muiñeira*[8]*, jota*[9]*, maneo* (variant of *jota*)*, pasodoble*[10], *rumbas*. These rhythms are accompanied by dance styles, which have the same name as the rhythms mentioned above. Dance is classified in two forms: *solto*— dancing with a partner, in small groups, but with no physical contact; or *agarrado*— dancing with one partner independently of other dancers, where couples maintain physical contact. The main *solto* dances are *muiñeira* and *jota*, which structure is described on the DOG --*Diario oficial de Galicia* [official Galician newspaper] -- of the Xunta de Galicia government website:

> "The *muiñeira* is the most widespread fun dance in Galicia performed by one or more couples and usually had two or three parts: *a volta* [the return], *o ponto* [the dance step], and *o descanso* [the rest]. During the *volta*, the movements were made together by the group, advancing in the *roda* [a circle formation] or in a *tallón* [choreographic movement], and the movement always begins counterclockwise. The *pontos* were usually executed with the dancers placed in two rows: one of women and the other of men in front. The points were initiated by a man who, in most cases, was positioned at the head of his row (guide), and both the rest of the men and women were obliged to follow him. During the *descanso*, there were lateral or front-to-back movements, as a waiting position with calmer and calmer movements that served, without stopping to dance, to rest." (Resolução do dog nº 81 do 2018/4/26 - xunta de galicia). [Personal translation].

As it can be noticed, the description refers to the past. It is quite applicable to how *muiñeira* and *jota* are lived out today in a *foliada*, except for the maintaining of gender roles, which however does continue to be displayed in this way through folkloric performances on stage. In the modern day *foliadas*, gender distinction is rarely exhibited. Men and women are mixed in rows, and women and men alike initiate steps. Currently, it is also common that more than one person initiates steps throughout one song. The *agarrado* dances follow the rhythms of *vals, rumba, pasodobre*, where couples dance independently among a group of couples, joined together by physical contact.

Considering the word *foliada* has been based on its prior use associated with a time and place, some regard that the *foliada* in its authenticity no longer exists to which I have proposed the term *neofoliada* in select parts of this study to signify the modernized, urban expression based on

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7 Scallop shells, spoons, small drum, bass drum, accordion, violin. For a detailed description of "traditional" Galician instruments, visit: http://www.consellodacultura.gal/asg/instrumentos/indice-de-instrumentos/

8 "The most characteristic of Galician rhythms. Its characteristic compass is the 6/8, presenting a structure of two or more parts. We have two broad outlines: the *muiñeira vella* and the *muiñeira nova*, the first being characterized by being sung and the second by being only instrumental" (Folklore Gallego Alalá - edu.xunta.gal). [Personal tranlation].

9 "The *jota* is another of the most widespread rhythms in Spain, mainly in Castilla y León. The compass is 3/4. As variants of the jota we consider the fandango and the *foliada*" (ibid). [Personal translation].

10 "This rhythm is one of the most widespread throughout Spain and therefore also in Galicia, taking a new form to be played on the bagpipe. The typical pace is 2/4" (ibid). [Personal translation].

past practices. Furthermore, the adaptation of these expressions to urban settings and current social phenomena, the word *foliada* has been observed to be applied in various contexts, differing mainly in their accepted range of participation, which will be further debated within the content of this project. Thomas Turino's distinction between presentational performance, "situations where one group of people, artists, prepare and provide music for the other group, the audience, who do not participate in making the music or dancing" (Turino 2008:26); and participatory performance, "live music making where there is no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants performing different roles [where the] primary goal is to involve the maximum number of people in some performance role" (Turino 2008: 25), will be beneficial for understanding the levels of participation accepted and respected. When referring to musicians or dancers as "formal," this will indicate some level of more rigorous training, participation in folkloric staged performances or a musical career.

When referring to *identity*, it would be best to consider the music in these traditional Galician music contexts to embody a Galician "identity." Simon Frith states:

> "The academic study of popular music has been limited by the assumption that the sounds must somehow 'reflect' or 'represent' the people… the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience— a musical experience, an aesthetic experience— that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a subjective and a collective identity" (Frith 1996: 108-09).

The traditional Galician participatory and presentational performances construct and produce a Galician identity which does not only represent sound, but further social, political and sociolinguistic ideologies. Lyrics often reflect a Galician identity not just in their employing of the Galician language, but in the references to local geography and luscious landscapes, gastronomy, agrarian work and lifestyle, and values. As noted by scholar Timothy Rice (2007), the concept of "identity" only recently sparked at the end of the twentieth century, and most likely out of a reaction of defending and identifying oneself in defense of more dominant figures. In the case of Galicia, the rising power of particular culture features—music, dance and language— could be caused by a defiance against the dominating Spanish state and globalization.

As mentioned before, Galician is a co-official language alongside Castilian within the region of Galicia. Due to a historical depreciation of the language and culture by "Castilian political, economic and religious interests... from the sixteenth century onward" (Ramallo 2007: 22), Galician has suffered and struggled, but continues to survive. As it survives now, it still suffers prejudices

while being considered by some as "the language of the peasants and the poor" (Marbán 1980: 561). Defense of the language during the post-Franco era has thus led to the movement known as *Galician language normalization*, which can be defined as the following:

> "*Normaliza-la lingua de Galicia, polo tanto, é introducila xa sen máis demora naqueles ámbitos claves do país (institucións políticas, sistema educativo, administracións públicas, actividades xudicial, militar e eclesiástica, medios de comunicación social, etc.) dos que foi desprazada no seu día por outra lingua que nos veu imposta*" (Paredes 1993: 45).
>
> "To normalize the language of Galicia, therefore, is to introduce it without further delay in those key areas of the country (political institutions, education system, public administrations, judicial, military and ecclesiastical activities, social media, etc.) of which it was displaced in its day by another language that was imposed on us" (Personal translation).

In other words, to "normalize" the Galician language is to accept it in all contexts within the state of Galicia without discrimination. This is not to be confused with *normativización* or "standardization," which would suggest that the regional varieties of the Galician language must follow "orthographic rules for the use and teaching" (Rodgers, Eamonn J., & Valerie Rodgers). This movement thus intends to encourage more Galician speakers. *Majority language displacement* will refer to those who leave the language of the majority, in this case Castilian, and change primarily to speaking Galician. *Language maintenance* will refer to those who have spoken Galician as their mother tongue and continue to primarily employ it, and *language shift* will refer to the switching from Castilian to Galician as the primary language of use. A *paleofalante* is someone who was raised speaking Galician as their first language since childhood, often from rural communities. *Neofalante* is "used both as a folk and academic concept to describe people who are brought up speaking Spanish, but who at key social junctures in their lives (usually adolescence or early adulthood), make a conscious decision to adopt the language and to 'become' Galician speakers" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 95), and tend to be from more urban areas.

Although the process of normalization, public policy and new educational standards during the 1980s resulted in a higher presence of Galician language in schools, individuals continue to recall, "being discriminated against… [and] made fun of" for appearing to be "showing off, or for not speaking Galician 'correctly'"(O'Rourke and Ramallo 2014:161). Galician has its variants due

to the normative teachings, regional expressions, influences of Castilian, *Castrapo*[11], or Portuguese. When referring to *castrapo*, or a Galician Castilian mix, the term *castelanismos* will signify, "idiomatic traits or words typical of Spanish" (Dicionario) used while speaking Galician.

O'Rourke and Ramallo, however, have done research on *majority language displacement* among the youth, regarding them as the "active minority: … individuals or groups who through their behaviour attempt to influence both the attitudes and practices of the majority and in doing so, bring about social change" (O'Rourke and Ramallo: 151). Studies have shown many young individuals to have made a language shift out of cultural responsibility, awareness of social and political injustices, a sense of patriotism, and even shame for having neglected a language they are able to speak that identifies them in a certain way. They examine the motivation behind making the language shift and conclude the following:

> "Motivation is responsible for *why* people decide to do something, *how long* they are willing to sustain the activity, and *how hard* they are going to pursue it.' Motivation helps us understand why, particularly in the case of a minoritised language, individuals invest time and effort in learning a new language and, in some cases, make that language their first language" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 98).

I would infer that motivation could also come from the desire to belong to and participate in traditional music and dance environments. While these spaces foster advocacy for a continuation of past expressive practices, this often involves advocacy for Galician language use as well. Therefore, I would infer that these environments could evoke an affirmation of linguistic choice due to a strong sense of identity embedded in both music and language.

Among various varieties of Galician and the attempts to standardize it, linguistic policies have constructed *galego normativo* [standard Galician], taught in school, which follows Castilian orthography and is dominant in legislation. On the other hand, there is *galego reintegrata* [reintegrated Galician] which uses Portuguese orthography, supporting a movement known as *reintegracionismo,* which is not only a linguistic movement but a cultural one, regarding the historical connection between Galicia and Portugal over the centuries, grouping Galicia as another Lusophone nation. Therefore, *reintegracionistas* are those who identify with a Galicia which is culturally and linguistically reintegrated with Portugal.

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[11] *Castrapo* "is a pejorative term used to describe both Galician and Spanish speakers who try and are seen to fail to speak either language 'correctly'"(O'Rourke and Ramallo 2014:161)

As music, dance and language are primarily based on elderly rural communities as the repository for "traditional" expression, I will often refer to these communities as *os vellos do rural* [elderly rural communities], which I observed to be used while in the field as not a derogatory term, but out of respect for past ways. While in the field, when referring to cultural collectives involved in the "traditional" music scene in urban communities, it was frequent to hear the expression *o mundo tradi* [the traditional world], which will be employed throughout this project. Those involved in *o mundo tradi* and *foliadas* in Santiago de Compostela tend to be middle class university students or civil servants, ranging anywhere from late teenage years to late sixties, with a high concentration of participants in their mid-twenties to early forties. Individuals have either been raised in Santiago, other urban areas or rural villages. They also gravitate to the political left. Many have had some sort of training in traditional music and dance centers.

g. Theoretical framework

This work will be framed on academic literature regarding "identity," language ideology and nationalism within the ethnomusicological perspective. Alan Merriam's conclusion that, "music is interrelated with the rest of culture; it can and does shape, strengthen, and channel social, political, economic, linguistic, religious, and other kinds of behavior" (Merriam 1964: 15) will be at the forefront of analysis. Identity within musical environments will consider Simon Frith's claim that "the academic study of popular music has been limited by the assumption that the sounds must somehow 'reflect' or 'represent' the people… the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience— a musical experience, an aesthetic experience— that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a subjective and a collective identity" (Frith 1996: 108-09). The music context of a Galician *foliada* thus illustrates and supports Frith's idea of music and performance not solely as reflections of those involved, but the creation and production of how participants identify as a result of these experiences.

According to philosopher John Plamenatz's inference that "nationalism is the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transform or even create it when it is felt to be inadequate or lacking" (Plamenatz 1975: 23-4), Galician nationalism can be observed as a resistance to Spain's centralized nation state, played out through the emphasis on and search for its own cultural distinctions. More specifically, it can be understood through Edward Inman Fox's claim that "[Galicia's] emerging nationalism [at the

end of the nineteenth century] was characterized by a revival of its traditional culture and of Galician as a literary language, and claims that its Celtic origins distinguished the Galician from the other peoples of Spain" (Inman Fox 1999: 22). Philip Bohlman's take on the interrelation of music and nationalism also is critical for this study:

> "The question is not which genres or repertories are nationalist, but how musicians weave their own national identities in the many musics they create and reproduce. Nationalism no longer enters music only from the top, that is, from state institutions and ideologies, but may build its path into music from just about any angle, as long as there are musicians and audiences willing to mobilize cultural movement from those angles... We can experience nationalism in any music at any time. Music is malleable in the service of the nation not because it is a product of national and nationalist ideologies, but rather because musics of all forms and genres can articulate the processes that shape the state. Music can narrate national myths and transform them to nationalist histories. Music marks national borders, while at the same time mobilizing those wishing to cross or dismantle borders" (Bohlman 2010: 5)

Considering Bohlman's reflection, I would agree that perhaps what is claimed to be "traditional" Galician music may have not had the initial intention of moving a nation, but it has had and presently has the power to do so. An essence of Galician music has been passed through the hands of those with diverse objectives: from the rural elderly, to the Galician nationalist elite, to Franco regime, and to the Galician cultural revival; all of which will be further discussed.

While this study focuses on what is declared as "traditional"— music, dance or language use— a certain reverence for the past is apparent and ideas of "authenticity" inevitable. Sociocultural linguist Mary Bucholtz's frames that "the idea that the most authentic form of a language — or of language itself— is a mythical 'purest' form untouched by outside influences, overlooks the central role of contact in shaping almost all languages and varieties" (Bucholtz 2003: 405). This insight will be helpful with taking into account the differing language ideologies of those present in this study. Bucholtz continues with a distinction between authenticity and authentication: "where authenticity presupposes that identity is primordial, authentication views it as the outcome of constantly negotiated social practices" (ibid: 408). How people identify with the assumed past of Galician language as well as how it continues to be shaped can therefore be analyzed within this framework. She also claims that "speakers and hearers too rely on the notion of authenticity, not in the construction of their theories but in the construction of their identities" (ibid: 410). This too will be relevant while examining perspectives of an authentic identity through a linguistic lens.

Bucholtz's assertions regarding language authenticity are comparable to studies by sociolinguist Bernadette O'Rourke (2015), who focuses on minority language movements, specifically in Galicia. She states that "the aim of revitalisation movements… is very often not only to maintain the language amongst surviving language speakers but also to modernise it and generate new uses for it in spaces where it is no longer spoken. Language advocates in these situations are often faced with the quandary of keeping the language pure and therefore fulfilling the value of authenticity but at the same time accepting the fact that language use lends itself to change over time" (O'Rourke 2015: 76). Therefore, the solution is fairly complex. In the striving for status amongst other modern languages comes the attempt to capture, freeze and keep a language "pure." However, a modern language is not stagnant; it is living, changes over time and interacts with others. Conclusions by Bucholtz and O'Rourke (2015) will help examine the weight of linguistic authenticity in this study. Further, sociolinguistic studies by O'Rourke and Fernando Ramallo (2013) (2015) (2018) specifically in Galicia will serve as reliable sources, where they have carried out much analysis amongst young Galician speakers. They have concluded that language shift and majority language displacement are most likely to result from education, nationalistic sentiment and cultural responsibility; but they lack to approach how music plays into these factors.

h. Methods and techniques

Research was conducted through an ethnography, including participant observation to gain empirical evidence, and semi-structured interviews, providing qualitative results of those involved in this study. This enabled me to observe *why* the few individuals involved in this study engaged in either language shift or Galician language maintenance; also *where* language shift often happens or in *which* contexts Galician language use is more accepted; *With whom* language shift happens with or *with whom* is language usage complacent; *how* shift happens/happened and over how long of a period of time; and finally *when* shift happened. This information allowed for the analysis and interpretation the behaviors, beliefs, and language of the actors within their activities.

Apart from the few interactions I encountered in my day-to-day, participant observation took place in three different classes at three different cultural centers: *baile* [dance] at *A gentalha do pichel*, *pandeireta e canto* at *Cantigas e Agarimos*, and *gaita* at *As brañas do Andrés*. While this was beneficial for observing methods of transmission, a drawback that I noticed during class observations was the lack of student dialogue, given that the teacher is the prominent speaker. Therefore, it was a challenge to note the language used by a majority of the students, and discussion before and after class was limited considering Covid-19 restrictions.

Therefore, interviews allowed for more enriching discussion. Semi-structured interviews were arranged with eight individuals, two of which identified as *paleofalantes* where the other six identified as *neofalantes*. Six of the interviews were able to be carried out in person, while the final two had to be via video call. Each interview ranged from about 45 minutes to an hour. The questions were prompted to elicit the individuals' relation to Galician music, dance and language. Each interviewee was made aware that they were taking part in a study about the relation between Galician music and dance and the use of the Galician language. The first section focused on language choice and cultural identity; the second section on music and dance practices and social environments; and the last section on music, dance and language identities. There were a total of twenty-three questions, including subquestions.

With all of these resources, interviews and observations, I hope to illustrate how Galician "traditional" music and dance practices construct social environments composed of identity markers; and therefore how these expressive practices have an impact on Galician language use. They have potential to promote a maintenance of or shift to using the Galician language, influencing participants in their language choice within and outside these contexts, endorsing the use of *galego* in Galicia as "normal." I also intend to highlight how the perceived authenticity within the rural aging population's practice of these expressive traditions of music, dance and language influence the way in which these practices are currently expressed and passed on.

i. Organization

This thesis is divided into five chapters: academic literature review; historical background; an introduction to the field; an analysis of the ethnographic fieldwork and interviews; and a brief analysis of how current younger generations observe and revere traditional expressions of the elderly through a heavy nostalgic lens. These chapters will be followed with concluding considerations formulated throughout the study. The first chapter displays a state of the art regarding music and its relation to identity, nationalism and sociolinguistics. It is composed of four subsections involving national identities and nationalism among literature in the social sciences, followed by studies of identity and nationalism specifically in ethnomusicology. Then it will then address Galician nationalism and identity, leading into sociolinguistic research in Galicia.

The second chapter will lay out a historical contextualization of the Galicia-Spain conflict, providing a foundation for understanding nationalistic sentiment in Galicia and the call for national identity construction. It will start off by briefly introducing early discords dating back to the

medieval period. It will continue by focusing more heavily on the concept of nation and nationalism emerging in the late nineteenth century, touching base upon the emergence of both Spanish and Galician nationalism and the identity markers chosen to stimulate these movements. The role of Franco's dictatorship in Galicia's music and linguistic phenomenon will provide reasoning for urgency in reclaiming identity after the fall of his reign, and the continuation for restoring of "traditional" practices taking place today.

After taking into consideration relevant research and the historical contextualization of Galician culture, the third chapter will be a brief introduction to the elements of the field. It will present basic and practical information regarding my daily life in the field, the music centers I attended, as well as information about the interviews.

Thus, the fourth chapter will be prompted in its analysis of the fieldwork and interviews carried out in Santiago de Compostela. The analysis of field notes will be broken down into subsections: first, it will observe present displays of cultural identity and language choice. Next it will explore the settings of traditional music and dance expression, addressing problems of participation as well as the associations that prepare participants in these practices. The following section will explore the paralleling and intersecting of music, dance and language identities. It will examine the *foliada* as an expression of identity and the base of this identity based on past expression. It then will go onto consider the role of the *foliada* in preserving and reinventing Galician music, dance and language.

The fifth chapter will observe how younger generations revere *os vellos do rural* as an embodiment of an idealized "authentic" identity, in how they play "traditional" music and speak Galician. Furthermore, it will present noted paradoxes in regard to mourning "lost" forms of musical and linguistic expression of *os vellos* and the dedication to the continuation of these traditional practices.

The final section will therefore address the initial research questions and hypothesis, followed by the alterations and conclusions that stemmed from documentations and observations throughout my fieldwork and interviews. The conceptualization of "authenticity" will play a main role in how Galician music and dance are involved in the normalization process of the Galician language in Santiago de Compostela.

1. State of the art

The objective of this chapter is to present a state of the art regarding identity, nationalism and sociolinguistics, as well as how each of these concepts interplay with music. First, it will cover the historical analysis of identity and nationalism within the social sciences, beginning with how they emerged in academic study and how they have been defined. The concept and value of "tradition" within forming identity and nation will also be addressed. This will be followed by an overview of identity and nationalism studied within the discipline of ethnomusicology. Next, it will briefly engage with studies respecting identity and nationalism explicitly in Galicia, as a more in depth historical contextualization will be laid out in the following chapter. The final section will define sociolinguistic terms and theories applicable to this research, while addressing concepts specific to Galicia's sociolinguistic landscape. This literature review will provide a foundational base for understanding the relation between Galician music and language phenomena.

1.1. Identity and nationalism in the social sciences

The intensive analysis of identity, nationalism and national identity managed to find its way into the social sciences most prominently toward the end of the twentieth century. Although these concepts are perceived as separate entities, their interrelation is unavoidable. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper (2000) attempted to understand the emergence of identity as a legitimate concept in the USA among both academic rhetoric and social life in the 1960s. They found that prominent scholars at the time were sparking conversations on the issue through their publications, which began to focus on the importance of identity in their academic study. Erik Erikson, the psychologist who coined the term "identity crisis"; psychologist Gordon Allport who associated identity with ethnicity; sociologists Nelson Foote and Robert Merton who viewed identity through sociological role theory and reference group theory; and other sociologists Anselm Strauss, Erving Goffman and Peter Berger who were powerful figures in the conceptualization of identity, focusing on themes such as symbolic interactionist sociology and "the self," symbolic interactionist tradition, and social constructionist and phenomenological traditions (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 2-3).

The influence of these scholars brought a concept of identity to the forefront of many social science disciplines. Brubaker and Cooper also note the social phenomena taking place in the USA during the 1950s and 60s, where individualism, generation rebellions as well as Civil rights and ethnic movements all became a part of social and political discussion, catalyzing a demand for

identity to support their causes (ibid). Although specific to the USA, these movements spread their ideals of identity to a worldwide audience due to the country's powerful position on a global scale.

Another phenomenon awakening a consciousness of identity has been interpreted as a response to globalization. As societies started becoming ever more globalized, so too was born the inclination to define one's identity out of fear of losing a "unique" sense of self amongst larger political powers and influences. In his article, social anthropologist Simon Harrison establishes globalization as an "apparent paradox…[where] increasing transnational flows of culture seem to be producing, not global homogenization, but growing assertions of heterogeneity and local distinctiveness" (Harrison 1999: 10). The influences of prominent identities potentially produce a longing in others to more clearly establish their own identities, to set themselves apart, and to claim certain qualities as their own in a reactive defense. In this homogenization leading to more discernible heterogeneity paradox, Harrison points out how the defending and protecting of one's culture constructs barriers as a way to distinguish cultural differences. In doing so, he explains how cultural members therefore have the tendency to view their culture as a stagnant phenomenon, that has never influenced or been influenced by other cultures, that must maintain its purity, be protected from pollution of other cultural practices, and defend itself from identity piracy; creating a rhetoric of "us" and "them," "insiders" and "outsiders." Due to cases of cultural appropriation and unjust exploitation of minority cultures by dominant ones, Harrison acknowledges the obvious repercussions. However, he also addresses how this has resulted in an objectification of cultural traditions, practices and symbols with "ethnic property rights" (Harrison 1999: 11). He sees this solution as problematic considering it assumes that these symbols were, are and therefore always will belong to a certain cultural group; again a view of cultures as being set, stagnant, and never of having influence on each other; when more likely than not, their practices could have stemmed from appropriations in the past. Harrison mentions that both he and anthropologists today recognize that cultures are not stagnant, in that they have always been continuously free flowing.

Having acknowledged theories regarding the birth of identity in both social situations and academic writing, defining the term itself presents yet another obstacle. Identity is popularly perceived as one's nationality, language, job, religion, personality, political affiliation, profits, successes, failures, possessions, hobbies, talents, association to social groups, self perception or perceptions of others. Due to such complexity, conceptions of identity have encouraged much social and political discussion among many scholars and theorists eager to accurately define it. Brubaker and Cooper consider that the true identity crisis resulted in an overproduction of the word itself. As a singular word used in a plurality of contexts by the 1970s, they critique its general use and

overuse to thus cheapen its significance. Brubaker and Cooper thus examined and mapped out five common contexts where "identity" is used: a basis of social or political action, a collective phenomenon, core aspect of individual or collective selfhood, a product of social action, and a fleeting product of multiple discourses (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 7). Noting that although similar, these five uses risk high contradictions, in turn suggesting a reformulation of the term at hand.

While negating the singular use of the term due to its ambiguous application in contradictory contexts, they consequently offer three new terms in its replacement (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 14-19). *Identification and categorization* claims that sameness is not the goal, but instead a process of identifying oneself and recognizing how one is identified by others is situational and contextual. *Self-understanding and social location* rejects universal views, in turn accepting an understanding of self in relation to the environment, but is cautioned to be subjective and give advantage to those with a more intellectual consciousness. *Commonality, connectedness, groupness* reflects a sense of belonging in that it refers to support, relational ties and the sharing of affinities among a group. In conclusion, Brubaker and Cooper perceive all people to have their "particular affinities and affiliations... commonalities and connections...stories… self-understandings… problems" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 36)." However, these conceptions are often tied to identities constructed by a particular people with their own stories, connections, and self-understanding, in hopes of creating a certain "universalism" within the concept of identity.

Under the identifying label of commonality, connectedness and groupness, I would place national identity and those who sympathize with nationalist movements. Nationalism has been considered a movement that calls forth to unite large masses of individuals who are willing to support their seemingly common characteristics and goals within a larger society, where a connected sense of groupness is needed in order to be successful. As one of the most influential figures to analyze nations and nationalism, political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson lays out interpretations of nation and nationalism from a cultural, political and historical perspective in his work *Imagined Communities*, first published in 1983. He defines the nation as "an imagined political community— and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is '*imagined*' because even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991: 6). He refers to nationality, nationalism and nation as "cultural artifacts" that must be examined through their historical emergence, noting how these concepts were planted in the self-consciousness of individuals throughout various societies through print. Observing eighteenth century Eastern

Europe as the age of nationalism, Anderson pays particular attention to how print capitalism assisted its emergence. He argues that it was "interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity" (ibid: 43) which made communities imaginable. In other words, sharing ideas through print in diverse, yet limited languages enabled the communities to distinguish themselves as separate entities through their different vernaculars. As languages began to be printed and spread, they became more official and permanent, unifying societies under more dominant vernaculars, while other weaker ones died off. These monoglot communities thus aided in formulating a more conceptualized idea of a nation, where in essence, nation and therefore national identity became closely tied to the sharing of a common language.

Language and linguistic scholar Jaine E. Beswick expands on the idea of language and national identity in stating, "Although nationalist discourse emphasizes the conscious use of a shared language as a competent marker of community identity, the viability of the language is also intimately bound up with – indeed, it is the carrier of – inherent societal, historical, cultural, and political factors" (Beswick 2007: 37). Language is perceived here to be successful in unifying a nation not only because it is a tool of communication between individuals, but more so because it is a symbol of cultural practices, societal customs and also political force. In the case of Galicia, the use of Galician is perceived as more than just a way to transmit and debate perceptions of the world. It is the carrier of a societal identity, often attached to the ways of communication among an idealized rural community; a historical identity, defending itself against the long ongoing conflict against a dominating Spanish state; a cultural identity, often tied to literature and art involving landscape, rurality, language and "traditions"; and a political identity, where it has been the voice of the nationalist movement most prominently since the end of the nineteenth century.

In order to legitimize the initial nationhood and nationalism projects, elite intellectuals were dedicated to do so in diverse ways. Like archeologists at an excavation site, they were eager and desperate to discover something of the past that could be of significance in the present. In this excavation-like project, historical sociologist Anthony Smith concludes, "the modern nation is not an entirely new creation. It is constructed – or rather reconstructed – on the basis of existing material, which conditions the modern nation" (Smith 1995). While searching through the rumble, myths, symbols and traditions were exposed and could therefore be of service for reconstruction. These cultural constructs were often promoted and presented in print, and just as noted before in Anderson's claim, the novel and the newspaper acted as catalysts in the conceptualization of a

nation (Anderson 1991: 25). Much of these cultural constructs that are witnessed today are perceived as long standing "traditions," where in fact they are more often than not "invented traditions." Historians Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger offer an in depth analysis of this phenomenon in their work, *The invention of tradition,* defining the term as follows:

> "The term 'invented tradition' is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period— a matter of a few years perhaps— and establishing themselves with great rapidity… [It] is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012:1).

In other words, many "traditional" practices perceived and revered for their antiquity are in reality not as old as they lead us to believe. It is highly likely that they were intentionally constructed, institutionalized and further indoctrinated as "tradition" by means of routine and ritualistic practices within society; a mere invention within a hidden political agenda. This alternative objective is often linked to nationalist movements, where symbols of conceived tradition are used to evoke emotion through their aesthetic nature, construing a relatable image of identity among individuals within a nation-state. The key element of Hobsbawm and Ranger's claim is their mentioning of "a suitable historic past"; where there are many pasts lived by distinct individuals within the history of a nation, a singular image of a particular past is intelligently selected in order to achieve the political objectives of the present. They distinguish the difference between invented traditions and genuine traditions, declaring a tradition as invented by the inconsistency that commonly results in revivals or inventions; and measuring genuineness through the tradition's "strength and adaptability" resulting in consistency of their practice. Cultural studies scholar John Storey would conclude that the genuineness of tradition is not so much reflected in the continuation of practices, but a more of the association and interpretation of a variety of their forms:

> "Tradition is a vital element in culture; but it has little to do with the mere persistence of old forms. It has much more to do with the way elements have been linked together or articulated. These arrangements in a national-popular culture have no fixed or inscribed position, and certainly no meaning which is carried along, so to speak, in the stream of historical tradition, unchanged" (Storey 1998: 450).

Traditions, whether genuine or invented, often become neatly packaged building blocks in the construction of identity. They are a symbolic expression of nation, nationhood and national identity, internally and internationally. Coinciding with new invented "traditions" conceived as venerable practices, Anderson presents the following paradox in comparing: "the objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists" (Anderson 1991: 7). Both nations and their "traditions" are perceived as timeless relics by their admiring followers, while an in depth study of their existence proves a more modern materialization.

Nation, nationalism and consequently national identity has also been thoroughly debated by Smith (1992), where he argues that national consciousness is not quite a new phenomenon, but instead can be traced back to the late Middle Ages, specifically during the times of war. However, new technologies and widespread communication since the eighteenth century have in turn birthed a new conception of nation, national identity and nationalism. In his acclaimed work *National Identity* (1991), he begins by defining a nation as "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith 1991: 40). In essence, a nation is composed of some sort of political leadership that manages communities within a marked territory, where individuals feel somewhat connected to the land and each other. The topographical terrain thus becomes a sacred symbol, storing a collective memory of myths and cultural practices.

Reverence to the land, traditions, culture and symbols is thus expressed through nationalism, which he interprets as a sort of dogma which legitimizes the political acts in favor of the nation-state and offers value to those individuals who identify with its objectives. He clearly defines nationalism as, "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'" (Smith 1991: 73). In order to encourage the nationalist agenda and ideologies, national symbols, customs and ceremonies are employed and practiced, installing a sense of shared identity among the masses; intended to emotionally evoke the ideals of individuals within a nation, as they interrelate the concepts of "territory, history and community" (ibid:78). Here the intertwining of nationalism and identity is once again present, where unity among masses is achieved through a promoted and perceived shared identity of commonality, connectedness and groupness.

In order to clearly understand the complexities of nation, nationalism and national identity, Smith illustrates the following dichotomies: *national identity* versus *cultural identity,* Western nationalism versus Eastern nationalism, as well as nation versus state. Where *cultural identity* is reflected in class, gender, region and religion, *national identity* is multifaceted with its ethnic, legal, territorial, economic and political factors, all of which find unity under nationalist ideology. Western nationalism focused more on territory, stressing the importance of a common political system, laws and customs in hopes of creating a unified community of individuals. On the other hand, the objective of Eastern nationalism centralized its argument on "ethnic descent and cultural ties. Apart from genealogy, it emphasized popular or folk element, the role of vernacular mobilization, and the activation of the people through a revival of their native folk culture-their languages, customs, religions and rituals, rediscovered by urban intellectuals such as philologists, historians, folklorists, ethnographers and lexicographers" (Smith 1992: 60-61).

It is essential to remember that shared symbols, stories and traditions are promoted by the intellectual elite, constructing their own ideal identity for the nation. This has inevitable consequences, when strong identifying components overshadow the weaker, and thus provoke social revolts. Smith thus addresses present ethnic revivals, first highlighting the increasing power of nation-states worldwide, second, how the wide spread of literacy is "rais[ing] the level of consciousness and expectations of minority peoples" (Smith 1992: 63) and third, how mass public education indoctrinates students under selected national symbols, myths and language. This indoctrination crafted by the state's elites could potentially ignore the cultural practices and language of minority groups within a vast nation. Smith therefore expresses the following:

> "Given the multiplicity of language groups and ethnic heritages in Europe, it is reasonable to expect the persistence of strong ethnic sentiments in many parts of the continent, as well as the continuity or periodic revival of national identities, fuelled by the quest for ethnic traditions and cultural heritages of distinctive myths, memories and symbols" (ibid: 64).

Given that Europe is composed of a variety of nations attempting to establish and display a sort of "unified" and homogeneous character within their territories, it is inevitable that the cultural practices and histories of distinct ethnic groups within officially marked territories will feel threatened. In the case of Spain, the central state attempts to promote and "sell" an image of diverse cultural characters under a singular state. However, the depiction is through the eyes of the central

state, benefiting Spain's ideal representation as a nation, and not the regional characters' ideals as autonomous nations. This is not free of consequences. As one of the regional characters, Galicia would identify as a culturally diverse group employing a minority language within the Spanish state. With its own customs, histories and language, a continuous stirring of nationalist sentiment is fueled by the emphasis of Galicia's distinctive local character. Much of the art in constructing and consolidating Galician identity markers has been enabled through the nationalist movement, where intellectuals have been dedicated to defending Galicia against the dominance of Spain.

1.2. Identity and nationalism in ethnomusicology

The relation between identity and music itself did not start emerging in ethnomusicological studies until the 1980s (Rice 2007). Scholars have since then begun to conduct analytical, historical and comparative methods (to name a few) of research on the relationship between music and identity (Calvo-Sotelo 2013; Foley 2001; Frith 1996; Rice 2007; Romero 2017; Toro 2002). Ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice (2007) gives three reasons for the late uprising of literature interrelating music and identity in the late 1980s, similar to those mentioned by Brubaker and Cooper: psychosocial disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, cultural studies and philosophy gaining strength in the 1960s, which are the basis of ethnomusicology; identity politics regarding "race, ethnicity, and gender" finding their way into academic discussion in USA universities in the 1970s; and the carrying out of more fieldwork in the 1990s igniting a certain need to understand the "other," to justify not only different perspectives of the observer, but also different actions and attitudes of those being observed (Rice 2007). In a survey, he analytically addressed seventeen different articles written between 1982 and 2006, all of which shared the commonality of being the only ones within ethnomusicological study that have "identity" in their title. His analysis regards two critical issues: the absent theme of music and identity within ethnomusicological research of the past and the lack of correlation between academic literature within ethnomusicological research of the present.

While surveying the articles, Rice argued for a dichotomous separation of the identity into *individual self-identity* and *group identity*; self-identity referring to "self-definition, self-understanding...and concern for belonging to a social group"; and group identity understood as "a collective self-understanding as represented by various characteristics, activities, and customs, including music" (Rice 2007: 21-23). Many perceived ways of identifying could thus be distributed among these two categories, where individuals are recognized as defining themselves inwardly in

their cognitive awareness, as well as outwardly in a group consciousness. Rice continues to note how identity is multidimensional, perceived as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, etc. He concludes with the role of music in identity, expressing four key ideas: "music gives a symbolic shape to pre-existing or emergent identity"; identity is witnessed, lived, and shared through musical performances; music has emotional qualities that strengthen a sense of identity; and music can give value to identity (ibid: 34-35). While he does regard the diverse worldly perspectives presented by these seventeen scholars who explore the multiple facets of identity and assist in the advancement in ethnomusicological research, Rice is also led to his second critique: the lack of interaction between these recent discoveries as a "larger literature on identity [and music]." In response, his article is a reminder for prospective ethnomusicological research to act in a more cohesive and conclusive manner, questioning and referencing one another in order to progress as a whole, and not a single entity within any branch of the ethnomusicological field.

While Rice considered identity to be defined from both an individual and group perspective, music sociologist Simon Frith considered music to be both an individual and collective experience; due to its, "abstractness, [it's an] individualizing form… and equally significantly, [it's] obviously collective…[where] sounds obey a more or less familiar cultural logic…" (Frith 1996: 121). Music is not solely sound nor a product to be made and purchased, but further a way in which we can live out our identifications (Frith 1996: 110); it's the environment it creates and the ideologies that it conveys. It provokes "identity" and is inseparable from it. Frith criticizes how previous studies of popular music and identity sought out to demonstrate music as a sort of representation of and reaction to a certain cultural character. Instead, he would argue the contrary, that music is a force creating cultural character, where identity is formed out of a reaction to musical expression.

> "The academic study of popular music has been limited by the assumption that the sounds must somehow 'reflect' or 'represent' the people… the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience - a musical experience, an aesthetic experience - that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a subjective and a collective identity" (Frith 1996: 108-09).

I believe that the Galician *foliada* and other traditional Galician music environments which combine both presentational performance and participatory performance practices could be studied similarly, in their ability to shape and influence people to acquire an identity. The musical aesthetic of a *foliada* constructs an identity which, as Frith defends, "is not a thing but a process- an experiential process which is most vividly grasped as music" (Frith 1996: 110). It evokes an interest

in Galician geography through the imagery colored in its song lyrics, a desire to master the limitless variations of the Galician *muiñeira* and *jota*, the challenge of converting oneself into a *gaiteira,* a memorization of lyrics allowing for participation in local gatherings, and what I find strikingly powerful, it has the potential to invite the communication in its language: Galician. The music context of a Galician *foliada* thus illustrates and supports Frith's idea of music and performance not solely as reflections of ideas of those involved, but the creation and production of their identifications and experiences.

The identity constructed within a *foliada*, which entices individuals with its emotionally identifying elements, are to be assessed in how identity has the power to attract individuals to join in a national sentiment. In exploring these identifying forces, ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino's *Music as Social life: Politics of Participation* (2008), will be of essential reference. Turino demonstrates how the performing arts, such as music, provide social opportunities for individuals to relate to one another in order to create deep and fulfilling experiences, to share in a relatable identity. These experiences allow for what esteemed psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi theorizes as *flow*: "a heightened concentration where one invests their full attention in an art, disregarding other thoughts, concerns and distractions" (Turino 2008: 4). Turino also refers to Charles Sanders Pierce's theory of semiotics to support the idea of music as a sign or conceptualization of our ideals and emotions, which can be a result of flow. He argues that *flow* is not accessed in the same way for all individuals in relation to musical expression, due to his belief that music is not confined as a single art form (ibid: 20), and therefore lays out four fields of music-making.

Turino characterizes the spectrum of these four areas of music-making as *participatory, presentational, high fidelity* and *studio audio art* (ibid: 26). He presents *participatory performance* as a communal practice with an absence of artist and audience distinction, which values the level of participation over sound quality (ibid: 35), but inhibits individual innovation. On the contrary, his explanation of *presentational performance* clearly distinguishes the performer from the audience, where success is based on professionalism and individual creativity is praised (ibid: 77). *High fidelity* is described as an intention of representing a live performance through means of a recording (ibid: 67), while *studio audio art* is an autonomous artistic control of evident electronic manipulation of sound (ibid: 79). Within these four fields, Turino reflects upon music and its value as a *process* versus a *product.* In other words something we *do:* engagement in activity, social exchange; versus something we *listen to*: often by means of production, sale, consumption. *Participatory* music, he asserts, "is not for *listening* apart from *doing*, where in capitalistic societies,

we think of music more for *listening* than really *doing*" (ibid: 77). Presentational performance and high fidelity recordings therefore are seen to fit within a more capitalist framework.

As much of the identity formed within the environment of a *foliada* has nationalist tendencies supported by a leftist ideology, anti-capitalist sentiment fighting the forces of globalization tends to be very present. Therefore, to join and live out these perceived *participatory* practices of a *foliada* can be viewed as a statement against an evermore globalized community of commercialized music producers and consumers. Thus, participating in the musical *process* of a *foliada* can be observed as a symbol of a more "traditional" and "authentic" lifestyle, attaching communal and emotional sentiment to these musical environments.

1.3. Music, nation and tradition

Just as Eric Hobsbawm explored the overall phenomenon of invented traditions as incentives for constructing a nation, musicologist Matthew Gelbart (2007) did so in a similar way, with "traditional" music as the primary focus. Through historical and analytical discussion, he discusses the invention of music categories, tracing back the origins of the concepts "tradition" and "authenticity." Although over time the concept of tradition has become a primary and revered component in the understanding of culture, Gelbart notes the first uses of the word "tradition" at the end of the eighteenth century were not with much reverence. Traditional music originally connoted oral transmission, and was limitedly linked to religious practices and the Catholic Church. It then took on a more expansive meaning mainly through James Macpherson's poetic work *Ossian*, which influenced how oral transmission was perceived. In his work, he details oral tradition in a positive light, where it could be used as a key element in the conceptualization of a nation. Gelbart explains:

> "Foremost was the condition that oral tradition could only be reliable when the group of tradition-bearers was isolated from the intermixture or contamination by outsiders. Such an assertion clearly demonstrates how tradition was implicated in the modern idea of national identity-in the invocation of shared and preserved culture as the basis of a nation" (Gelbart 2007: 155).

Therefore, the concept of "tradition" represented through music also became a building block in the construction of a nation, perceived as a "pure" portrayal of cultural practices by citizens of the land. And as long as a tradition is valued by its "pureness," the more outside influences are a perceived threat. The cultural image of a nation is thus concealed and fixed; and where cross-cultural influences come creeping in, it is then that one must determine what is "authentic" or not. The concept of "authenticity" became attached to "tradition" during this time that traditional

practices were seen to be threatened by change. In hopes of maintaining presumably authentic forms of tradition in need of protection, "collectors" began documenting "authentic tradition." What Gelbart points out is that these "collectors" documented what *they* interpreted to be "tradition," what they imagined being most representative of "authentic" expression, thus later presenting it their own way. These collectors "assumed their collections to be the most 'authentic' and 'genuine' because they presumed that they knew what was really 'traditional'" (ibid: 179). Gelbart notes that much of what was documented was simplified and arranged in a way to portray what seemed to be more representative of authentic expression. The irony is that as original forms were being manipulated by collectors who were adjusting them to appear more "authentic," the perceived holders of authenticity were then being taught and corrected by the collectors on what true "authentic" expression was.

What was claimed to be tradition was linked to the formation of the nation-state, therefore what was construed as being "traditional" reflected the objectives of time. It is therefore essential to remember that what is claimed to be "traditional" and "authentic" has been passed down and manipulated by the hands of those who claim to know the "truth" of ancestral expression. Gelbart offers a reminder that, "what we consider authentic always shows us more about ourselves and our values than about the object under consideration" (Gelbart 2007: 172). In Galicia there is a popular practice among those dedicated to the preservation of "traditional" practices who carry out what are known as *recollidas,* or music and dance documentation of rural aging populations. These documentations are then used to teach in official institutions throughout the region, where they are taken to *foliadas* and also performed on the stage for large audiences. A critical analysis of how these processes are being executed as well as how they are being taught and performed amidst current social phenomena will be essential in this study. Who are the leading "collectors" and what personal objectives do they have in their documenting and passing on of "tradition" in present day Galicia? How are their hands molding how "traditional" music and dance is being perceived and passed on? How do their decisions coincide with social issues of today? Considering the cultural constructs of music and dance were and continue to be employed alongside nationalistic ideologies, they have become identity markers carrying a memory of the past, stored in a collection of beliefs, values, customs and conventions. As much as a collective memory can be important for the construction of a nation, so can be staying up-to-date with current issues. What is perceived and portrayed as "traditional" often confronts balancing the past and present in order to be respected in the practices of a "modern" nation. The art of choosing today's "traditional" is thus left to inquiry.

Finding a balance between “tradition” and “modernity” in the defending of a nation is also analyzed by Thomas Turino (2008) where he explores how music evokes emotion and therefore can be employed to carry out the objectives of nationalist leadership. In order to awaken individuals to support the nationalist movement of Zimbabwe, nationalist leaders were noted to “[combine] the ‘best’ of ‘old’ indigenous culture with ‘modern cosmopolitan culture’— evident in the musical programming of indigenous dancers and ‘concert’ artists” (Turino 2008:180). In doing so, the presentation of old practices evoked emotional ties to a seemingly deep-rooted identity revered in antiquity, while “modern” expression was up-to-date with what is recognized as symbolic of a legitimate nation-state. In realizing that emotion was key to reaching diverse peoples, revolutionary politician and leader Robert Mugabe supported nationalist events accompanied by emotionally evoking elements of music, dance, food and clothing. Therefore, balancing tradition and modernity could be used to attract the diverse character profiles in an event of, “culture and emotionalism for the masses, politics and propositional discourses for the elite” (ibid: 184). The “average” citizen as well as the intellectual would all be attracted to join the movement.

Considering emotionally infused music, dance, dress and visual arts are valuable tools in constructing a nation, Turino critiques the lack of discussion of these factors in Anderson’s arguments. Although he agrees with Anderson that language takes a main role in the creation of a nation, he gives equal value to the previously mentioned triggers of emotion, as they are visually symbolic of the abstract idea of a nation. He acknowledges Anderson’s comment that, “Nothing connects us effectively to the dead more than language” (Anderson 1991: 145) and he furthers this comment by stating that in Zimbabwe music as much as language connects the community to ancestors, creating a loyal sentiment to the land of past relatives and their cultural practices. Thus, the loyalty to both language and music gives force to the nationalist movement.

Similarly so, the element of emotion in a nationalist movement will be investigated in my own research, where it is often embedded in “tradition” as well as “authenticity.” These elements will be analyzed through the use of aesthetics in Galician music and dance and the environments they create. Emotion attached to language use will be equally examined, as it too has been established as fundamental in the conceptualization of a nation. Although not all music and dance performed within present day “traditional” Galician environments was initially inspired by nationalist conviction, many of the lyrics carry symbols that have been adopted to construct “authentic” Galician national identity. The aesthetics of the musical performances Galicia entice

participation and therefore invite more supporters of their movement, like those of Zimbabwe. The main difference would be that Galician music and dance gatherings do not always convey the explicit message of nationalist sentiment as Zimbabwean music and dance expression. Nonetheless, Turino would consider both of these phenomena "musical nationalism," or what he considers,

> "[A]s the conscious use of any preexisting or newly created music in the service of a political nationalist movement, be it in the initial state of nation-building stage, during the militant movement of maneuver, or during and after the moment of arrival to build and buttress the relationship between the general population and the state" (Turino 2008: 190).

1.4. Identity and nationalism in Galicia

Much of the early identity construction in Galicia dates back to the nineteenth century, when a more solidified image of identity was being built on the basis of Galician nationalism. As mentioned before, it was during this time that nationalism was emerging across the globe, and Spain too was in the race. As Spain's nationalist project gained momentum, Galicia was threatened and consequently provoked to establish itself as a separate nation with a separate identity. Thus, the defining of Galician national identity can be observed in two ways: first internally, as a defense against Spain's own nationalist attempts to homogenize the multicultural state; and second externally, as Galicians gained consciousness of other national identities mainly due to emigration (Romero 2011: 104). Edward Inman Fox claims that, "[Galicia's] emerging nationalism was characterized by a revival of its traditional culture and of Galician as a literary language, and claims that its Celtic origins distinguished the Galician from the other peoples of Spain" (Inman Fox 1999: 22). Hence, a differing traditional culture was aesthetically expressed through literary works involving music, dance, agrarian practices, landscapes, Celticity[12]; and written in the Galician language. Physical aspects of terrain were often portrayed and revered in poetry and literary works, as they were recognized as symbolic support for a material understanding of a national identity, and therefore employed in cultural, political and linguistic expression. Jacobo García Álvarez expands on this idea as he describes how elements of the "natural" world were considered during the defining of being Galician:

[12] Celticity is a phenomenon that emerged with the construction of a Celtic identity to unify Celtic nations through a collective memory of symbols, myths and music. These ideologies were employed to support nationalist and regionalist movements.

> "Inspired by the Romantic conception of nations as well as by the powerful influence of natural sciences on the social thought and disciplines of the time, Galicianist main ideologues defined and located the essences of Galician regional/national identity in 'natural', physical realities which they regarded to be much more 'determinant', 'lasting' and 'tangible' that the 'socially-constructed', 'ever-changing' and 'abstract' dynamics of politics. In this respect, the undeniable *linguistic* (being language considered as a 'natural' faculty) and *territorial* distinctiveness of Galicia opposite to the Spanish central regions (its peripheral coastal location, Atlantic bioclimate, mountainous topography, granitic morphology, eastern orographical boundaries, etc.) provided Galicianism with two decisive arguments" (García-Álvarez 1998: 121)

Here, García-Álvarez paints clearly the importance of language and physical territory within the construction of a nation, as well as a national identity. These identity markers of music, dance, landscape, and Celticity were embedded in the literary works supporting the nationalist movement of the nineteenth century, and were promoted and presented in print. Therefore, Anderson's claim that the novel and the newspaper acted as catalysts in the conceptualization of a nation (Anderson 1991: 25), can be affirmed in Galicia's nation building trajectory.

In essence, the construction of Galician identity was encouraged by emerging nationalist movements; a defense against Spanish nationalism as well as an attempt to legitimize nationhood among the global nationalist uprisings. Music, dance and language played important roles for Galicia, which will be further debated in the subsequent chapter. How these expressive practices were later manipulated by the Spanish state during the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) will also be examined in following chapters, where themes of folklorism and authenticity will be deliberated. A more profound analysis of these concepts will be essential as they are intimately intertwined with how identity and nationalism were conceptualized in the past and how they are expressed today.

1.5. Sociolinguistics and identity in Galicia

Sociolinguistics in a simplified sense can be defined as "the study of language in relation to society" (Hudson 1996: 1). Although this definition is clear and direct, its generality lacks a detailed means of *how to* study linguistic phenomena within society. Thus, it is helpful to consider linguist Mary Bucholtz's elaboration, where in her research she has "employ[ed] the term...to include not only the disparate quantitative and qualitative approaches that claim this name but also linguistic anthropology, conversation analysis, and other socially and culturally oriented forms of discourse analysis" (Bucholtz 2003: 398). As Bucholtz includes linguistic anthropology in her definition, an expanded definition could also include, "the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking

as a cultural practice" (Duranti 1997: 2). Taking into consideration these definitions, the sociolinguistic component of this study takes on qualitative approaches of documenting how individuals perceive Galician language use within the social and cultural spaces of Galician music and dance. Considering the linguistic conflict between Galician versus Castilian, these identifying spaces have the potential to embody culturally induced reasons for using Galician language, in which sociolinguistic theory will be of significant use as it often focuses on motivations of language use, whether maintenance or shift, within a social, cultural and political context.

According to sociolinguists Bernadette O'Rourke and Fernando Ramallo, "Languages are intrinsically linked to identity, insofar as our use of languages, as socially and historically situated practices, position and define us as members of different communities of practice" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 96). On the surface, they allow us to transmit ideas with others, but their existence and survival is deeply rooted in historical, political and cultural power; influences that have shaped how individual speakers perceive their own identity through linguistic form. Historically speaking, this language and identity relation can be traced back to the European nationalist movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when language became recognized as a foundational component in the conceptualization of modern nation and national identity (Anderson 1991: 133). Tying together individuals within an "imagined community," language represented and continues to represent a way to explicitly transmit ideas while implicitly sharing a national identity.

The consolidation of national sentiment through language use has been perceived as ethnolinguistic nationalism, which Thomas Bonfiglio defines as "the confluence of folkloric notions of ethnicity, nativity, maternality, exclusive ownership in the discourse of the national language … [which] emerged with the birth of the modern nation state and continues to date" (Bonfiglio 2010: 6). It is in these nationalist movements where language as an identity marker has been noted equally a uniting and dividing force (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 203). In the linguistic situation of Galicia and Spain, the spread of Castilian symbolized a euphoric unifying identity for Spain, while for Galicia its intrusion symbolized a clash and discord of identities. Due to the fact that Galicia has been politically, culturally, linguistically and physically positioned in opposition to the centralized Spanish nation-state, Galician language has been a useful weapon used to defend a Galician national identity. This research will pay particular attention to the usage of this linguistic weapon during the *Rexurdimento*— Galicia's literature and cultural revival at the end of the nineteenth century— and also during the transition to democracy era after Franco up until now.

In order to maintain perceived commonalities among individuals in such a community, identifications were and still are projected onto language, where linguistic form no longer is solely

limited to a means of communication, but a symbol of identity. Embedding identifying symbols in language becomes even more significant for threatened minority vernaculars as this process has potential to maintain and gain speakers who are often recognized as defenders of a linguistic national identity. How symbolic meanings of language are interpreted and used within a society can be considered "language ideologies"(Woolard 2020: 3), further defined as, "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (Heath 1989: 53), and as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255). Within Galicia, encouraging Galician language use by elite intellectuals is often attached to political objectives evoked by a collective memory of linguistic and cultural oppression; where language can be perceived as an act of defense against the rapid globalization among national communities. This politicization of the Galician language has assisted identity formation but has also been noted to potentially discourage the interest of new speakers due to strong nationalist sentiment attached to its use, where not all interested new speakers are nationalist sympathizers. In the words of linguistic anthropologist Kathryn Woolard, "When a language's roots in the cultural capital of one group in a society are too transparent, this helps sustain other groups' resistance to it" (Woolard 2008: 9).

Galicia has suffered linguistically and culturally over the past century, mostly due to homogenizing attempts of Franco's regime. The prohibition of Galician language use during this time left the language in a complex state when it was once again permitted after the dictatorship. New laws were established in hopes of reviving and therefore normalizing the use of the language. Thus, Galician language activists have since attempted to maintain "traditional" Galician speakers (*paleofalantes*) and encourage new ones (*neofalantes*). O'Rourke and Ramallo have found motivations for language shift to often be provoked by "'personal' reasons often linked to the construction of a Galician identity" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 94). These identifying elements have been tied to a feeling of responsibility toward a cultural commitment opposing the social and political injustices attached to the imposition of Castilian. Considering the variety of speaker profiles within the Galician landscape— *neofalantes*, *paleofalantes*, and Castilian speakers— new identities are formed and manipulated through diverse social interaction involving diverse speaker profiles and their contact with each other. A process of identity readjustment is particularly true for the new speaker who "abandons" their identity as a Castilian speaker:

> "New speakers of Galician construct and negotiate their identity in difference to several 'others' including an older generation of traditional native speakers of Galician, Spanish-speaking Galicians, a younger generation of native speakers, and even fellow new speakers of Galician themselves... becoming a new speaker can involve lifestyle changes which can sometimes manifest themselves in the multi-sensory and/or physical characteristics adopted by an individual" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 95-96).

Part of this research will explore how these new speakers value their own language ability in diverse social contexts while engaging with diverse speaker profiles. It also will address any lifestyle changes among individuals involved in this study, specifically examining any relation to participation in social spaces of musical expression, which embody a particular Galician identity. Observing these social spaces is intended to monitor any intersections and parallels between linguistic identity and an identity expressed through musical practices.

Diverse speaker profiles produce more complex perceptions of Galician identity linked to ideals of "authentic" linguistic expression. Just like "authentic" traditions, the conceptualization of linguistic "authenticity" was born during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and employed by nationalist movements (Woolard 2008: 4). The value of defining authenticity of linguistic expression today is most often connected to minority language situations, as its conceptualization is viewed to assist in the salvaging process of a language:

> "The ideology of authenticity locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community. To be considered authentic, a speech variety must be very much 'from somewhere' in speakers' consciousness, and thus its meaning is profoundly local" (Woolard 2008: 304).

In the landscape of Galicia, I would identify this particular local community of presumably "authentic" speakers to be represented mostly by *os vellos do rural*. As previously mentioned, both rural and urban communities were under the influence of Franco's prohibition of the language from 1936-75, however rural communities privately maintained a general Galician linguistic form. Hence, rurality is viewed as a repository of "true" language. Rural communities are thus perceived to produce Galicia's "native speaker," one in which is "generally treated as the only legitimate speaker and at the same time the custodian of a privileged language identity" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 98). Although these "true" Galician speakers continue to represent an "authentic" Galician speech and identity, the policies to normalize and standardize the language do not always reflect their linguistic forms of expression. This is due to the absence of standard Galician language

education structure before the 1980s and impositions of Castilian language during the dictatorship, which have both shaped the common speech among rural communities.

Language policies put into place during the 1980s provided the educational sector with a standardized Galician. Language planning has caused reflection on phenomena such as linguistic authority and authenticity. Among younger generations, the standard is often recognized today as "text-book Galician" or "unnatural," as they revere perceived authenticity in speech among *os vellos* (O'Rourke 2014: 83). The paradox lies in the following: among younger *neofalantes*, older *paleofalantes* are holders of "true" and "authentic" speech, leaving *neofalantes* prone to feel lessened in their linguistic authority. However, for elderly *paleofalantes*, it is the new speakers who are the educated holders and of "correct" speech, assuming their own inferiority due to the lack of Galician language education and imposed use of *castelanisimos*. With the younger generation's respect for presumed "authenticity" among the elderly, and the older generation's respect for presumed "accuracy" among the youth, both social groups end up assuming that they do not know how to speak "correctly." Perceptions of authenticity and identity thus construe a potential dilemma for the future generations of Galician speakers, where, "Authenticity and the link to identity can in turn constrain the acquisition and use of a minority language as a second language by a larger population (Woolard 2008: 315), who may see themselves at risk of not sounding sufficiently NATURAL or REAL compared with native speakers" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013: 290). This leaves younger generations of *neofalantes* to feel a lack of authenticity in their speech, assuming that they will never be able to obtain authentic linguistic form.

Woolard would argue that accent can be perceived as more of a representation of authenticity than actual lexicon, concluding that, "When authenticity is legitimating ideology of a language, the linguistically marked form is celebrated, and accent matters" (Woolard 2008: 3). The significance of accent will also be deconstructed within this study, as it has proven to be a valuable element among younger generations. This idealization of the speech form among *os vellos* causes a rejection of standard Castilian imposition but also a rejection of a seemingly too standardized Galician; while at the same time it accepts Castilian laced throughout the Galician spoken by *os vellos,* because of their presumed linguistic authority due to their notable accent. The base of authority then lies primarily in the *way* that *os vellos* sound, more than the *words* they speak. Linguistic authority and authenticity have been further debated by O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013), regarding common opinions among the younger generation of new speakers:

> "The implication here is that to speak GOOD Galician is not something that can be learned. It can only be acquired biologically. This is in turn linked to place of origin, being from the 'village' (*aldea*), associating linguistic authenticity with a very localized geographical space. Here the language 'was never lost' (*non se perdeu*) and can thus be traced historically through an unbroken lineage. There is thus a clear reification of the traditional native speaker, where the language is seen to have survived in its purest and most uncontaminated form, built around the nostalgia for the past and the mythification of rural Galicia" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013: 297).

This data demonstrates that language authenticity, authority as well as nostalgia in Galicia have become intimately intertwined with a rural identity. This essentialist ideology esteems origin and biology, which are assumed as unchanging and permanent determiners of identity. These spaces represent presumably pure and untouched speech, evoking veneration for the linguistic expression of older generations. Bucholtz (2003) characterizes such an ideology as *linguistic isolationism*, where authentic language and thus the authentic speaker are thought to be free from outside influences, both stagnant within a "protected" social group (Bucholtz 2003: 404). Fearing the loss of such "authentic" language consequently produces notions of nostalgia, which has been argued by Bucholtz to be the traditional basis of sociolinguistic study. In her research, she further explains how authentic and nostalgic beliefs are products of modern thought, as nostalgic force emerged with the modern studies of anthropology and dialectology, which emphasized "protecting" perceived endangered cultures and languages (ibid: 399).

As for Galician, it is characterized as an endangered minority language, leading advocates continue to emphasize notions of identity in language in order to salvage it. These salvaging efforts often esteem presumed authentic forms of speech which could lead to a sort of "museumization" of the language, where "saving" the endangered language means freezing it in its authenticity. This complex strategy has repercussions, as language use is recognized to be influenced by inevitable change overtime (O'Rourke 2015: 76). Therefore, dealing with concepts of authenticity and nostalgia in hopes of language revival and maintenance is tugged between balancing respect and representation of old forms while also adapting to inherent change. How these theories affect language use risk being looked over due to an objective of saving the language and furthermore the identity that supports its existence. One of Bucholtz noteworthy assumptions is that, "[s]peakers and hearers too rely on the notion of authenticity, not in the construction of their theories but in the construction of their identities" (Bucholtz 2003: 410).

Taking into consideration this literary review, this research will be able to address the reasons and motivations behind how individuals within Galician music and dance environments perceive their linguistic identities. While the roles of music, dance and language have been studied as separate components in the construction of Galician identity and nationalism, what I intend to

explore is how further roots and ramifications of these two identity markers— be it the role of *os vellos*, "authenticity," nostalgia, rurality, Celticity or landscapes— parallel and overlap, thus finding commonalities linking musical and linguistic identity. If the conceptual origins of "tradition"— in this case "traditional" music and dance— are recognized as valuable pillars in nationalist movements (Gelbart 2007), and language has been the root of national identity (Anderson 1991), it can be assumed that current expressions music, dance and language intersect in their shaping of a Galician identity. Where identity has been recognized as social, political and collective (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 7), the current *foliada* creates a social space which is politically part of a musical revival, composed of a collective desire to maintain a cultural identity. Thus, music further gives value to identity (Rice 2007).

The suitable historic past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012) chosen to support this Galician identity has been that of *os vellos do rural,* where a platform of music, dance and language has been revered in its authenticity. How Galician identity is embodied in idealized aging rural communities, representing both "authentic" musical and linguistic expression, will be analyzed paying attention to particular parallelisms between the two expressive practices. Where the musical aspect of this study will observe the power of emotion (Turino 2008) embedded in balancing identifying sentiment of the past and present, the sociolinguistic aspect will observe the value of language within the revival and maintenance of a national and cultural identity. Both the musical and sociolinguistic lenses of this study will address concepts of nationalist sentiment, identity, authenticity and nostalgia.

2. Language and nationalism in Galicia: history and politics

This chapter intends to provide a historical contextualization of the Galician and Spanish conflict which catalyzed the demand for defining and (re)constructing cultural identity. It will be divided into four parts. First, it will briefly discuss the historical roots of their cultural distinctions over the ninth through fifteenth centuries, specifically concerning the origins of language. Next it will address the emergence of Spanish nationalism during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This will be followed by the reactionary rise of Galician nationalism during the same time period, when notions of Galician identity were established and encouraged by a revival of literature and traditional practices. The final section will examine the era of Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), and how "traditional" Galician practices were appropriated, folklorized and promoted to support the regime. Subsequently, the reclaiming of these expressive practices to once again coincide with a Galician identity after the dictatorship will be explored. Understanding the formation of these identity markers will give insight to the current state of the music-language relationship in Santiago de Compostela, as well as the movement towards language normalization.

2.1 The origins of Galicia vs. Spain conflict: a brief introduction (800s-1400s)

Although officially recognized as an autonomous community belonging to Spain, Galicia has had a long history of political, cultural and linguistic resistance against the dominant Spanish state. Historical outcomes over many centuries have led Galician national status and identity to its questionable state, suffering from a complex of inferiority as a result of central Spanish power. According to historian Lourenzo Fernández Prieto, "Galicians who have lived in the present democracy believe our past to be one of social, political, economic, and cultural backwardness; they are convinced, in other words, that we come from a country dominated by misery and poverty" (Fernández Prieto 2011: 25). While historical factors have caused such a national depreciation, this has not always been the case, considering Galicia and her language once held an esteemed noble and political status.

Back in the ninth century, Galicia's present day capital Santiago de Compostela began to receive recognition as a religious destination after the supposed discovery of Saint James the apostle's tomb in the territory. This would ignite a spark that would attract European travelers to this top left corner of the Iberian Peninsula over the following centuries all the way up until today. Santiago thus invited a cosmopolitanism atmosphere with an exchange of cultural influences among Galicians and pilgrims alike, where the city had become an "intellectual powerhouse" (García 2014:

14-15) by the second half of the twelfth century. Over the tenth to twelfth centuries, Galicia had also gained political power while forming part of the Astur-Leonese nobility. It was during this time that the language *galego-portugués* had gained prestige in oral and literary form. Branching off from Latin, this vernacular became a more consolidated and prominent voice of cultural and artistic intellect as it was employed in the lyrical poetry known as *cantigas*. Sensibly combining literature and music, troubadours composed a large corpus of *cantigas* with themes of friendship, love, satire, which they often performed for the royal court. Although by 1230, Galicia had lost its central political power when the Leonese monarchs joined the Crown of Castile, *galego-portugués* maintained its lyrical literary status throughout the thirteenth century, but began declining by the fourteenth (ibid: 14, 21).

Galego-portugués was further confronted by the expanding rule of the Catholic Monarchs in their political, economic and linguistic domination in the fifteenth century (Roseman 1995: 4). Despite the fact that Galician was still being used by a majority of inhabitants within the territory, it began to receive an inferior status compared to the noble status of Castilian which began to be used in "government administration, literary production and higher education" (ibid). Initially, as Castilian began to permeate throughout society, the two languages were led to coincide within a singular literary expression, causing two separate forms of language to be indistinguishable among a "fluidity of Galician-Castilian cultural relations" (García 2014: 27). Nonetheless, the new noble power granted Castilian with more prestige, thus progressively endangering the strength of Galician cultural and literary expression that had developed over the Middle Ages. Consequently, these sociocultural and political changes taking place over the second half of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries pushed Castilian to its standardization among the elite while reducing the status of Galician to another regional vernacular among the common "folk."

Although the cultural and political prestige of Galicia and *galego-portugués* was taken over by the Crown of Castile and the Castilian language, the esteemed legacy it left throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries regained significant value while the waves of nationalism spread throughout Europe throughout the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Notions of Galicia's cultural heritage became vital cultural and artistic references of its respected intellectual past to be employed as a defense against Spain. Intellectual elites within Galicia's nationalist project would later employ notions of this rich cultural heritage, inspired to create connections with the noble prominence laced throughout Galicia's medieval history.

2.2. The emergence of Spanish nationalism (1800s-1900s)

Recognizing that nationalism serves different interests, so is the case for Spain in their dominance and Galicia in their resistance. Given that the conceptual understandings of "nation" and "nationalism" in Europe were forming during the eighteenth century (Anderson 1991: 25), the legitimacy of a proper European nation-state had been more established by the nineteenth. As the century was coming to an end, Spain was facing a failing political structure, a corrupt electoral system, extreme rates of illiteracy and an outdated education system, all while being confronted with defeat in colonial wars (Inman Fox 1999: 21). In order to reinforce and lift its status as a nation, "intellectuals [became] devoted to defining the 'problem of Spain' in the context of an historical national identity and to the national regeneration through modernization … in the spirit of national unity" (ibid).

Through language, literature and art, Spain began to shape its national character. Works of poetry, historical and classic texts as well as paintings gave a voice to an essence of a Spanish identity, reaching the masses through print capitalism, which would eventually be of significant importance for the spread of nationalist sentiment (Anderson 1991: 18). Thus, legendary works of authors such as Miguel de Cervantes of the sixteenth century were revitalized and further spread, instilling ideas of nationhood and identity among the Spanish people. He represented the duality of the Spanish character, through "opposed tendencies: between the spiritual and the sensual, the passionate and the skeptic, the real and the romantic" (ibid : 34). Intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century could therefore refer to works as the embodiment of Spanish identity, where vast themes could reach versatile masses while serving the purpose of uniting one Spain.

Although seemingly unifying deeds, the objective of characterizing Spain as one nation under one identity and one language dismissed the existence of strong regional characters. The intentions of a single Spanish state thus caused prominent regional cultures within Spain to resist a political and cultural homogenization, and Galicia was one of them. It is here that the theory of philosopher John Plamenatz can be applied, in that, "Nationalism is the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transform or even create it when it is felt to be inadequate or lacking" (Plamenatz 1975: 23-4). Considering that Galicia's political, cultural and linguistic status had fallen to the wayside over the centuries, Spain's rising nationalist agenda further threatened the essence of a Galician identity that was beginning to be imagined. Thus commenced the Galician resistance through the emphasis on and search for its own cultural distinctions from Spain.

2.3. Emerging Galician nationalism and the birth of identity markers (1800s-1900s): *provincialismo, rexionalismo and nacionalismo*

Although stemming from different motives, Galicia's nationalism was no different than Spain's in that it was mobilized under the agenda of intellectual collectives and the strategies of establishing their own *imagined community* (Anderson 1991) and national cultural identity. The intelligentsia was thus left to awaken Galicians to the movement, while constructing or rather reconstructing (Smith 1995) a Galician nation and national identity. Thus, Galician nationalism was the resulting product after phases of provincialism and regionalism. The origin of these three movements took root in the 1840s, with the objective to reunify a divided Galician region. By the 1830s and 1840s, Spain's power became more centralized under the rule of Isabel II, manipulating new territorial organization (Hooper and Moruxa 2011: 6). Against its will, the ancient Kingdom of Galicia as a unified entity was politically and symbolically divided into four provinces, provoking a movement of *provincialismo* and its objective of restoring a unified Galicia. Institutions of cultural and literary exchange were established, such as the Literary Academy of Santiago de Compostela in 1840 and *Liceo de la juventud* in 1847 (Seixas and Iglesias Amorín 2020: 163-64), where literature and culture began to be seen as crucial building blocks for a collective Galician identity. Meanwhile, the continuing opposition to this territorial division led Galician forces to fight for a unification of the four provinces into one, but they were brutally defeated by Spanish forces during the *Levantamento de Carral*, or the *Revolución de 1846* (Hooper and Moruxa 2011: 6). The early Galician movement was thus left in a fragile and threatened state by the central Spanish unit.

Having failed in these *provincialismo* attempts, Galicia's movement decided to steer its main focus more toward cultural manifestations. This was witnessed around ten years later at an event in Santiago de Compostela known as the *Banquete de Conxo* (1856) when intellectuals gathered to ignite a cultural and literary revival which would become known as the *Rexurdimento* (Resurgence). The leading figures of this revival and the cultural symbols that they spread through their written works will be later discussed in the following section. Literary contests (*Xogos Florais*) were later established in 1861, and although they provided a platform for Galician character, it was not until 1891, in the city of Tui, where it was mandatory to present literary pieces in the Galician language. Considering that the majority of participants were intellectual elites and primarily Castilian speakers, the majority of previous contest entries were presented in the Castilian language.

Rexionalismo later emerged in the 1880s as Galicia demanded a form of autonomy while also accepting its existence as a region within the Spanish state. *Rexionalista* leaders shared their ideals through political publications, while authors began establishing notions of a Galician identity. Intellectual Manuel Murguía would become a primary voice in the movement, with the publishing of his book *El regionalismo gallego* in 1889. Considering that his work was written in Castilian, and that elites also primarily used Castilian, it is apparent that language had yet developed into a valuable factor for the movement. Not too long before was the establishment of the *Sociedad del Folklore Gallego: Sociedad del Popular Saber de Galicia* in 1883-1894, which became one of the most prominent folkloric centers not only in Spain but in Europe, headed by Emilia Pardo Bazán. As a sympathizer for Spanish nationalism as well, the *rexionalista* undertones of the folklore center would value Galicia as solely a region contributing to a larger Spanish state, and not for its autonomous individuality. The *Sociedad* focused more on "restoring" rather than "reviving" lost traditions, where Galicia's historical character was perceived in its antiquity as a museum-like artifact, and not so much as something to be practiced. The three volumes (1885-1886) of the *Cancionero popular gallego* by José Pérez Ballesteros (Costa Vázquez 2019: 31) would become a significant piece of collective works promoted by the institution, benefitting the Galician cultural corpus. While objectives of the center as well as the *cancioneiro* left their mark on Galician identity and movement, *rexionalismo* continued to lack political motive regarding autonomy of Galicia as well as the emphasis of Galician language use. The absence of a political and linguistic voice for Galicia thus prompted intellectual elites in their founding of the RAG (*Real Academia Galega*) in 1906 and the creation of the Galician flag and anthem in 1907 (Hooper and Moruxa 2011: 9).

The *rexionalista* movement would soon refashion itself *nacionalista* around 1916, as a stronger push for monolinguistic and cultural expression at the beginning of the twentieth century was seen as vital to mobilize ideals which recognized Galicia as its own nation, and not as a mere region. The exertion of Galician language and culture would thus become the forefront of the nationalist movement. In the words of historians Xosé Seixas and Alfonso Iglesias Amorín:

> "Ever since 1916-18, Galician culture, the definitive standardization of the Galician language, and the broadening of its public and literary use have remained linked to the evolution of the Galician national movement, and have determined the shaping of a linguistically-based political culture that continues to be a distinctive feature of Galician nationalism in the twenty-first century" (Seixas and Iglesias Amorín 2020: 178)

Nationalist objectives were thus put in the hands of intellectuals and writers who paved the way for movement: *Xeración Nós* (1920-36) (Figueroa 2011: 47). Their project would promote

Galicia as a nation in a colorful cultural way and not so much with an evident political lure. As noted by history professor Lourenzo Fernández Preito, "The minimal political influence of the turn-of-the-century *rexionalista* movement contrasts strongly with the great cultural influence of *galeguismo,* connected with the recuperation and recasting of culture, music, and popular (rural) dance as specifically Galician" (Fernández Preito 2011: 37). Therefore, the nationalist movement, or initial *galeguismo*, emphasized more of a cultural approach while hiding political motives, in order to carry out their ideologies.

The nationalist movement thus gained momentum through the following: the establishment of intellectual collectives called *Irmandades da Fala* (Brotherhoods of the Language) from 1916 to 1919, the *Asamblea Nacional* in 1918, the publication of *Teoría do nacionalismo galego* by Vincente Risco 1920, and the foundation of the cultural magazine composed of nationalist sentiment called *Nós* in 1920 (ibid). Groups called *Irmandiños* were responsible for both cultural and political activities, such as lectures, courses in Galician language and literature, literary gatherings, choral societies, theatrical performances in the Galician language, folklore festivals and excursions to countryside searching for authentic roots (Seixas and Iglesias Amorín 2020: 175). The objectives of these fundamental features would lead Galician nationalism to become manifested in "a revival of its traditional culture and of Galician as a literary language, and claims that its Celtic origins distinguished Galicians from the other peoples of Spain" (Inman Fox 1999: 22), while "Galician identity…was repeatedly but contingently reproduced through… long-standing ties to Portugal, idealized images of its landscapes and depictions of Spain as its implacably hostile Other" (Warf and Ferrás 2015: 1). Thus, esteemed poets, politicians and writers would shape a Galician national identity during the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

2.3.1. *Rexurdimento* and cultural identity

Referring once again to Benedict Anderson, a key element in nationalist movements was language and its ability to unite individuals through common communication. Similar to Spain, Galicia's rising nationalism at the end of the nineteenth century was mobilized through print capitalism. Written works of journals, literature, poetry, and song began to give a voice to the nation, illustrating themes that would in turn characterize a national people in the cultural and literary revival known as the *Rexurdimento* (Resurgence), "a literary and intellectual movement of the nineteenth century, which discovered Galicia for Galicians through its poetry and the exaltation

of the landscape, its people, and its history" (Calvo-Sotelo 2013: 54). Ideals, language and symbols thus became more permanent in print by leading intellectuals.

The *Rexurdimento* was the platform for nationalistic sentiment expressed through tradition, literature and Celticity, elements which would become significantly intertwined in their establishing, promoting and maintaining of a cultural identity. The eloquent combining of cultural components and traditional symbols were popularized by prominent leaders. The movement also restored the Galician language and its stolen status as an intellectual form of expression. Galician language and culture were thus strengthening a Galician identity:

> "The success of the Rexurdimento in the 1860s and 1870s, especially in the fields of Galician-language poetry and of historical, linguistic, and ethnographic scholarship, created a solid basis for the expression of modern Galician culture and identity. It gave rise to the institutionalized narrative that remains dominant today, in which Galicia's ideological development from provincialism to regionalism to nationalism is paralleled by the progressive reclamation of the Galician language, from a peasant vernacular to an elite literary form" (Hooper and Moruxa 2011: 7).

Although ironically the movement was stimulated by elite intellectuals who most commonly were Castilian speakers (Roseman 1995: 5), their written work in Galician, and also Castilian, managed not only to defend and elevate the status of the Galician language but also to reveal a national inner self for Galicians, expressed through interconnecting identifying symbols such as music, language, landscapes, rurality and Celticity. One of the most essential texts of the *Rexurdimento* in which the overlapping of identity markers can be witnessed was *A gaita gallega* [*The Galician bagpipe*] by Manuel Pintos (1853). Considered as the first book of contemporary Galician literature (Sanmartin & Trabazo 2010: 74), its popularity famed not only the *gaita,* but also Galician language and rurality as Galician identifiers. Noted in María Reimóndez's article regarding rural and urban Galician culture, she mentions:

> "In the foundational text *A gaita galega* (The Galician Bagpipe) (1853), the nineteenth-century writer and lexicographer Manuel Pintos (1811–76) used the symbol of the Galician bagpipe to narrate the Galician nation. Pintos's was a hybrid text combining prose and poetry in order to recreate the life and customs of Galician rural types. Galician music was seen as a fundamental part of the national folklore, a trend that was already criticized at the beginning of the twentieth century" (Reimóndez 2014: 163).

The objective of this work was in essence a way to defend Galician culture, customs and more precisely language, considering that the complete title of the book translates as: "The Galician

bagpipe played by the bagpiper, or Letter of *Cristus* to learn to read, write and speak the Galician language well and even more." It is a dialogue between a *gaiteiro* [bagpiper] teaching a *tamborileiro* [drummer] the importance of defending the use of the Galician as a legitimate language in any context. Hence, his work symbolizes a certain urgency for Galician language use, Galician music portrayed through the *gaita* and *tamboril*, and the rural context in which this music was played— all of which illustrate an idealized Galician lifestyle. Correspondingly, the three main identity markers of language, music and rurality overlapped in their portrayal of Galician identity. The book's popularity created a collective memory for what it meant to be Galician.

The *gaita* and rurality also became intertwined identity markers with the birth of the first *coro galego* [Galician choir], *Aires da terra* in 1883. Under the direction of Perfecto Feijoo, the choirs were intended to represent a dignified rural Galicia and Galician song for a more urban audience (Alén 2009: 63). The stage and performance were designed to "*reproducir a romería e a festa galega de forma natural*" [reproduce a rural Galician gathering and party in a natural way] (ibid: 64), where individuals sang in "traditional" attire accompanied by a *gaita* and a *tamborileiro*. More *coros* would eventually sprout up throughout the region, accompanied by *cancioneiros* that would establish an essence of the Galician song— *foliadas, alalás, muiñeiras.* They would not only be beneficial for the Galician cultural corpus, but function to conserve and promote Galician identity, through their lyrical interpretations as well as staged performances (Costa Vázquez 2019: 33-34). Considering that the *coros* were associated with and supported by the *Irmandades*, this establishing of national identity was not void of political intention. They played an essential role within the nationalist agenda in the documenting, arranging, aestheticizing and displaying a Galician identity for Galicians through rural representations and musicality. In the words of Inmaculada López Silva:

> "*Sexa como for, en todos os coros existiu un vínculo indisociábel coas vicisitudes políticas e etnoestéticas polas que, ao longo deses anos, foi pasando a conformación do nacionalismo en Galicia, fortemente relacionado coa recuperación das manifestacións populares das artes escénicas (música, danza e teatro) en canto piar da identidade galega*" (Silva 2019: 14).
>
> ["In any case, in all choirs there was an inseparable link with political and ethno aesthetic vicissitudes that, over the years, passed the conformation of nationalism in Galicia, strongly related to the recovery of popular manifestations of scenic arts (music, dance and theater) as a pillar of Galician identity"] (López Silva 2019: 14).

Another prominent voice in the *Rexurdimento* of the late nineteenth century was Rosalía de Castro, the poet who cried, "*Pobre Galiza, não deves chamar-te nunca espanhola*". She also revived a love of the land, landscapes, nature, and cultural symbols, poetically illustrating Galicia with humility, as a way to set it apart from the Spanish opposition. Becoming one of the leading voices in the linguistic revitalization, she breathed new life into the Galician language through her works, "forg[ing] the association between national consciousness and rural landscape" (Reimóndez 2014: 161). Many of these themes can be witnessed in her work "*Cantares Galegos*" composed with cultural symbols, glorifying Galician rurality as well as music. Musical instruments such as *castanhetas, conchinhas, pandeiras, tambor* (De Castro 2011 : 84), and naturally, the *gaita* represented the musicality of the Galician lifestyle. One of her poems, *A gaita gallega* is entirely dedicated to the bagpipe, as a joyous yet melancholic sound embedded in the Galician spirit. She too aesthetically intertwined language, music and rurality as the backbone of the Galician identity.

Her husband, Manuel Murguía, encouraging and promoting many of her works. He also tied together many components of national identity in his own writings. *Historia de Galicia* (1865) would become another one of his most noteworthy publications. Tracing back to the earlier successes in Galician's past, Murguía shaped Galician identity by highlighting eras such as the medieval Kingdom of Galicia when the *galego-portugués* language was revered with prestige in its literary and musical realization. Not only supporting the nationalist movement, it also further catalyzed the Celtic myth that had been previously planted in Galicia's collective memory with the work of José Verea y Aguiar, who had published his own *Historia de Galicia.* According to professor Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos:

> "The Celtic myth was introduced into Galicia by the historian José Verea y Aguiar in his book *Historia de Galicia* which was published in 1838; in this book he tries to demonstrate that everything Galician is Celtic, from its name to its language and customs, and he makes a comparative study of cultural manifestations of Galicia with those of other Celtic countries, particular Brittany and Ireland. From the date of this book on, the myth of Celtic Galicia is accepted by most Galician intellectuals, and is widespread, so much so that it becomes the main distinguishing factor of Galician identity within the Spanish state" (Toro Santos 1995: 230-31).

Murguía thus initiated the sowing of Celtic seeds in Galician soil whilst weeding out Spanish roots. Just as Aguiar had intended to expose the Galician people to their Celtic lineage based on a myth, Murguía continued to encourage Galician identity to be reunited with its long lost Celtic siblings. In his work, he alludes to the Celtic essence of Galician identity from front to cover, using words such

as *celta, céltica* and *céltico* in over eighty instances. And just as Toro Santos reveals, it seems as if the efforts of Aguiar and Murguía proved successful as the Celtic essence continues to this day.

Celticity eventually would become printed not only in the minds of Galician people but also on their tongues. In other words, it found its way to be sung by Galicians with the composing of the national anthem, *Os Pinos* by Eduardo Pondal. As another main literary figure in the *Rexurdimento*, Pondal's popularity breathed life into the Celtic myth as he lyrically dubbed Galicia the *Nazón de Breogán* in the anthem. Given that Breogán was a mythological Celtic hero, it is assumed that he was chosen as the defender of Galicia with specific intentions. Pondal was noted to have frequented gatherings at what was known as the *Cova Céltica*, a space for intellectuals to discuss and debate nationalistic ideologies. These meetings did not only feed his nationalistic thought but also his literary creativity. Hence Pondal's inspiration for an anthem; an anthem that would tie together elements of the *Rexurdimento*, traditional thought, and Celticity, in hopes of resisting one nation by reviving another.

Identity markers displayed through Celticity and the bagpipe thus began to synchronize within the nationalist agenda. The nationalist associations *As Irmandades da Fala* (Language Brotherhoods) in 1916, reached the masses through their publications in the magazine *Nós* and the newspaper *Nosa Terra*, strictly written in Galician language (Maíz 1996: 47-48), spreading their pride of traditional culture and the urgency for the Galician language, in hopes of constructing their ideal nation. Initially avoiding heavy political themes would allow them to gain the support of diverse social groups (Seixas and Iglesias Amorín 2020: 176-77). In the awakening of traditional practices, the first publication of *Nós* included an article by dedicated member of *As Irmandades* and leading Galician intellectual Vicente Risco, denoting the bagpipe as a fundamental element of the Galician soul when he proclaimed:

> "'*O fundo mesmo de todol-os pensamentos e de todol-os sentimentos da y-alma galega. E como a nota grave, sostida, monótona do ronco, sobre da que se deseñan logo os sinxelos arabescos da gaita*'
> [The base of all the thoughts and feelings of the Galician soul. Like deep, sustained drone of the *ronco* [part of the bagpipe] which underlies the bagpipe's simple arabesques]" (Risco 1920 : 4).

While these literary and political figures were strategically promoting the bagpipe as an embodiment of the Galician spirit, those fronting the magazine, "*Nós* [were also looking] for parallels in other Celtic peoples, [finding] their model, fundamentally, in Ireland" (Toro Santos 1995: 231). The bagpipe was thus promoted as the ultimate cultural symbol by a magazine which at the same time was construing Celtic connections. It is no coincidence that around the same time

Ireland was also constructing their own cultural nationalism through a promotion of Irish language, literature, music, singing and dancing since the formation of the Gaelic League[13] in 1893 (Foley 2001: 45). Here we can see Galician traditional practices of music and language begin to blend with Celticity, popularizing their collective potential as an aide in the forming of a Galician nation and identity.

The following publications in *Nós* continued with symbolic patterns of identity in regards to language, rurality and music, thus locking an ideal image of being Galician into the consciousness of Galicians. Just as we saw with Pinto's picturesque portrayal of the *pais*[14] through *A gaita gallega, Nós* also endorsed rurality as the stage for various components of Galician identity to play. Culture historian Antón Figueroa expresses how the magazine aided in the construction and confirmation of identity by further tying together similar identity markers:

> "The concepts of *pobo* ('people'), *alma* ('soul'), and *terra* ('land') that underpin the *Nós* Generation's vision of Galician identity are closely connected with another fundamental place of the theorized Galician nation: the rural space, embodied in the folklore that is thought to retain the essence of the people's enduring soul. [...] The rural world thus became a source for every kind of story, and these stories fulfilled the political and rhetorical function of legitimizing the nation" (Figueroa 2011: 46–7).

The literary and musical identifiers became interlinked with the works of musical composers of the time, creating musical compositions inspired by esteemed poets such as Rosalía de Castro. There was also the process of establishing the award winning *O Cancioneiro Musical de Galicia* (1911) compiled by Casto Sampedro y Folgar which would only be published in 1942 (Alén 2009: 19) and would pioneer later works of *cancioneiros* such as th *Cancioneiro galego* of Jesús Bal y Gay and Eduardo Martínez Torner published in 1973.

Although the *gaita* was not an "invented tradition", (considering its recorded existence throughout the region during earlier centuries), it was the traditional instrument selected to become part of the Galician identity package and converted into a main symbol during the time, "attract[ing] attention as a specifically Galician instrument" (De Toro 2002: 239-240). It was an optimal choice, considering its distinctness from Spain's national music symbol— the Castilian

[13] Cultural nationalist movement in Ireland.

[14] The Galician word for "country," often used to refer to the legal region of Galicia.

guitar. Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao[15] - politician, writer, artist, and one of the fathers of Galician Nationalism— was noted to have expressed, "*Para a tocar a gaita fan falla máis folgos que para tocala guitarra*' [To play the bagpipe you need great lung power than to play the guitar]" (De Toro 2002: 243). Hence, musical ability is used to symbolize strength over Spain. Another one of his most memorable proclamations was, "*Se aínda somos galegos é por obra e gracia do idioma*" ["If we are still Galicians, it is because of the work and grace of the language"] (Rodríguez Castelao 2012: 75). Therefore, both music and language were revered as recognizable Galician characteristics through his prominent voice. As one of the founders of the *Partido Galeguista* (Galicianist Party) in 1931, member of *Irmandades* and *Xeración Nós*, Castelao was dedicated to reinstilling value in the Galician culture and language. His works as a political figure, author and artist defined Galicia by its language, humble agrarian lifestyle and most importantly, an opposer of the central Spanish state.

By the time of the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931, Galician identity markers had progressively developed due to the cultural and literary influences of the *Rexurdimento.* The left-wing ideologies of the Republic were favorable for the objectives of the nationalist movement, enough so to enable the formation of the *Partido Galeguista* led by Castelao in 1931-1933 and 1936. They succeeded in outlining the first Galician Statute of Autonomy. Among the various articles, the legal document called for an autonomous Galicia within the Spain, declaring both Galician and Castillian official languages. It was approved by popular vote at the end of June 1936, but unfortunately, never put into action due to the start of the civil war just two weeks after it was presented to parliament (O'Rourke 2014: 76).

2.4. Franco, folklorization and reclaiming identity (1930s to present Day)

Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975) took a heavy toll on the progression of Galician nationalist movement, where cultural expressions throughout Spain were appropriated and folklorized, benefiting the "one Spain" project. The end of the regime thus encouraged revival movements involving music, dance and language. I thus intend to observed how Francoism affected these expressions, how they were folklorized and finally how they were reclaimed thru culutral and linguistic revival.

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[15] Castelao was "a parliamentary deputy for the Partido Galeguista, Castelao was President of the Consello de Galicia in exile after the Civil War. He was also a cartoonist for the newspapers *A Nosa Terra, El Pueblo Gallego, and El Sol.* The cartoon cited here is from the 1920 album entitled -like the contemporaneous Galician nationalist cultural magazine- *Nós*" (De Toro 2002:242).

2.4.1. *¡Arriba España!*

From 1931-1936 the governmental rule of the Second Spanish Republic was dedicated to modernizing and democratizing Spain in a political, social and cultural manner (Boyd 1999: 87). This progressive direction of governance granted rewarding advancements for Galicia and their nationalist movement. However, the Republic's center-left intentions were seen as a threat to Spain's nationalist right-wing objectives. It was a time of high-tension dichotomies: "democracy vs. fascism, Christian civilization vs. godless communism, working class vs. rich and the center vs. the periphery" (ibid: 86). Consequently, a successful pursuit to overthrow the Second Republic was carried out in a three year civil war (1936-1939), which then resulted in a dictatorship under general Francisco Franco (1939-1975). It was during this time that Franco attempted to homogenize the diverse cultural characters within the Spanish state. Internally, his project enforced one culture, one religion, one language and one Spain. Externally, flamenco, bullfights, wine, sun and sand became the illusionary image of Spain through international propaganda under the regime (Kumin 1999: 300), popularizing a single identity that reflected mainly an Andalusian south. In the words of Beatriz Miramontes, it was projected that

> "*La Nueva España debería ser una, sin división por lo que todo pasado estatutario quedó en el olvido. Debía ser católica, por lo que el poder de la Iglesia se restituyó y fue en aumento hasta alcanzar su cenit en la fase nacional-catolicista de los años cincuenta. Debía "ser" castellana y por lo tanto su lengua debía ser igualmente castellana, por lo que los idiomas y lenguas diferenciales que coexistían dentro del territorio nacional fueron perseguidas, muy especialmente en la escritura pero también en su práctica oral*" (Miramontes 2016: 133).
>
> ["The new Spain should be one, without division, so all the statutory past was forgotten. It had to be Catholic, so the power of the Church was restored and increased until it reached its zenith in the national-Catholic phase of the fifties. It had to be "Spanish" and therefore its language had to be equally Spanish, so that the languages that coexisted within the national territory were persecuted, most specifically in writing but also in their oral practice"] (Miramontes 2016: 133).

Hence, Franco's project of cultural, religious and linguistic homogenization. In order to instill these totalitarian, Catholic and elite values, Franco put in place the organization *FET y de las JONS* (Traditionalist Spanish Falange and Juntas of the National-Syndicalist Offensive), which forcefully indoctrinated the masses through an education based on the restoration of "traditionally 'Spanish' values, social hierarchies, gender roles, cultural norms" (Boyd 1999: 98). Its women's branch, *La Sección Femenina*, educated women in a very conservative and religious manner, where

married women were limited to the role of homemaker, being lawfully unable to join the labor force.

Both internal and external projections of Spain's artificial unity left the status of Galicia's national identity once again threatened. The momentum of Galicia's cultural and linguistic revival during the *Rexurdimento* came to a sudden halt, and the Galician language was officially prohibited in written and oral communication. Propaganda (figure 2.1) circulated with messages criticizing any other language other than Castilian. Accordingly, Galician was dismissed as an official language, losing its status and validity in the administrative and intellectual realm. It was mocked as a "barbaric" and uneducated form of communication.


HABLE BIEN

Sea Patriota - No sea bárbaro

Es de cumplido caballero, que Vd. hable nuestro idioma oficial o sea el castellano. Es ser patriota.

VIVA ESPAÑA Y LA DISCIPLINA Y NUESTRO IDIOMA CERVANTINO

¡¡ARRIBA ESPAÑA!!

Figure 2.1 Personal translation, "SPEAK WELL. Be patriotic—Don't be barbaric. It is a formal gentleman who speaks our official language, Castilian. It is what makes a patriot. Long live Spain and discipline and our Cervantine language. Long live Spain!!!"(Personal translation https://twitter.com/resistenciagz/status/586295931567505408?lang=ca).

Needless to say, many revered intellectuals who formed part of the *Rexurdimento* and promoted Galician nationalism lost their political voice, and were either imprisoned, exiled or assassinated. Castelao, for example, was exiled to Buenos Aires due to his affiliation with the *Partido Galeguista*. It was there where he would continue his literary, political and artistic endeavours, including his development of his revered book *Sempre en Galiza* (1944), which attempted to maintain the hope in the Galician nationalist movement. Newspapers and magazines that were once a resource for spreading ideologies to reach and unify the masses were silenced. It was not until 1950 that the silence was broken with the founding of a Galician nationalist magazine called *Galaxia* (Martínez Tejero 2012: 241). With the objective of unifying *galeguismo* throughout the *país,* its publications and strategies are considered to be a key element in the reconstruction of post-war Galicia and responsible for promoting national writers during the time (ibid: 249).

Although the legacy of the Galician language entered into turbulent times due to the linguistic negligence of the dictatorship, it nonetheless maintained its vitality while still being employed within more "humble" social communities. According to writer and journalist Xavier Costa Clavell:

> "*El gallego fue conservado por las clases humildes. Campesinos, pescadores y artesanos fueron quienes siguieron hablando en gallego cuando la burguesía y la aristocracia, junto*

con la Iglesia y los poderes oficiales, desertaron en Galicia de la lengua autóctona" (Costa Clavell, 1977: 270-271).

["Galician was preserved by the humble classes. Peasants, fishermen and artisans were the ones who continued to speak Galician when the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, together with the Church and the official powers, deserted the native language in Galicia"] (Costa Clavell, 1977: 270-271).

2.4.2. Folklorization of music and language

Just as Spain's previous dictator Primo de Rivera (1923-30) claimed, "Spain is diverse and plural, but her diverse peoples, with their languages, customs and characteristics, are irrevocably bound in a unity of destiny on a universal plane" (Primo de Rivera 1941: 104), Franco navigated his objectives through a similar message. Masking his homogenizing intentions with a façade of manipulated regional representation, he turned the concept of diverse regions into, "an aesthetic and emotional element…[where] [r]egional differences were folklorized" (Ortiz 1999: 488). As noted by Salwa Castelo-Branco and Jorge Freitas Branco:

"*O folclorismo assenta num paradoxo: a essência ruralista do seu conteúdo cria-se, institucionaliza-se e reproduz-se a partir dum quadro urbano. Foi referida a difusão de arranjos de música de origem rural e de indumentária camponesa em meios aristocráticos e burgueses*" (Castelo-Branco & Freitas Branco 2003: 5)

[Folklorism is based on a paradox: the ruralist essence of its content is created, institutionalized and reproduced from an urban framework. It was referred to the diffusion of arrangements of music of rural origin and peasant clothing for aristocratic and bourgeois means.] (Personal translation).

Thus, the regime under Franco adopted and appropriated diverse elements of regional practices all in the name of "national unity," and by doing so could confront and control the representation of Spain's regional distinctions. The use of folklorization to represent the people in a cultural and emotional way was both a political and social tactic. Politically, it was an illusionary concealing of oppressive extremist ploys; socially, it was a powerful tool to indoctrinate those within Spain's boundaries. These objectives were carried out by romanticizing, idealizing, aestheticizing the ways of "the people"— "their language, architecture, music and rituals" (Ortiz 1999: 480-81) through propaganda mediums. Thus, "traditional" music and dance expression was robbed of its original nature and molded into a service for the dictatorship, which was displayed through staged

performances and TV programs. The bagpipe was exploited to accompany the agenda of Franco, draped in red and yellow emblems of the Spanish flag and made into a folkloric symbol (De Toro 2002: 243). Language was treated in a similar manner. Although Castilian was the language of law, rule, religiosity and elitism, Galician continued to be moderately employed by those in power. While its public use was officially forbidden, it was still taken advantage of to create an illusionary pleasant peasantry rural reality through audio-visual propaganda.

Much of what was presented and aestheticized about Galicia was done through *Noticiaro y Documentales* (*NO-DO*), a public propagandist TV program that served the political agenda of Franco's regime for over forty years. In essence, it captured images of Spain and "its people" which seemed "to be frozen in a harmonious, happy, primitive, homogeneous time," (Miramontes 2016: 10). Galicia was thus publicaly presented as a "reserve of the primitive, Catholic and humble morality of the rural people and, [in] the sixties... at the dawn of the tourism development policy… [shown as a place for] good eating, good drinking, beautiful landscapes ... and endearing people" (ibid: 185; personal translation). Everyday rural life was scripted and essentialized, folklorizing an image of Galician identity shaped by the dictatorship. Social anthropologist Beatriz Busto Miramontes notes:

> "*Y allí estaba NO-DO: producción, rodaje, montaje, locuciones, y difusión. Música tradicional extraída del pueblo, convertida en un producto cultural, que volvía a la masa popular en su versión más folclorizada a través de las imágenes del noticiario*"(ibid: 137).
>
> ["And there was NO-DO: production, filming, editing, voice-overs, and broadcast. Traditional music extracted from the town, turned into a cultural product, which returned to the popular mass in its most folkloric version through the images of the newscast" (ibid: 137).]

In this way, the dictatorship had control over how "traditional" music of rural Galicia was perceived. The crafters of *NO-DO* would visit communities, setting up and directing everyday life of the inhabitants in a way to appear the most "rustic" and "primitive." These apparently "natural" environments were thus captured on film, edited by regime influenced directors and then dispersed as a seemingly genuine and peaceful image of Galician lifestyle, all in honor of *La Pátria Española.*

NO-DO filmed and projected simulations of music and dance expressive practices in rural spaces as well as on theatrical stages. The rural spaces were often a stage for an essentialized portrayal of *romerías*, or gatherings involving the joyful sharing of food, wine, music and dance, where participants were clothed in uniformed "traditional" attire. The theater stage offered similar

but more explicitly orchestrated performances, where "traditionally" dressed men and women danced to the accompaniment of a *gaita*, *tamboril* and *bombo*. Although apparently joyous and peaceful representations, these intentionally constructed performances were a distraction from dictatorial realities of the time.

Much of the performative choreography was put in the hands of *Coros y Danzas de la Sección Femenina* within Franco's dictatorship. They had the duty of documenting and spreading traditional songs and dance through performances and competitions. Although their intentions appeared to give new life to "endangered" and "disappearing" traditions, they simultaneously served Franco's political agenda, promoting "moral, religious, political, social and gender" indoctrination (Miramontes 2012: 6). Documentations were later manipulated in order to educate and circulate a Franco influenced version of Galician "folklore." *Concursos folclóricos* (folkloric competitions) hid behind the false objective of documenting and "cultivating" of "authentic" song and dance in order to save it from the negative modern influences (Criado 2017: 193). In reality, their performances were nothing more than "reinvented traditions," deceptively and symbolically establishing the ideals of the dictatorship. According to historian Ana Asunción-Criado:

> §"*En muchos casos la recopilación fue selectiva y desvirtuada de su contexto para ponerse en práctica sobre un escenario completamente diferente al ámbito donde tenían lugar estas danzas, como pudieran ser las fiestas de las localidades, romerías o procesiones*" (Asunción-Criado 2017: 194).
>
> ["In many cases the compilation was selective and distorted from its context in order to be put into practice on a stage completely different from the environment where these dances took place, such as local festivals, pilgrimages or processions" (Asunción-Criado 2017: 194).]

Widely dispersed image of "authentic" Galician music and dance became a mere reconstruction loosely based on its original expression, heavily infused with indoctrination of gender roles. The *gaita*, *tamboril* and *bombo* were only played by men. Women were to play the *pandeireta* [tambourine] or *cunchas* [scallop shells], always in an accompanying manner (Miramontes 2012: 8). In dance, men were taught to display a strong and confident character, jumping vigorously and extending their arms high above their heads. Women were encouraged to embody a more submissive, delicate, sweet and maternal appearance, with arms extended more out front and feet with limited movement, close to the ground (ibid: 10). These displays held the objective of maintaining a Spanish identity of morality and "tradition". It was, however, far from a genuine depiction of musical and dance expression of the rural communities.

NO-DO also had its hand in the representation of the Galician language. While the Galician language was prohibited in its official administrative and literary use, it was concurrently being taken advantage of within these documentary-like illustrations of a "humble" Galicia. Although the continuous narration of *NO-DO* was in Castilian, Galician was expressed "naturally" throughout the episodes concerning Galicia. Scenes of cheerful *feiras* [markets], picnics with *pulpo* [octopus], men singing in *tabernas* [taverns], *cuncas de Ribeiro* [Ribeiro wine] and the working *mariñeiros* [fisherman]— which all had voice-overs of "typical" and deliberately chosen Galician expressions related to the social experience. The intention of doing so are expressed by Miramontes in her following analysis:

> "*El gallego es utilizado, en primer lugar porque incrementa aun más los proceso de esencialismo, primitivismo y aldeanismo y, por otra parte, y vinculado con el anterior, a través de uso en NO-DO se le arrebata cualquier significado simbólico de identidad, de resistencia, de pensamiento independiente a través del idioma, de subalternidad, para convertirlo en un producto folclorizado más, al nivel de los bueyes, las vacas, los cruceiros, los artesanos de zuecos, las vendedoras de leche, el vino y 'las cuncas del Ribero' y la clásica empanada*" (Miramontes 2016: 154)

> ["Galician language is used first of all because it further increases the processes of essentialism, primitivism and villageism. On the other hand, and linked to the previous one, NO-DO used it in order to snatch it from any symbolic meaning of identity, of resistance, of independent thinking through language, of subalternity, in order to turn it into a more folklorized product, at the level of oxen, cows, cruceiros, clog artisans, milk sellers, wine and 'cups of Ribero' and the classic empanada" (Miramontes 2016: 154).]

Therefore, the essence of language was stolen from its previous political stage and reduced to mere cultural symbol alongside the others mentioned above. It was captured and presented in a museum-like state, artificially reproduced within audio-visual representation, appearing falsely as a respected element within the entire Spanish identity. Meanwhile, it remained prohibited and devalued in its natural oral and written form. In the end, the folklorization of culture was a vehicle to portray an aesthetically stable, diverse and proud Spanish state, masking the dark realities of its oppression. The value and power that music, dance and language had as identity markers prior to the dictatorship were consequently overruled and distorted into an imaginary idealization projected through the eyes of Franco. Galician identity thus was in a fragile state and needing to be redeemed.

2.4.3. Reclaiming Galician identity: *recollidas* and linguistic normalization

The propaganda ploys of the dictatorship left Galician identity in a complicated state, where "traditional" music, dance and language had suffered manipulation and exploitation. However, with the death of Franco in 1975 followed by Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy, came a reclaiming of Galician identity, officially carried out through laws recognizing cultural and linguistic diversity throughout Spain. Autonomous communities were granted the right of self-governance under the Spanish constitution, where the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia was approved in 1981. This legal document declared Galicia as a "historical nationality" with its own identity, flag, anthem and language. Galician nationalists thus set out to reclaim parts of their identity that had either been hushed or appropriated by Franco's agenda. As for music and dance, this was carried out by musicians and artists alike; for Galician language use, by the establishment of new Galician language policies.

While Franco's regime weakened the "traditional" Galician music and dance scene, so too did mass mobilization from the rural to the urban communities also had their affect. Abandoning rurality also meant abandonment of other rural lifestyle practices, hence a decline in "traditional" musical expression (Colmeiro 2014: 96). However, with the fall of the dictatorship following Franco's death in 1975 , music artists became dedicated to restoring or reinventing Galician music through a cleansing of Spanish influences. In the words of José Colmeiro, "This revival – influenced on the ideological plane by political leftist-nationalist activism – was characterized on the musical plane by the recovery of traditional musical styles, as well as by the incorporation of new instruments and dialogue across cultures" (Colmeiro 2014: 94). In the end, it was achieved not only through musicians' restoration of old instruments and the adopting of others, but also through more vigorous documentation of rural musical and dance expression — *recollidas* — and the inauguration of "traditional" music and dance schools throughout the region. As a result of these undertakings, more Galicians became aware of and active in these socially identifying practices.

Music was once again being restored as a voice for a modern Galician identity, influenced by dichotomous expressions of old and new, urban and rural, and local and global (ibid). In turn, the blending of these opposing forms found harmony in their efforts illustrated by the consequential Galician music "boom," where music therefore had a powerful hand in the reclaiming of Galician identity from schematic manipulation of the Spanish state. In the words of literature and cultural studies professor José Colmeiro:

> "Galician folk music has also been an effective instrument to correct the country's peripheral condition, contesting its historically subordinate position within the Spanish state. Music also acts as a voice for issues that have been integral to Galician history and society such as the effects of migration, the abandonment of rural life, the subaltern marginal position of Galicia vis-à-vis the Spanish nation-state, the recovery of its heritage and cultural roots and the self-affirmation and construction of Galician identity in dialogue with a global audience" (Colmeiro 2013: 113).

Hence, social issues became themes within musical expression and pillars of the Galician identity. Groups such as Fuxan os Ventos, who began as a cultural resistance during the final years of the dictatorship, would not only become essential representatives of "traditional" Galician music, but also spread political messages critiquing cultural and political concerns— the forced mass migration of Galicians, the shift of rural communities to urban, the neglect of the Galician language and the lack of national recognition for Galicia (Colmeiro 2014: 101). They brought rural expression to an urban stage with their lyrical interpretations of traditional songs and melodic arrangements of Galician poetry. Often with minimal instrumental accompaniment, they intended to represent a humble, rural Galician character and lifestyle. Over their trajectory, they incorporated the most prominent "traditional" Galician instruments— the *gaita* (bagpipe) and the *pandeireta* (tambourine) as well as the hurdy-gurdy, bouzouki, guitar, violin and mandolin. Their recorded works successfully reached the homes of many Galician families, further instilling an image of a collective Galician identity.

The recuperation of the *gaita* played an essential role during this revival. While its presence was as a strong Galician identifier during the *Rexurdimento*, it did pass through difficult times during the dictatorship, having been forcefully adopted into part of Francoist culture. Leading literary figure and prominent voice in the revival of the nationalist movement, Manuel María, advised:

> "*Nestes intres que vivimos, nos que Galica está a loitar pra tirar co xugo dun colonialismo imposto, compre recuperar, dun xeito total, a gaita, o noso instrumento musical nacional*"
>
> [At this moment in time, as Galicia struggles to set itself free from the yoke of imposed colonialism, it is necessary for us fully to reclaim the bagpipe, our national musical instrument] (Manuel María in Foxo 1982: 6)" (Toro 2002: 237).

And thus emerged the revival of the *gaita*, stripping it of its folkloric associations and replacing them with "traditional" ones, to remember it once again as the embodiment of the Galician soul. Consequently, the *gaita* gained popularity and, "a position of dominance in Galician music, becoming a battleground for competing definitions of tradition and identity," (de Toro 2002:

238). It did help that Galicia's music revival and the resurrection of the *gaita* paralleled a new "boom" of Celtic music as well. While the Celtic essence was attached to the instrument, a Galician identity separate from a Spanish one was more easily to be constructed, or reconstructed. With musicians' ever rising global successes, the *gaita* would become even more prominent in Galician music in the 1990s (De Toro 2002: 237), allowing it to continually embody a strong sense of character today. Consecutive collaborations with other "Celtic" nations would give Galician musicall identity in stage in festivals such as the *Festival Internacional do Mundo Celta de Ortigueira* and *InterCeltic Festival of Morrazo* in Galicia, *Festival Interceltique de Lorient* in Brittany, and Celtic Connections in Scotland.

Off the commercialized stage, both Galician music and dance expression also became more revered in their value as cultural heritage and "living" practices. Those interested in the conservation of remaining rural music and dance expression began eagerly documenting practices through projects commonly known as *recollidas.* The foundational *Cancioneiro Popular Galego* (1984) is one example of the ample and respected work dedicated to documenting musical expression in Galicia. From 1978-1983, Swiss musicologist Dorothé Schubarth and Galician linguistic professor Antón Santamarina worked vigorously to document fading oral traditions in print in order to bring to the light *coplas* (songs), melodies and stories of rural communities for the rest of Galicia. The publishing of these works would not only share the voices of rural Galicia but also become a widely distributed reference for an "authentic" Galician identity. The identifying factors laced in these songs would begin to be further affirmed for rural communities as well as adopted by urban communities. Other individuals also began carrying out their own fieldwork, documenting both song and dance. Just as seen with the recording of *coplas* (songs), a thirsty desire to "save" and spread dance expression before it died out with the remaining rural generations swept over the Galician territory. On the *Xunta de Galicia* government website, a brief historical recount regarding the status of Galician "traditional" dance post-dictatorship is addressed:

> "1975-2010. With the end of the dictatorship and the beginning of the transition, linked to the birth of autonomies in the State structure designed by the 1978 Constitution, there is the birth and proliferation of folk groups that, although they came from the bases that had been imposed by the organized groups of the dictatorship, evolve towards a diffusion and practice more linked to the collection and study of old traditions, with the aim of dignifying and disseminating traditional culture. The groups are complemented by the amateur and scientific work of the collectors, people who, in contact with the people of towns and villages, document the dances that the older population danced or remembered" (https://

www.xunta.gal/dog/Publicados/2018/20180426/AnuncioG0164-160418-0002_es.html) (Personal translation).

Thus dance also became a focal point in the *recollida* process at the fall of the dictatorship. Dedicated individuals would journey from village to village, building rapport with locals in order to encourage an open exchange of dance expressions to document. These documentations, alongside those of *coplas* and instrumentation, became essential material, forming part of the corpus needed for their diffusion.

With the publishing of *Cancioneiros* and other musical and dance documentations came the need to disperse these identifying practices. Thus began the opening of various "Traditional" music and dance schools. However, before copious documentation and publications, the *Escola de gaitas de Ortiguiera*, had already opened its doors in October of 1975, one month before the fall of the dictatorship. This *Escola* would eventually be responsible for organizing the large *Festival Internacional do Mundo Celta de Ortigueira* (1978). Their project would encourage other schools to pop up throughout the territory, in urban and rural areas alike. As the capital, Santiago de Compostela would become home to many flourishing "traditional" music and dance schools. Many of the educators within these schools also would take part in *recollidas*, establishing relationships with rural communities to thus document practices and later share them with the interested urban communities. This process continues until this day.

In essence, the music and dance boom that was brought about by the reviving of old instruments, the implementation of Celtic instruments, a dedication to documentation and the opening of schools was fundamental in reviving not only music and dance but also the Galician identity which they embodied. These expressive practices further acted as a vindication for Galicians during the process of reclaiming what had been devalued and stolen from them. Referencing again the eloquent Colmeiro:

> "Rather than emphasizing the undeniable commercial dimension of this phenomenon, however, it would be more appropriate to highlight how the redefinition and recognition of Galicia's folk music over the past decades has gone hand in hand with the process of cultural redefinition of Galician identity. Galician folk music has certainly played a key role in the process of Galician collective affirmation, showing that popular music can be an important instrument for constructing cultural identity." (Colmeiro 2014: 113).

Linguistic Normalization

The resurgence of the Galician language was pursued officially through the following measures: the declarations of the new Statute, the process of linguistic standardization and laws of linguistic normalization. Within the eight articles of the Statute, article five declared the following:

> "The native language of Galicia is Galician.
> 1. Galician and Spanish languages are both official in Galicia and everyone has the right to know and use them.
> 2. Galician public authorities will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages and they will promote the use of Galician language in all facets of public, cultural and informative life. They will also have at their disposal the means needed to make its knowledge easy.
> 3. Nobody will be discriminated on account of language" (https://www.xunta.gal/estatuto/titulo-preliminar).

In declaring both Galician and Spanish as official languages of Galicia, where Galician was to be accepted in all areas of social life, free of discrimination, it was necessary to thus establish a standard for the Galician language. Considering that Galician had been primarily an oral form of communication from the Middle Ages up until the mid-nineteenth century (Ramallo and Rei-Doval 2015:61), establishing a standard was necessary for a more modern and consistent continuation for the language. The *Instituto da lingua galega* (ILG*)*, formed out of the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela in 1971, played a big part in contributing to the process of linguistic standardization, where language planners became dedicated to forming a more official written language. However, how to go about this linguistic standardization was not without complication. Deciding on Galician orthography struck a debate between codifying the language with Castilian influences known as the autonomous model, or Portuguese influences, known as the *reintegracionista* model. On one hand, there was the RAG (*Real Academia Galega*) supporting Castilian influenced orthography, and on the other hand AGAL (*Associaçom galega de língua*) who supported Portuguese orthography.

In the end, autonomous model was adopted in 1982, or in other words, Galician with Castilian influenced orthography. This would become the model for governmental administration and public education. The *reintegracionista* form would continue on, but in a limited manner, and far from the administrative sector. The conflict between sympathizers of the autonomous standardization (*autonomistas*) and the sympathizers of the *reintegracionista* model (*lusistas*) carries on today, where "*Autonomistas* often accuse *lusistas* of wanting to dissolve Galizan into

Portuguese, while the *lusistas* blame *autonomistas* for allowing Galizan to become a dialect of Spanish" (Thompson 2011: 153). In spite of this continuing conflict, the Galician language found a new voice once again, becoming recognized as an official language. The main trouble was (and continues to be) what kind of Galician is being taught and with what motives.

The *Lei de normalización lingüística* [Law of Linguistic Normalization] was later passed in 1983, "to recover [Galician in] all the uses ordinarily attributed to national language (i.e., mass media, administrative, commercial, educative) (Roseman 1995: 4). In other words, Galician could be perceived as "normal" in diverse settings. The law was divided into six sections: "linguistic rights in Galicia, official use of Galician, the use of Galician in education, the use of Galician in the media, Galician abroad, the autonomic administration and the normalizing function." Its outlined articles sought to protect the right to Galician language use within the territory, while further stressing the responsibility of public authorities to encourage and endorse the use of the language among citizens (Lluch and Kabatek 2006: 68). The general objectives of the plan declare to do the following:

> "• Guarantee the possibility of living in Galician for those who desire to, knowing that they are protected by law and institution.
> • Achieve more social functions for the Galician language and more spaces for use, prioritizing its presence in strategic sectors.
> • Introduce the positive benefit of customer service in Galician as a courtesy rule amongst a new spirit of linguistic coexistence.
> • To promote an affable, modern and useful vision of the Galician language, free from prejudices, in order to strengthen its esteem and
> increase its demand.
> • Provide Galician with linguistic and technical resources
> necessary to enable it to convey modern life"(https://www.lingua.gal/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=1647062&name=DLFE-8928.pdf [pg. 39] (Personal Translation).

Initially these objectives were carried out through the establishment of linguistic rights and the encouragement of Galician within new technologies and Corpus implementation. The law thus sparked other actions toward normalizing the language: language courses, obligatory use of Galician language in the teaching of select school subjects, the use of Galician in local Administration, and public radio and television explicitly in Galician. Linguistic normalization campaigns were directed by the *Associaçom Galega da Língua, A Mesa pola normalización lingüística*, and *Nova escola galega.* Although with differing objectives, they shared the principal motive of encouraging normalcy in Galician language use.

The *Associaçom Galega da Língua (AGAL)* [Galician language association] founded in 1981, "*é umha associaçom sem fins lucrativos, legalmente constituída em 1981, que visa a plena normalizaçom do Galego-Português da Galiza e a sua reintegraçom no ámbito lingüístico a que historicamente pertence: o galego-luso-brasileiro* [is a non-profit association, legally established in 1981, which aims at the full normalization of Galician-Portuguese in Galicia and its reintegration in the linguistic sphere to which it historically belongs: Galician-Portuguese-Brazilian.]" (https://a.gal/a-agal/). It maintains the objective of establishing Galician-Lusophone connections in order to shed light on the value of Galician. While Portuguese is spoken worldwide, this approach attempts to encourage the perception of Galician as a useful language, considering it a variant of Portuguese, similar to the other lusophone variants outside of Portugal. Therefore, learning Galician can open the door to wider cross global and cultural communication with lusophone nations. *AGAL* employs orthography *reintegrata* orthography, and supports the idea of *binormativismo*- the legal coexistence and teaching of the orthographic *reintegrata* form alongside the current Galician standard.

The *Mesa pola Normalización Lingüística* took shape in 1987. Their campaign strived to live out their statement of purpose as, "*unha plataforma independente, plural e apartidaria que ten como único obxectivo a promoción do uso do galego en todos os ámbitos da vida social propios de calquera idioma*" [an independent, plural and non-partisan platform whose sole objective is to promote the use of Galician in all areas of social life in any language] (A mesa). It consists of representatives promoting the language in various sectors: *Mocidade pola Normalización Lingüística* [Youth for Linguistic Normalization], *Nais e Pais polo Ensino en Galego* [Mothers and Fathers for Teaching in Galician], *Observatorio de Dereitos Lingüísticos* [Observatory of Linguistic Rights], *GaliLusofonia* to manage and establish Portuguese-Galician language connections, and *Asociación Punto Gal* [.gal association] to establish a Galician internet domain. *A Mesa* thus began and continues to carry out campaigns promoting Galician in audio-visual media, government, in the work space and in education.

The *Nova Escola Galega* (Galician New School) founded in 1983, is an association with the main purpose of normalizing Galician primarily in the educational sector, through pedagogical renovation. Critiquing the lack of cultural and linguistic knowledge among Galicians, their campaign carried out their normalization intentions through teacher conferences in order to establish their pedagogical roles in the use of the Galician language

Following these normalization efforts, the *Lei de Función Pública de Galicia* was passed in 1988, (and later modified in 2008) seeking to make Galician a compulsory requirement in the

public sector and employment, as well as official administrative documents to be printed in both Spanish and Galician. Another official measure was observed through the *Plan Xeral de Normalización Lingüística*, implemented in 2004. It had the intention of enhancing the original objectives of the *Lei de normalización lingüística de Galicia* of 1983, in "focusing on administration, education, family and youth, economy, health, society and use of language outside Galician community" (O'Rourke 2014).

Although standardization and normalization methods have breathed new life into the Galician language once again, they have equally birthed a quandary among new speakers vs. old speakers and rural vs. "book Galician." It is common that old speakers and new speakers alike often view the standardized "book Galician" as somewhat artificial and forced, and the vernacular codes among rural communities as somewhat more "authentic." Therefore, the objective of maintaining a future for Galician through standardization is confronted with the reverence for "authentic" speech among speakers of diverse vernacular codes within rural Galicia. In the words of sociolinguist Bernadette O'Rourke:

> "The salvaging leanings in revitalisation movements are however at odds with parallel attempts to modernise the language through standardisation processes which attempt to render language a universally accessible competence" (O'Rourke 2015: 65)

In conclusion, Galicia's music, dance and language identity has been shaped over the past centuries, persevering through times of respected status as well as oppression in the shadow of the Spanish state. "Traditional" music and dance practices continue to be shared within the territory through the ever-increasing establishment of "traditional" schools which in turn create spaces for the sharing of identity. Galician language revitalization also continues today, where associations, schools and individuals continue to implement and "normalize" the use of the language in any context. The main issues that the movement continues to face are an inevitable dominance of the Castilian language, the *autonomista* vs. *reintegracionista* debate, as well as questions of linguistic "authenticity." In the end, the Galician identity remains in a complex state for Galicians and non-Galicians alike. Kristy Hooper and Manuel Moruxa eloquently conclude:

> "Galicia's relationship with the rest of the world is complicated: on the one hand, Galicia operates as a full national culture, having its own language, literature, and institutions; on the other, because it remains a part of the Spanish state, its nationhood is disputed and therefore secondary" (Hooper and Moruxa 2011: 3)

Despite this, the vision of nationhood and a national culture continues to be present through identifying expressions of music, dance and language. The roles that these practices play and have played in the imagining of a Galician nation are inevitably intertwined, as they have lived parallel histories and share a stage in the current perception of Galician identity. The following chapters will therefore address the present day continuity of these identity markers and how music and dance contribute to the normalization processes of the Galician language.

3. An introduction to the field

The chapter will introduce the field, providing an overview of practical information regarding my three-month stay in Santiago de Compostela. The first part will briefly introduce the atmosphere while returning to Santiago during the pandemic, with an insight to my daily routine and common interactions. Next, the three music and dance centers attended will be introduced, in which I will explain the reason why I chose them, a bit about their history as well as methods of transmission. Finally, the last section will describe a bit about the interview process and procedure. This information intends to provide fundamental information regarding the observations that took place during my fieldwork, which will be analyzed more in depth in the subsequent chapter.

3.1. *No campo [da cidade pantasma]*- In the [ghost town] field

Upon arriving in Santiago de Compostela, I anticipated that I would not be returning to the same home that I once knew for various reasons. First, I was returning with a research objective, forced to set aside my emotional, subjective and somewhat compulsive position on the advocacy of Galician dance, music and language that I had built up over a five-year period in which I had ventured from *foliada* to *romería* to *festival*, piecing together my own romanticized view of the Galician identity. Now this was being challenged by critical review of relevant academic literature regarding themes of identity, nationalism, folklorization and authenticity— and how both Galician musical and language expression find their place amongst these issues. I came to realize that I had been quite emotionally converted to being "Galician," allured by the compelling cry of the bagpipes, driven to dance at the playing of a tambourine, drawn to the *torreiro*[16], and enticed to speak Galician; thus emerging as a loyal attendee of many "traditional" music and dance gatherings. Not only my object of study, but also my own cultural conversion, was under critical contemplation.

Second of all, I was not returning to the familiar sound environment[17] of bagpipers and tambourine players in the historic center nor guaranteed *foliadas* in the *tabernas* every weekend, but rather a seemingly "ghost town," given the Covid-19 restrictions. When I first arrived, a majority of restaurants, bars and shops were still open, but within the second month, the rapidly changing regulations forced temporary closures throughout the city. People were legally restricted to spend time only with their cohabitants, and a 11pm-6am curfew was put in place. Thus, the usual after

[16] In Galician, the *torreiro* is the physical space where the party takes place.

[17] "Sound environments - composite worlds that are produced, perceived, and listened to either intentionally or coincidentally" (Guillebaud 2017 : 1).

music and dance class social hour and drink was robbed; music and dance gatherings were forbidden; and formal local music groups were forced to accept a hiatus in their performances. Hence, my main object of study was threatened: the *foliada*. Having originally planned to carry out a majority of my observations in the environments of *foliadas*, I was obligated to redirect my focus. I soon realized that the desired information and opinions of regular participants involved in these environments were perhaps even more attainable outside the *foliada.* Consequently*,* the other components of my fieldwork— daily documentations, dance classes and interviews— became center stage.

I was fortunate to be offered accommodation by my friend Suso, who I met in dance classes years prior. Much to my delight, Suso's profile and interests matched up with various themes of my research. Not only identifying with Galician nationalistic and independence ideologies, he also sympathizes with *reintegracionista* ideals. As a middle class occupational therapist in his thirties, he dedicates much of his free time to "traditional" Galician music and dance, as he is a known participant in almost any and every "traditional" music and dance class, event or festival. Linguistically speaking, he was raised as a *paleofalante* in a village near Santiago, where Galician has been his first language for his whole life. Luckily for me, his profile allowed for fruitful discussions regarding themes of identity, music, dance, language authenticity and tradition as well as arrangements of a few musical encounters.

Daily life in Santiago was heavily shaped by Covid-19 restrictions. With a lack of the city's cultural activities to partake in, the lack of permission to visit people with whom you did not live, and the lack of open bars or cafés, my routine did not vary too much from day-to-day. Days were composed of brief exchanges with Suso, watching segments of the *TVG* (Galician TV channel regarding political, cultural and linguistic themes) and listening to *Son Galicia* (Galician radio). The afternoon was often dedicated to documenting relevant topics from conversations with Suso, the TV, radio or the day before; scheduling, conducting or transcribing interviews; and also expanding my bibliography. Evenings were reserved for class participant observation.

3.2. *Baile, pandeireta & canto e gaita* — "Traditional" music and dance centers

Despite such strict regulations, the majority of classes at cultural centers were still permitted, given that they respected regulations regarding mask wearing, social distancing and maximum capacity. I had the opportunity for participant observation in classes at three different centers: *baile* [dance] at *A gentalha do Pichel*; *pandeireta e canto* [tambourine and singing] at

Cantigas e Agarimos; and *gaita* [bagpipe] at *As Brañas de Andrés*. I documented the song or dance we were learning, the styles of teaching, the language employed by the teacher, language used by the students and any comments regarding themes related to cultural identity. The common participants among the groups in which I participated were of the middle class, aged anywhere from sixteen to sixty, were mainly university students or civil servants, while a few were either adolescents or retired. Many of the teachers were in their twenties to forties and had carried out their own *recollidas,* establishing relationships with *os vellos*, while students primarily learned from teachers and other students. Students were both from rural and urban areas, and some had also engaged in their own *recollidas.* The following will provide the reasons for choosing each school, their basic background information, common forms of cultural transmission and language used among teachers and students. A more thematic analysis regarding my experiences in these centers will be discussed in the following sections.

A gentalha do pichel

Considering my previous knowledge of the political and cultural position of this center and my own history of enrollment, I found *A gentalha do pichel* a beneficial element of my research. Opening in 2004, *A gentalha* began as an association offering cultural courses of not only "traditional" Galician music and dance, but also weekly cultural activities— cinema club, concerts, theater, excursions, talks and debates— which have been successfully running up till present day. Apart from courses and activities, it also hosts various "traditional" music and dance events, offering a social space to apply knowledge learned in the classroom in the environment of a *foliada.* As a significant political and cultural voice in the transmission of "traditional" Galician expressive practices, this center claims the following:

> "*Somos um grupo de compostelanas e compostelanos decididos a fazer activismo cultural na nossa cidade e comarca. A língua e cultura galegas, a vontade de aprender, de difundir e recuperar os nossos costumes, a nossa história, a nossa música... som os nossos eixos de trabalho*" (https://gentalha.org/).
>
> ["We are a group of people from Santiago de Compostela who are determined to carry out cultural activism in our city and region. The Galician language and culture, the will to learn, to spread and restore our customs, our history and our music are the axis of our work"] (Personal translation).

Figure 3.1: "We speak Galician here"- *A gentalha do Pichel.*

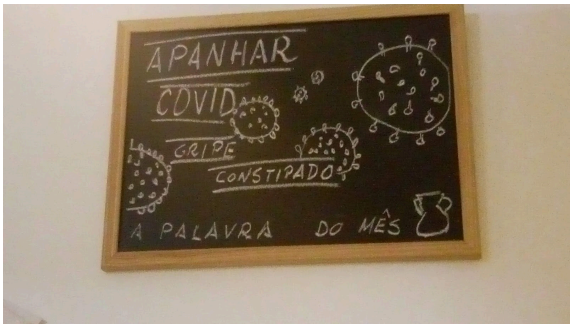

Figure 3.3: "Word of the month" -*A gentalha do Pichel.*

Figure 3.2: "In Galicia in Galician language"- *A gentalha do Pichel*. *Reintegracionista* and *independentista* sentiment observed in clocks above, where Compostela (Galicia) time-zone is distinct from Madrid (Spain). In reality, this is not the case. Bissau and Praia portray *reintegracionista* sentiment given that they are cities lusophonic countries. Belfast indicates Celtic sentiment as well as a Northern Ireland independence from the UK and reunification with Ireland, paralleling Galicia's call for independence from Spain to reintegrate with Portugal.

Therefore, their motives are quite clear regarding preservation and cultivation of Galician cultural identity expressed through music, dance and language. The center's leftist political position sympathizes with Galician nationalist sentiment and promotes the *reintegracionista* ideology—culturally and linguistically. Linguistic identity can be seen on the walls of the center, decorated with messages such as *Aqui falamos Galego* [We speak Galician here] as seen in figure 3.1., and *Na Galiza em Galego* [In Galicia in Galician language] in figure 3.2. The blackboard hanging on the

wall with *a palavra do mês* [the word of the month] in figure 3.3 appears to represent the *reintegracionista* position of the linguistic identity, encouraging the use of certain Galician words which avoid *castelanismos.* Cultural identity can be assumed through the display of the Galician flag, t-shirts with Galician expressions, and references to Zeca Afonso, representing on one hand a rejection of Spanish association and on the other alliances with Portugal.

This center tends to attract (but is not limited to) university students or civil servants in their late teens to late forties, who either are concerned with the advocacy of Galician culture and/or are fulfilling a hobby. Concerning the methods of "traditional" music and dance transmission, educators are known to have carried out their own *recollidas* through video and audio recordings, thus making their individual selections of what to share in the classroom. There is no official archive, but teachers are known to share their documentations amongst each other. Original video documentations are occasionally shown within the classroom or shared in Whatsapp chat groups. After learning new steps, it is also common that students video record the teacher doing the steps, thus sharing these videos within the group chat in order to practice at home.

This center prides itself on maintaining and distributing these "living traditions" in the way that they prepare students for participation in the *foliada* and not for the stage. Their motives are heavily based on critiquing the gender roles in dance expression, which continue to be taught in other "traditional" Galician dance schools that often prepare students for staged performances. They discourage the idea that men and women must dance in separate rows, display distinct corporal expressions based on their gender, and that only men are allowed to initiate the steps— all of which are present in staged performances. They promote the idea that "traditional" dance expression must "keep up with the times," while declaring the following:

> "*Bailar de jeito tradicional é encher um torreiro do século XXI com pessoas de diferentes idades, vestidas com roupas do S.XXI a bailar muinheira, jota e aqueles ritmos transmitidos por diferentes geraçons e aceitados pola colectividade como "tradicionais". Bailar de jeito tradicional é revivir em cada baila as estruturas e os códigos comuns que avoas e avós deixarom em legado e som aptas para que as pessoas de hoje em dia podam seguir a divertir-se a través dumha muinheira, dum passo-dobre ou dumha mazurca. O baile tradicional nada tem que ver com normas rígidas que coartam a liberdade e dignidade de quem baila. Pensa, realmente umha muinheira deixa de se-lo porque dous homes bailem juntos? Deixamos de bailar umha jota se é a mulher quem propom o punto? Bailar de jeito tradicional é bailar a canda os tempos, e os nossos tempos pidem igualdade!*" (https://www.facebook.com/gentalha.dopichel/photos/a.2438327396437647/2526172640986455).
>
> [To dance in the traditional way is to fill a twenty-first century *torriero* with people of different ages, dressed in twenty-first century clothes, dancing the *muinheira*, *jota* and other rhythms transmitted by different generations and accepted by the community as

> "traditional". Dancing in the traditional way is to relive in each dance the common structures and codes that our grandparents left in their legacy, maintaining that they are suitable for the generation of today; where we can continue to have fun through a *muinheira*, a double-step or a mazurka. Traditional dance has nothing to do with rigid rules that restrict the freedom and dignity of those who dance. Think about it, does a *muinheira* really stop being a *muinheira* because two men dance together? Should we stop dancing a *jota* if it's the woman who initiates the steps? Dancing in the traditional way is dancing with the times, and our times call for equality!] (Personal translation).

I attended classes with the advanced group, called *Aperfeiçoamento* [perfecting and improvement], I had danced with for two years in the past, with the respected instructor Fuen Nieto[18]. We were a group of five female students between the ages of twenty and forty, all of which had been involved in dance classes over the years. The objectives of the class revolve around pleasure but also "improvement" in a way to equip students with more steps to confidently initiate at *foliadas*. Steps are usually introduced by their rhythm and the village in which they have been recorded— for example, *Muiñeira de Imende*. Like Fuen, the instructors at this center often have a danced in "folkloric" groups throughout the region, and carried out their own *recollidas,* in which they have established relationships with elderly individuals from rural communities. Styles of each village are taught in a way to introduce distinct characteristics in corporal movement pertaining to these rhythms that have been noted to vary throughout the region.

Due to Covid-19 restrictions, we each danced within a separate space indicated by tape on the ground, wearing a mask at all times. Class would begin with everyone facing the front mirror, thus prepared to review the steps that we had learned in the previous class. After repeating these steps a few times, we would get into two rows, one facing the other, where everyone would have a partner. Each student was designated a *punto* [dance step] which they would then have to individually *sacar* [initiate] for everyone to follow, while our instructor played the rhythm on the *pandeireta*. In some of the classes, we carried out an imitation *foliada*, where each student was designated to lead one complete dance, *sacando* three steps within either a *muiñeira*, *jota* or *maneo*. We were free to choose whichever steps we wanted within that rhythm, imitating how we would do so in *foliada*. During class, the Galician language was employed by all students and instructor, where common *castelanismos* were also noted. The majority of language used in class was by our instructor, as she was the one to give instructions and explanations. Little conversation was expressed by students, but were all carried out in Galician.

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[18] Fuen is an experienced dancer who instructs the advanced group at *A gentalha*. Having danced in different folk groups, she has also carried out her own fieldwork, learning various techniques around multiple regions of Galicia, which she transmits in her classes.

Cantigas e Agarimos

I attended *pandeireta e canto* classes at *Cantigas e Agarimos*, a historically significant school in Santiago, having opened its doors back in 1921. Although I had never attended, I was curious to do so due to its long history and aesthetically impressive performances. I had witnessed its ability to produce highly skilled dancers, bagpipers, tambourine players, singers whom I had seen on stage and in *foliadas*. It is a school known for its intense training and formality, considering the symmetry and organization in their staged representations of "traditional" music and dance. I was invited to participate in an upper intermediate class of *pandeireta e canto* by my friend Cris González, an experienced *pandeireteira* [tambourine player], who has participated and taught at *Cantigas* for many years, and has performed in formal groups. She, too, is known to have carried out some of her own *recollidas.* Her class focused on more rigorous technique.

Considering its highly esteemed position and history of representing a Galician musical identity, one might assume the use of Galician language among *Cantigas* attendees to be high, completing the full Galician identity "package." However, from my own observations and conversations prior to entering the field, I had heard that use of Castilian among directors and students alike was common. With that said, I was interested in observing social interaction between students and educators within the center, noting if there were situations in which participants maintained or switched between Galician and Castilian.

The history of this center dates back to 1921, with the establishment of a *coro* along with others forming alongside the nationalist era. It eventually turned into a school in 1970 in order to train *gaiteiros* (bagpipers) and dancers to accompany the choir performances, where the school was seen as a valuable preparatory center for those interested in taking these expressive practices to the stage, forming a more experienced and formal[19] performance group known as the *Agrupación*. The school thus expanded, offering dance, *gaita*, tambourine, singing and percussion. Between the school and the *Agrupación*, this school claims the principle objective of reclaiming, conserving and transmitting "traditional" Galician practices, which is expressed on their website:

> "*Cantigas e Agarimos estivo adicada á recuperación, conservación e transmisión da cultura tradicional galega, traballando activamente na consolidación da identidade cultural de Galicia... [A nosa escola] é ante todo tempo e historia, pero tamén presente e futuro. Canto coral, canto tradicional, baile, teatro, música, escola, formación, premios, mencións,*

[19] I use "formal" here to indicate the group with the highest level of experience at this center: the *Agrupación*. To enter into this group, you must demonstrate a high level of knowledge and skill. They prepare performances complete with the "traditional" attire for audiences within Galicia and abroad.

> *xiras… estes son os [100] anos desta Agrupación, unha historia que ten que ser coñecida para poder ser valorada e así non ser esquecida*" (http://www.cantigaseagarimos.es/?page_id=35).
>
> ["*Cantigas e Agarimos* has been dedicated to the recovery, conservation and transmission of traditional Galician culture, actively working to consolidate the cultural identity of Galicia… Above all, our school is about time and history, but also present and future. Choral singing, traditional singing, dance, theater, music, school, training, awards, honorary mentions, tours… these are the [100] years of this Group, a history that must be known in order to be valued and thus not be forgotten"] (Personal translation).

Like educators at *A gentalha do Pichel*, the instructors at *Cantigas* are also known to have documented expressions of music and dance through their own *recollidas* which they thus transmit to their students. As for the musical performances accompanied by dance, the difference lies in the fact that *Cantigas* adapts their documentations to a more formal and staged choreographic performance. With that said, balancing "loyalty" to the past and aesthetic representation are at the forefront. Their interpretations maintain gender roles which are present in the dance performances of the *Agrupación* through corporal movement, male initiated dance steps and dress.

In the *pandeireta e canto* class with Cris, I participated in a group composed of five women, all around fifty years and older, and one younger man around the age of thirty. We would first practice the selected rhythm without singing, where Cris would introduce certain techniques used to indicate the different segments of the song. After, we would practice singing the song without playing the tambourine, singing in a variety of tones. Then, we would combine the playing and the singing, where lyrics were available via a Whatsapp group chat. Each student had the opportunity to *sacar unha copla* [to initiate a verse]. As the teacher, Cris was the primary speaker, always employing the Galician language. The rare moments that students spoke in class, I noted primarily the use of Galician. It was often difficult to catch everything that was being said by the students as we were required to wear our masks during the entirety of the class.

As Brañas de Andrés

The third school I chose was the neighborhood and cultural association *As Brañas de Andrés,* in which I had participated in the center for three years, and thus had made and maintained strong contacts with its members. This association was born back in 1995, when the neighborhood community decided that it was lacking in cultural activities to be able to offer their children during regional festivities. It later began offering activities not only for children but for all ages: field trips,

celebrations of national holidays, recovery of traditional culture games, crafts, etc. Although the association of neighbors organized such events, they were only granted an official neighborhood center in 2010. The center thus began offering "traditional" music and dance classes, pilates, yoga, latin dance, English, IT, crafts and theater and also hosts workshops inspired by cultural activities and holidays.

As a neighborhood association, this center attracts a variety of ages of those living nearby, from young children to elder retirees. The "traditional" music part of the center is instructed by David Canto[20]. He offers individual training for *gaita*, *tamboril*, *pandeireta*, *bombo* and *requinta* once a week, which is thus followed by a group collaboration and practice for those students who are interested in participating in performative events in and around Santiago de Compostela. At this center, students individually practice what they have been learning, while David goes around from student to student to briefly play with them, correcting and strengthening each students' progress. Students are provided with sheet music, but often take video recordings on their phones of David playing a select musical piece. After individual practice, those interested in group collaboration, known as the *ensaio* [rehearsal] group, have around one hour to play together and further establish the group's repertoire. Within these *ensaios*, the group prepares a variety of songs for any potential event that they are invited to play in. Songs are primarily chosen by David and his extensive repertoire, or suggested by other students.

During the three months, I trained with the *gaita* and also participated in the *ensaio* group. In this group, we averaged around eight adults and one adolescent, ranging from the ages of sixteen to sixty— one high school student, university students, middle class civil servants and retirees. During our collaborations, the *gaita, pandeireta, tambor* [drum]*, bombo* [bass drum]*, zanfona* [hurdy gurdy]*, cunchas* [scallop shells]*, culleres* [wooden spoons] were played, while David led us by playing the accordion. If there is a specific student who needs support with their specific instrument while playing during the *ensaio*, David assists them by playing the instrument they are playing. For the songs that I did not know on the *gaita*, I would play the *pandeireta* and sing. Galician was spoken by all, with only one younger student employing mostly Castilian.

3.3. *Entrevistas*: interviews with *foliada* participants

[20] David is a highly experienced musician who began as a *gaiteiro* at a young age and continued in his training not only in *gaita* but also percussion, *requinta* and flute at *aCentral Folque*. He also studied at a musical conservatory until achieving a professional degree in the *gaita galega.* Not only is David an instructor at various "traditional" music centers throughout Galicia, but also a valuable member in "traditional" music groups in Santiago, playing in both informal and formal performances throughout the region.

To find interested participants with relevant profiles, I sent out a message through a Whatsapp group named *Folkisfestas,* composed of around 170 members, many of who reside in Santiago de Compostela. This group is used to share information regarding *foliadas*, cultural events, concerts and occasionally political issues throughout Galicia. Again, these average *foliada* attendees are middle class university student or civil servants, who attend some form of "traditional" music or dance school and have done so consecutively over recent years, and are either from an urban area or a smaller village. My message was directed at *neofalantes*, calling for anyone who had a Castilian-speaking past but now identifies as a Galician speaker. This was a way to observe if their participation within these social circles of music and dance intersected at all with their language choice, without explicitly exposing my direct interest in the music-dance-language relation, but mainly regarding majority language displacement in general. I decided to seek suitable *paleofalantes* in a different way, as I had already considered some individuals I had previously met within "traditional" music environments.

Among many responses, I selected a total of four from this chat group, where the others were selected through spontaneous encounters in the field. In the end, eight people were interviewed; six *neofalantes* and two *paleofalantes*. Five of them I had previously known and three were new to me. They were all in their mid twenties to forties, had achieved some from form of higher education and formed part of the middle class, working as civil servants in fields such as education, medicine or law. One of the interviewees had established his profession as musician, reinterpreting "traditional" Galician music. Apart from their professional careers, three of the eight were also "traditional" music or dance teachers. Seven of the eight were born in Galicia: four in the city of Santiago, one in the city of Ourense, one in the city of A Coruña, and one in a village of Carballo. One was born to Galician parents in Paris, France, but was raised a majority of her life in Galicia. Seven currently live in Santiago and one lives in A Coruña. Although not from nor living in Santiago, I was suggested to contact the interviewee from A Coruña by a participant in the *Folkisfestas* chat group. Apart from the fact that he has established a career as a musician in Galicia, I found his profile interesting considering his active involvement with both music and language. Although this research focuses on the musical and linguistic phenomenon in Santiago, I believe this interviewee's outside perspective is also significant and beneficial in regards to Galicia's music and linguistic landscape.

Six of the interviews were carried out in person; in parks, bars, cafés and my home. The other two were performed through video call. The interviews were conducted in the Galician language, which presented no linguistic conflict considering that the interviewees were made aware

that linguistic choice was the main focus of discussion. All the eight consented to the audio recording of their interviews, which I later transcribed in standard Galician. I therefore coded each of them based on thematic analysis, looking for patterns in themes spoken about by each participant. Themes such as identity, language, *os vellos*, landscape, authenticity, ruralism, and tradition.

4. *Foliada adiada* / *Foliada* postponed: doing fieldwork amidst a pandemic lockdown

This chapter will analyze the ethnographic fieldwork carried out over that approximate three-month period in Santiago de Compostela. A thematic analysis of the environments of participant observation and interview commentary[21] will be compared and analyzed accordingly among the following three sections: Cultural identity and language choice; Music and dance practices and social environments; and Music, dance, language and identities. These findings intend to reinforce the foundational notion of "traditional" music and dance expression together as one cultural identifier and Galician language use as another, and further parallel their shared and intersect their sub-themes regarding landscapes, rurality, *os vellos*, authenticity and distinctness from Spain. The analysis intends not only to reflect on present day identity expression, but also to identify their historical motivation illustrated in the previous chapters.

4.1. *Galiza nom é Espanha*: cultural identity and language choice

In essence, the current state of Galician national and cultural identity has been observed to be historically shaped in two ways: internally, as a defense against Spain's own nationalist attempts to homogenize the multicultural state; and externally, through Galicians' awareness of other national identities beginning with waves of mass emigration during the nineteenth century (Romero 2011: 104). Thus developed the notion that *Galiza nom é Espanha* [Galicia is not Spain], which can be found displayed around the region, like the photo in Figure 4.1. This banal nationalism is part of "routine practices and beliefs that may not find their way into official expressions of statehood but are critical to the reproduction of nationhood" (Warf and Ferrás 2015: 11). The way in which this

Figure 4.1 Translation- "Galicia is not Spain. MPI" *Mocidade pola independência* [Youth for Independence]". Personal photograph in Santiago de Compostela.

[21] Experts from the literal transcriptions of the eight interviews will be provided in both Galician (standard) and an English translation. They intend to represent each interviewees' linguistic distinctiveness, where *castelanismos* could occur. In these cases, Castilian words will be indicated without italics.

message supports Galician nationhood by rejecting Spanish association is twofold: in semiotic terms, it first acts as a signifier of political and cultural distinction; and second its orthographic choice is a signifier of linguistic distinction from Spain, considering it is written in Galician *reintegrata* form. Thus, this message sets Galician identity apart, both culturally and linguistically. It is proof of how identity markers established through Galicia's history continue to be represented, promoted and expressed. The following subsections will thus analyze cultural and linguistic manifestations of how Galicia is not Spain, in both implicit and explicit manners.

4.1.1. "Galiza it's different": Galician identity today

Figure 4.2 Galiza it's different bench in Redondela, Galicia Photograph from website article (Vila, 2021)

Overlooking Galicia's coastal city of Vigo sits a wooden bench with the carved words "Galiza it's different," (figure 4.2) on the back. With majestic views of the verdant Galician landscapes, this bench has also become colloquially considered as "*el mejor banco del mundo*[22]" ["The best bench in the world"]. The fact that Galicia is claiming itself as "different" on Tripadvisor's claimed "best bench in the *world*," the objective of cultural distinction reaching an international audience appears to be on the right track. When happening upon this bench, visitors from near and far will not only be exposed to the captivating views, but they will also be led to ponder *how* and *why* Galicia is "different." If Galicia is *different*, and Galicia *is not Spain*, then what *is* Galicia? How is Galicia currently portrayed, viewed, and valued by her inhabitants? And why is the establishing of identity for local and global communities alike so important?

Presumptions as to why Galicia would promote such an idea can be traced back to propaganda ploys of the Francoist dictatorship. During his regime, Franco appointed Manuel Fraga as the Minister of Information and Tourism, who sold the slogan, "*Spain is different!*" (Gies 1999 : 1) to an international audience. This propaganda was a way to advertise an attractive and singular image of Spain depicted through *siestas*, bullfights, wine, sun, beaches and *flamenco*. It is therefore no surprise that rainy, bagpiping Galicia would eventually react with their own claim to distinction in saying that, "Galiza it's Different." A devotion to preserving and promoting local distinctiveness

22 https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g1064082-d10783158-Reviews-or60-El_Mejor_Banco_del_Mundo-Redondela_Province_of_Pontevedra_Galicia.html

of Galicia can be perceived as a prevention of the Galician identity getting lost in the strong currents of both Spanish and globalizing efforts.

Figure 4.3 "Only global brands manage to be leaders (written in Castilian)… Or not! (written in Galician)" Personal photograph.

This was observed in the field, with commentary such as, "*Andalucia ten toda a fama, pero nós temos máis festas*" [Andalusia has all the fame[23], but we have more parties]; shirts with expressions such as *D&G - Doce & Galego* [Sweet and Galician], adopting the lavish globalized *Dolce & Gabbana* brand to represent a humble Galician character; and advertisement techniques as seen in figure 4.3, translated as, "only global brands manage to be leaders (written in Castilian)...Or not!" (written in Galician). The Castilian statement in black is represents Spain as a leader in the global market, where the Galician rebuttal in yellow establishes that products from Galicia, in this case *Larsa*, may not be "global brands," but they have the strength of one. Galicia's independent and humble character as well as leadership is thus promoted and sold though local marketing methods.

Uniqueness was represented by another seemingly significant bench at the waterfalls of Budián with the inscription: *"Aperta, Enxebre, Orballo, Bico, Quérote… Galiza fascina, o Galego Namora"* ["Hug, Traditional[24], Dew, Kiss, I love you… Galicia fascinates, Galicia makes you fall in love"], (figure 4.4). Lacking an evident correlation, I later came to conclude that the commonalities of these words lied mainly in the fact that they are significantly different from their Castilian equivalents, often spoken of with pride, colloquially recognized as "the sweetest Galician words[25]," or even claimed to be difficult to translate, due to such culturally rich meaning.

An accumulation of these distinctions was observed while attending the showing of *Maria Solinha*[26] directed by Ignacio Vilar. After the film, the audience had the privilege to meet and speak

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[23] As mentioned before, Andalusia was and still is the target region sold as the romanticized embodiment of "Spanish identity." Galicia's unique historical and cultural heritage is thus affirmed by this man's comment, where value is based on knowing how to celebrate life through the quantity and quality of its social gatherings.

[24] "Traditional" is only one attempt at translating *enxebre*, as it is known as a difficult word to translate, very specific to a sensation or experience in Galicia. It has also been described with words such as "authentic", "rustic", "pure", and "genuine".

[25] https://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/sociedad/2021/04/30/banco-riquino-mundo/00031619807050028504586.htm

[26] Taking place in the Galician town of Cangas, the film was a portrayal of women's experiences of suffering during the twenty-first century, paralleling the suffering of Maria Solinha, a woman of the seventeenth century accused of witchcraft and burned at the stake.

Figure 4.4 “Hug, Authentic, Dew, Kiss, I love you… Galicia fascinates, Galician makes you fall in love.” Personal photograph.

with the director, where he made proudly proclaimed his film to be perhaps the only one that was 100% Galician ever to be made. He elaborated how the identifying elements of landscape, gastronomy and language in the film were what led it to its international award-winning recognition, given that foreigners were surprised and impressed to learn about the features of this “unknown” territory. Although referring to the contents of his film, the director highlighted many valuable Galician identity markers observed while in the field, as well as how the eight interviewees defined their own perspectives of a Galician identity.

A terra verdecente

Every morning in Suso’s home, I would drink coffee out of a mug with the face of Rosalía de Castro, the foundational literary figure during the *Rexurdimento* at the end of the nineteenth century. Through her dedicatory poetry for Galicia, she established an appreciation for the land, culture and language, and continues to be a symbol of Galician identity. Her presence lives on not only through her literature, but also on material items, street names, schools’ names, and even the date of the of Galician language and literature holiday[27]. Within the extensive imagery and tribute to Galician nature, her lyrical poetry evokes an emotional attachment to the physical space, referred to as *morriña*, or “a melancholic feeling and mood, particularly caused by nostalgia for the land[28].” As a prominent cultural figure, her words continue to sentimentally shape a Galician cultural identity, where land is seen to branch off of linguistic identity represented through poetry.

Throughout the interviews, when asked what it meant to be Galician, three out of the eight spoke about a love for the *terra* [land], in both a material and abstract way. It was spoken as a representation and reminder of a certain Galician character, as it is a connection to the past and a hope for the future. Extract 1 demonstrates how the land defines how Alberto (A) “Bailadora”[29] (B) and Xeila (X) perceive being Galician.

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[27] *O dia das Letras Galegas* is a Galician holiday on May 17, inspired by her publication of Rosalía de Castro’s collection of poems in *Cantares gallegos* on May 17, 1863.

[28] Personal translation from (https://academia.gal/dicionario/-/termo/busca/morri%C3%B1a).

[29] Fictitious name used out of respect for interviewee’s anonymity.

Extract 1

A:	*Para mim, principalmente, é querer a terra [e] a forma de vivir da xente de Galicia. A terra, pois non falo de querer unha finca ou querer unha posesión material. Falo de respeitar a forma de ser da xente….querer que todos vaiamos ao mellor. Eu creo que eso é o que máis definiría o que eu creo que debe ser un galego.*	'For me, most importantly, it is a love for the land [and] the Galician people's way of life. When I refer to land, I'm not referring to a material possession. I'm talking about respecting the way people are… and wanting the best for everyone. I think that this is what would most define what I think a Galician should be.'
B:	*Creo que é amor á terra, nos dous sentidos- na terra como natureza e como paisaxes e como lugar… e onde medramos, polo menos eu e todos os meus anteriores.*	'I think it's a love for the land, in both senses- land as nature and as landscapes and as a place… and where we grew up, at least me and all my past relatives.'
X:	*Eu vivín tempadas fora pero sempre me faltaba como eu sinto na Galiza, sobre todo cando chego, e vexo as paisaxes, a xente… hai determinadas cousas que solo vivo aqui en Galicia, que non vivo fora de aqui…. Tanto a paisaxe e a xente e a forma de ser, de pensar…*	'I lived sometime outside of Galicia, but I always missed how I feel here… especially when I come back and I see the landscapes, the people.... There are certain things that I can only experience in Galicia, and nowhere else. [Identity] is the landscape, the people and the way of being, of thinking…'

Applying Anthony D. Smith's definition of a collective cultural identity as, "a sense of shared *continuity* on the part of successive generations...shared *memories* of earlier periods, events and personages…[and] the collective belief in a common *destiny* of that unit [of population] and its culture" (Smith 1992: 58), landscape falls into these Smith's proposal of *continuity, memories* and *destiny. Continuity* can be observed in Alberto's commentary regarding a character defined and inspired by the land; *memories* can also be observed as well in "Bailadora"'s references to being raised in the same small village as her past relatives, and Xeila's commonly shared feeling of *morriña*; *destiny* can be interpreted in Alberto's statement of wanting what is best for all who live within Galicia and a hope in an ideal future for its people. While Alberto was raised in Santiago, "Bailadora" in a small village in the interior province of Ourense, and Xeila in the urbanity of Ourense, they all perceive a commonality in what the *terra* means for a Galician identity.

In the words of Elena De Uña-Álvarez's "terrain comprises a network of visible and non-visible components related to materiality, feeling, image and the imaginary. Landscapes are reality and symbol: 'the face of a territorial reality plus the image that is historically granted by culture also, therefore, its re-elaboration in a process of interpretation, representation, cultural

understanding (Martínez de Pisón, 2008: 35)[30]" (Uña-Álvarez 2012: 191). The aesthetic aspect of the land acts as a physical symbol of a non-visible collective memory; a memory embedded in literature, poetry, song and material items. These expressions are a reminder of Galicians' connection with the land, deeply rooted in the sense of how Galicians perceive and create their destined identity— one that is "different." As reverence to the land supports nationalist sentiment, Smith reminds:

> "The homeland becomes a repository of historic memories and associations, the place where 'our' sages, saints and heroes lived, worked, prayed and fought. All this makes the home-land unique. Its rivers, coasts, lakes, mountains and cities become 'sacred' — places of veneration and exaltation whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated, that is, the self-aware members of the nation" (Smith 1991 : 9).

Lingua

The word *morriña* not only represents a connection to and longing for the land, but furthermore demonstrates the value of language, provided that it is a word that does not exist in Castilian. One of the interviewees Alberto expressed, "*para min hai cousas que nos definen máis a nosa* personalidad *en galego que en castelán*" [for me, there are parts of our personality that are better defined in Galician than in Castilian"]. Once again, a Galician character is perceived to be shaped by the Galician language, where according to the *Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2011*, "[o]ver three-quarters [of the Galician population] say that the language is an important symbol of Galician identity" (O'Rourke 2014: 80). This could further explain the ambiguous assortment— but yet seemingly sacred selection— of words displayed on bench near the waterfall, where these words represent the Galician character better than their Castilian equivalent[31].

Galician has thus been used as a distinguishing element in the construction of the Galician identity, which continues to be intimately bound to "societal, historical, cultural, and political factors" (Beswick 2007: 37). These factors can be observed through the collective memory of the historically significant figures, such as Rosalía de Castro and her poetic influences on societal

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[30] Personal translation of, "*El territorio comprende una red de componentes visibles y no visibles relacionados con la materialidad, el sentimiento, la imagen y el imaginario. Los paisajes son realidad y símbolo: 'la faz de una realidad territorial más la imagen que se le otorga históricamente por la cultura también, por tanto, su reelaboración en un proceso de interpretación, de representación, de entendimiento cultural' (Martínez de Pisón, 2008: 35)*" (Uña-Álvarez 2012:191).

[31] Although Galician and Castilian share much of the same vocabulary, the "sweetest Galician words" on this bench are quite different from Castilian- *Aperta* vs. *Abrazo, Orballo* vs. *Rocío, Bico* vs. *Beso*. In the case for *Quérote* vs. *Te quiero,* although quite similar, their difference demonstrates the grammatical distinction between Galician and Castilian.

relatability to culturally linguistic expression, or the father of Galician nationalism, Castelao and his involvement with the historical and political influences on linguistic identity. His words, "*non esquezamos que se aínda somos galegos é por obra e gracia do idioma"* (Castelao 1986 : 75) ["let us not forget that if we are still Galicians, it is because of the work and grace of our language"], originally published in 1944, continue to resonate among Galicians. Smith's notion of *memory* can be applied to the continual sharing of Castelao's message. His thriving yet warning words act as an affirmation of identity as well as an intention to ensure a favorable destiny for the language.

Seven out of the eight referred to the Galician language in their definitions of what it meant to be Galician, regarding it as a valuable component of the Galician identity. In extract 2, "Bati Gol" (BG) and Ramón (R) express the value of language for the Galician community.

Extract 2

BG:	*De feito a lingua é o maior tesouro que pode ter un pobo… o pobo galego.*	'In fact, language is the greatest treasure that a people can have... the Galician people'
R:	*Non podemos dicir que todos os que viven en Galicia* sean *galegos,* aunque *levan aqui todo a vida. Por* ejemplo*, os que non falan galego...*	'We cannot say that everyone who lives in Galicia is Galician, even though they have lived here their whole lives. For example, those who do not speak Galician …'

"Bati Gol[32]" (BG) defends the idea that language is a valuable culturally identifying component within a collective group. The Galician language can be interpreted to have even more value due to Galicia conflict with Spain. Language in the Galician landscape becomes more prized as it symbolizes, supports and defends a community threatened by a more dominant one: Spain.

> "Language was seen to bind people into a community of shared understandings and identity, and the strength of a minority language was said to be predicted by the degree to which speakers value their language as a symbol of group of ethnic identity. The link between language and identity as a predictor of linguistic vitality was based on the premise that language plays an important role in defining a sense of 'ethnic' or group identity, thus making it a valuable resource, worthy of protection" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 97).

"Bati Gol"'s perspective not only represents a favorable destiny for the language, but furthermore for identity. In other words, when language is threatened, so too is cultural identity. Ramón began defining what it meant to be Galician by defining what it meant *not* to be Galician.

[32] Fictitious name used out of respect for interviewee's anonymity.

He rejects that just because someone is born, raised and lives in Galicia does not necessarily make them Galician, and accordingly singles out non-Galician speakers.

Now, while many would agree that language is a valuable component of Galician identity, three of the interviewees expressed how it is not completely necessary for someone to speak the language in order to identify as Galician, as individuals are modeled by uncontrollable variables. However, an appreciation for the language and culture is a variable that *can* be controlled. This is observed in extract 3, where "Xil[33]" (Xi) and Ramón (R), both put into question to what extent a Galician speaker is *really* Galician.

Extract 3

Xi:	*Entendo que pode ser galego unha persoa que fale español. Incluso que pode sentir máis galega que unha persoa que fale galego…É necesario falar galego para sentirse galego? Non. Pero se o galego desaparece, que queda da Galicia? Eso é a pregunta. Porque a Galicia sen a lingua galega seria outra cousa completamente...*	'I understand that a person who speaks Spanish can be Galician. They can even feel more Galician than a person who speaks Galician … Is it necessary to speak Galician to feel Galician? No. But if Galician disappears, what is left of Galicia? That is the question. Because Galicia without the Galician language would be something else entirely.'
R:	*Si ti identificas coa nosa cultura e a nosa lingua serás galego. Si ti non identificas, entón non o serás... que a min non me vale nada que ven unha persona da Coruña que diga, "*Claro, a ver, yo hablo castellano, y después de la cultura gallega … ni me interesa, porque con esto no me indentifico...*" Entón, tú, de* donde eres*? Serás de* La Coruña *e serás* "gallega," *provincia de España. Pero, galega non és. Pobo galego, non...* [*e*] *hasta certo punto unha persoa que fala galego é galego…*	"If you identify with our culture and our language, you will be Galician. If you don't identify with these things, then you won't be… for example, it doesn't mean anything to me when a person from A Coruña says, [changes to Castilian] 'Well, I speak Spanish, and Galician culture doesn't really interest me, because I don't identify with it…' [changes back to Galician] So, you, where are you from? You will be from La Coruña and you will be 'Galician,' province of Spain. But, you are not Galician… of the Galician people, no... [and] to a certain extent is someone who speaks Galician really Galician…"

As a *neofalante* from the urban city of A Coruña, it is understandable as to why "Xil" would recognize Castilian speakers as "Galician" although they may not speak Galician for a variety of reasons, but still accept and sympathize with its use. On the contrary, he referred to first language Galician speakers who often demonstrate a rejection for the language, which is often related to the

[33] Fictitious name used out of respect for interviewee's anonymity.

"former social stigmas associated with the language— such as rurality and poverty" and "newer ones …. link[ed] with nationalism (Bouzada-Fernández 2003; Recalde Fernández 2000; Santamarina 2000)" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015: 153). In saying this, it appears that he perceives *paleofalantes* who exhibit a lack of appreciation for the language as less representative of an assumed Galician identity.

Considering Ramon's previous comments regarding language as a valuable component in identity, and his mention of how even I— someone born and raised in California— can be considered Galician due to the fact that I value the language and participate in the culture, Stuart Hall's notion can be applied, in that cultural identity is a "matter of becoming as well as being" (Hall 1996: 112). As a *paleofalante* from a rural village, it is plausible to assume that his linguistic and social upbringing influence what he values as Galician character. Ramón seems to accept someone as Galician if they are willing to *become* Galician, or at least what he conceives Galician to be, where "becoming" Galician affirms both a certain cultural and linguistic identity. In both of these cases, if the use of the language is not recognized as valuable nor is accompanied by a certain appreciation, an individual lacks what it takes to "feel Galician."

Música e baile

Considering the lyrics of the "traditional" songs depicting Galicia's natural environment, many song titles holding the names of various villages and terrain throughout the region, the dance styles are named after different villages where they have been documented, and the majority of the lyrics are in the Galician language; language, landscape, music and dance are found coexisting in identity expression. I can remember my own personal experiences of learning songs that had titles such as "Foliada de Asén" or "Muiñeira de Sabaxáns," and later feeling thrilled when realizing that these were the names of distinct places across Galicia as they came up in conversation, street signs or maps. These experiences began bridging song and physical space, establishing a connection to various songs and furthermore to Galicia's distinct locations, reinforcing an exaltation of the Galician music, land, language and character. It is therefore no surprise that many individuals considered a combination of these elements as they identified the significance of being Galician. In extract 4, Cris (C) and Xeila (X) identify as Galician in a way that intersects language and the "traditional" music and dance scene.

Extract 4

C:	*O ambiente, a tradición... Lingua, por suposto, e todo que ten que ver coa tradición no baile, pandeireta [e] nosa música- para min é unha parte super importante. Igual que a* lengua*. Igual son os dous pilares básicos dalgunha maneira que nos atan á Galiza e a ser galegos.*	'The environment, tradition... Language, of course, and everything that has to do with tradition in dance, tambourine [and] our music — these things are extremely important for me, just like language. Perhaps they are the two basic pillars in some way that bind us to Galicia and to be Galician.'
X:	*O idioma, a cultura, o baile, a música… por exemplo a parte do baile e a música. Eso si que é moi de aqui… moi de nosa cultura.*	'Language, culture, dance, music… The elements of music and dance are very much from here…very much a part of our culture.'

What is worth taking note of in these responses is how they make mention of "our music" or "our culture." Considering the fact that these individuals are participants in the "traditional" music and dance scene, it is fair to assume that by "our music," refers to musical expression involving *gaita* or *pandeireta* and the dances of *muiñeira* and *jota*. Having been involved in the "traditional" music and dance in Santiago since early childhood, it is no surprise that Cris ties together land, language and music as not just important elements for her own identity, but also as a foundation of Galician cultural identity as a whole, similar to that of Xeila's statement, where music and dance expression are recognized as unique to Galician character. These early seeds were planted as she began *pandeireta* and *gaita* classes at a young age in Ourense, but they really began to grow as she got involved in *o mundo tradi* and *foliadas* in Santiago her early twenties. Finding belonging within this new social group therefore could weigh into a new appreciation and perspective of Galician identity. Considering that only three of the eight interviewed spoke of musical expression when defining being Galician, it is obvious that Galician identity is not dependent solely on the existence of these "traditional" music practices. However, referring to a certain style of music and claiming it as "ours" instills an essence of what "Galician" music is, and therefore how it is attached to a national identity.

References to pride in "our music" was also noted at a Tiruleque concert at the *Festival Intercéltico do Morrazo.* They are known for mixing of "traditional" music with outside influences to further spread traditions. During their set, while one of the musicians encouraged, "*que esta música non quede aquí... a xente flipa coa nosa música...hai cousas moi importantes aqui e hai que ser orgullosos destas cousas*" [May this music not just stay here... people go crazy for our music. There are very important things here, and we have to be proud of these things"]. In saying this, an affirmation and a reminder of the quality of art and artists proceeding from the Galician land was noted. His statement also called for an external recognition, a desire to establish a Galician musical

identity in a global sense, one that is shared outside the political borders. Taking into consideration the group's objective of combining traditional Galician instruments and outside influences in order to spread the pride and unique elements of Galician "tradition," their musical stylings thus give a new name for a Galician musical identity, defined by new interpretations of tradition.

4.1.2. Language choice and ideology

Previously noted, language shift is usually encouraged by personal reasons attached to the construction of identity (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018). While conducting the interviews, I noted first shift inspired by a conscious sense of a Galician self and a pride in that self. This can be seen in extract 5 below, with the responses of Tereixa (T) and Xeila (X) as to when and why they became habitual Galician speakers.

Extract 5

T:	*Pois ser consciente sendo galego, sintindome galega, xa daquela. Pois que hai unha parte moi importante de ser galego que é a lingua… dixo o Castelao que "somos galegos gracias ao idioma."*	"Well, [when I became] aware of being Galician, of feeling Galician, since then. Because there is a very important part of being Galician that is the language… just like Castelao said, 'we are Galician thanks to the language.'"
X:	*Somos un pouco o que falamos, que me sinto máis coa identidade galega dende eu cambiei. Síntome máis orgullosa de min mesma e da miña identidade como galega dende que falo galego… E de feito cando estou co alguén, que fale un galego máis* cerrado… *co gheada ou co seseo asi, incluso me sinto mellor. Canto máis, máis me gusta. (risas) Máis sinto a identidade do que [falamos].*	'We are a bit of what we speak, and I feel more in line with the Galician identity since I changed. I feel prouder of myself and my identity as a Galician since I [changed to] Galician… And in fact, when I'm with someone, who speaks a more distinct Galician… with *gheada* or *seseo*, I even feel better. The thicker the accent, the more I like it (Laughs)... the more I can feel this identity that [we] are talking about.'

Although raised by Castilian speakers in the city of Santiago, Tereixa (T) managed to find a new linguistic identity through a personal awakening. Her comment proves continuity in the words of Castelao, where an awareness of Galician identity awakened the desire to fulfill what being Galician means by employing the Galician language. Xeila (X) shares that she feels a closer connection to identity when hearing *gheada* and *seseo* variants of the language— Galician phonetic phenomena primarily in the speech styles of *paleofalantes.* Being raised as a Castilian speaker in urban Ourense, it is possible that these varieties were not as present for Xeila, in that their

"uniqueness" resulted in a stronger appreciation for an "authenticity" attached to a sound and place. In the words of Woolard, "When authenticity is the legitimating ideology of a language, the linguistically marked form is celebrated, and accent matters" (Woolard 2008: 3). Therefore, a *paleofalante* is revered a preserver of "authentic" Galician language, and therefore a representation of an authentic identity. At the same time, it is often that "[s]peakers and hearers too rely on the notion of authenticity, not in the construction of their theories but in the construction of their identities" (Bucholtz 2003: 410).

As *paleofalantes* are esteemed as preservers of "authentic" speech, this status depends on the context. Take for example Ramón, who was born in an *aldea* and raised as a *paleofalante*. Upon arriving in Santiago as a law student, entering into a primarily Castilian speaking environment, he claimed feeling as *o exótico, o raro* [the exotic and strange one] within his area of study. He went onto explain, "*Esto para nos é raro, porque nos vimos dos contextos onde o raro é que a xente falara* castellano" [This is strange for us (people from *aldeas*), because we come from the contexts where what is strange is that people speak Castilian]. When later sharing about his experiences regarding language, dance and music, he suggested that Santiago is a city where like-minded people from *aldeas* have more opportunities to share in interests and philosophies regarding pride in Galician language and culture. He was able to find communities of individuals from *aldeas* who sympathized with and therefore affirmed his own involvement with music, dance and language.

His experience relates to Tereixa's (T) regarding where she personally felt more comfortable speaking Galician while living in a predominately Castilian-speaking city, Ferrol, as a *neofalante*.

Extract 6

T:	*En Ferrol, cheguei e ... non coñecia a ninguén. Pero no ano seguinte, apunteime á Escola de idiomas a portugués, e apuntei á baile… Entón claro, empecei a moverme co xente que* sean *galegofalantes, xente moito reintegracionistas, había un espazo sociocultural como aqui A Gentalha, que se chama Artabria, entón acabei outra vez movendo, buscando onde estar máis cómoda linguisticamente.*	'In Ferrol, I arrived and... I didn't know anyone. But the following year, I enrolled in Portuguese classes at the language school, and I enrolled in dance in Narón. So of course, I started spending more time with Galician-speakers, very reintegrationist people. There was a sociocultural space like here *A Gentalha*, called *Artabria*, so I ended up going around, looking for places to be more linguistically comfortable.'

Through Ramón and Tereixa's comments, we can observe both a young rural *paleofalante* and an urban *neofalante* finding a linguistic and cultural "belonging" within diverse urban settings

among cultural practices such as music and dance. Three other interviewees mentioned music and dance environments related to their language choice. Alberto (A) expressed the following:

Extract 7

A:	*Primeiro, [cambiei de lingua porque] cambiei a concepción da miña identidade realmente como galego... fai seis anos eu o mundo do 'tradi' non coñecía para nada… Sempre eu defino como un converso… Convertínme ao tradicional… porque para min [inicialmente], escoitar gaitas… pandeiretas … todo* esto *era algo que utilizaban os políticos para vendernos unha imaxe, ocultar o que realmente necesitaba a xente. [Logo entrei no mundo tradicional]... e pouco a pouco vin que a xente realmente facía porque lle gustaba.. e dáballe igual a súa ideoloxía. Non era que ti foras de esquerdas ou máis de direitas, nacionalista, ou non nacionalista… senón, que a xente disfrutaba de facer* esto*, disfrutaba de manter a súa cultura viva. Entón, xa cambiou a miña concepción do que era a cultura galega.*	'First, [I changed my language because] my conception of my identity as a Galician truly changed... six years ago I didn't know the 'traditional world' at all… I always defined myself as a convert… I converted to the 'traditional world'… because [initially] for me, listening to bagpipes… tambourines... all of this was something politicians used to sell us an image, to hide what people really needed… [later I got involved in traditional music and dance] and little by little, I saw that people really were involved because they liked it... and ideologies weren't important. It wasn't that you were left-wing or right-wing, nationalist, or non-nationalist… but that people enjoyed doing this, they enjoyed keeping their culture alive. So, my conception of what Galician culture was changed.'

In his response, Alberto interconnects linguistic, musical and political identity markers, directly relating his language change to personal involvement in "traditional" music and dance contexts. First, he relates his language shift to a shift in perception of identity, which he promptly connects to the "traditional" music and dance realm. After having initially rejected these spaces as part of political ploys from afar, his eventual involvement seemed to emotionally evoke a new appreciation for Galician identity, as he observed an aesthetic experience of enjoyment and absence of overpowering political sentiment. Therefore, he admits to having converted both musically and linguistically. Once having identified with these traditional music spaces, he slowly began to take on the identity of a Galician speaker. In the words of Frith,

> "...the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience — a musical experience, an aesthetic experience— that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a subjective and a collective identity" (Frith 1996: 108-09).

How these social spaces are involved with an individual's language choice and perspective of their own identity was also recognized by Xeila (X) in extract 10 and Cris (C) in extract 11, who also speak of the influences that their environments had on their abandonment of Castilian for Galician. When both asked to identify what elements caused them to make the change, they expressed the following:

Extract 8

X:	*Creo que vai relacionado tamén co tema da música tradicional e do baile... porque na miña situación persoal foi adaptar ... cando empecei a falar en galego, que me empecei a rodearme de xente da contorna da música tradicional... Chegou a un punto no que se non falaba galego, sentía vergonza por non falar en galego... foi vinculado tamén coa xente co quen me rodei, e a musica tradicional, que sobre todo aí, empecei a coñecer moito máis xente e unha cousa levou á outra. E a miña motivación persoal tamén...*	'I think it is also related to traditional music and dance… because I personally had to adapt… when I started speaking in Galician… I started to surround myself with people from the environment of traditional music… I got to a point where if I didn't speak Galician, I was ashamed not to speak Galician… [Language choice] was also linked to the people I surrounded myself with. Above all, it was in traditional music contexts that I started meeting a lot more people, and one thing led to another. And my personal motivation too…'

Xeila (X) admitted to initially feeling shame when making the shift to Galician while in her habitual Castilian speaking environments, but later when becoming involved in "traditional" contexts, she felt shame for *not* speaking Galician. It was in these environments where shame of not speaking Galician outweighed shame for not sounding "authentic." Becoming part of the group linguistic identity embedded in music and dance environments conquered conceptions of sounding authentic.

When asked in which contexts is Galician most widely used in general, the interviewees made mention of rural areas and *aldeas*, work spaces, university, communities of leftist urbanites, the city of Santiago and *o mundo tradi*[34]. Considering that *o mundo tradi* and the *foliadas* within Santiago de Compostela intend to reflect rural environments and practices, and is highly composed of university students and politically leftist sympathizers; it intersects many of the contexts mentioned above. And while many of the interviewees agreed that *o mundo tradi* fosters Galician language use, others debunked this idea as a myth, such as "Bati Gol" in saying, "*Pero moitísima*

[34] Galician for "the traditional world," which is often used to describe social communities where "traditional" music and dance is expressed.

xente fala español. E faime moita gracia," [But a lot of people speak Spanish, and I find it rather funny']. "Bati Gol"'s personal view as a *paleofalante* born and raised in Santiago shapes his perception of a linguistic reality, as he is perceptive to the presence of Castilian within the *foliada* and *o mundo tradi*. His commentary equally infers how linguistic expression ought to be related to musical expression, and involvement in Galician music and dance practices should entail a certain linguistic identity. In extract 9, Alberto (A) highlights that apart from *aldeas*, "traditional" and political contexts are where Galician language use is more highly concentrated in urban environments.

Extract 9

A:	*Nas cidades, vese moi directamente nos nucleos onde se falan galego. Para min, está o núcleo tradicional, onde fala todo o mundo galego, polo menos nese ambiente, fala solo galego. Ou o núcleo político… a xente que tira máis cara o grupo nacionalista, que fala completamente galego… que a vezes pareceme máis forzado… que o mundo do tradi. Porque o mundo do tradi utiliza o galego para comunicarse… non nota que sexa forzado. Se che sale unha palabra en castelán, saleche unha palabra en castelán… non busca palabras que normativamente ten que utilizar en galego.*	"In cities, there are core contexts where Galician is spoken. For me, there is the 'traditional' context, where everyone speaks Galician— at least in that environment, only Galician is spoken. Or political contexts... people who lean more towards the nationalist group, who speak completely in Galician… which sometimes seems more forced to me… than the 'traditional world'. Because people in the 'traditional world' use Galician to communicate ... and it doesn't seem forced. If a word in Spanish slips, a word in Spanish slips… people don't look for the standard normative words that should be used in Galician."

While differing from "Bati Gol"'s commentary, perhaps Alberto's (A)'s initial idealized impression of these spaces as a *neofalante* was what led him to adapt to the cultural and linguistic identity produced there. It can also be inferred that he feels more free to employ Galician within the context of "traditional" music more so than through a political linguistic event. Where an explicitly nationalist context runs the risk of promoting a "correct" linguistic standard which seems forced, a music and dance context provides the space for more "natural" fluid language, independently if it is normative, contains *castelanismos* or is more influenced by *reintegracionismo*. This suggests how traditional environments for music and dance expression function in normalizing the Galician language in a less formal way. In other words, "traditional" contexts can be perceived as a sort of "grassroots" movement of normalization, in that they have the potential to function bottom-up, involving ordinary people in society; where Galician language use— in its various variants— is

welcomed. After all, it has been "communities of Galician speakers who were the grassroots citizens who kept the language alive for centuries" (Roseman 1995: 7).

This idea of "grassroots" normalization can be paralleled with what O'Rourke and Ramallo would consider "active minorities," or "individuals or groups who through their behaviour attempt to influence both the attitudes and practices of the majority and in doing so, bring about social change" (O'Rourke and Ramallo: 151). That is to say that there are speakers who do not only shift to speaking Galician, but also have an influence on what others around them speak. I believe that "traditional" music and dance environments (schools, *foliadas* or cultural events) could be considered "groups" of these active minorities. As these groups esteem Galician culture— be it "traditional" music, dance and more often than not, language— their majority attitudes and ideologies thus have the potential to influence individuals entering into these social spaces.

The individuals who choose to employ the language outside these group contexts form another branch of active minorities in their individual efforts. While having been influenced by collective linguistic "activism" embedded in the social contexts of music and dance, they are encouraged to carry out their individual "activism" outside these contexts. Not only do they employ the language in everyday life situations, but furthermore have the potential to encourage others to do the same. In the following extracts 10 and 11, examples of individuals as active minorities can be observed, where Xeila (X) and "Xil" (Xi) express their experiences in relation to influencing others to speak Galician after having made their personal switch.

Extract 10

X:	*Noto que hai xente que antes sempre falaba castelán comigo e dende que eu cambiei, fai o cambio tamén ao galego... que pode ser bastante importante de cara lingua. Porque é pouquiño a pouco que consigues que a xente vaia cambiando, ou facer polo menos o esforzo nun contexto determinado… A partir de que eu tomei a iniciativa para cambiar, se eu falo [cos meus pais] en galego, a min me falan en galego. Sexa por whatsapp ou falando verbalmente…* Sin *embargo*, *se eu cambio ao castelán, cambian ao castelán.*	'I notice that there are people who used to always speak Spanish with me and since I changed, they also make the change to Galician, which can be quite important in terms of language. Because it is little by little that you get people to change, or at least make the effort in a certain context… From the moment I took the initiative to change, if I speak [with my parents] in Galician, they speak to me in Galician. Be it by WhatsApp or speaking verbally… However, if I switch to Spanish, they switch to Spanish.

Reflecting back on Xeila's previous comments regarding her personal language shift, a linguistic choice encouraged partially by the music and dance community can be observed in how it continues to influence others. Like Xeila, "Xil"'s (Xi) act of speaking Galician at home appears to also have influenced his parents' language choice, however not only while in his presence, but furthermore in their own personal communication with others outside the family home.

Extract 11

Xi:	*Co paso do tempo non só normalizouse o feito do que eu falara galego na casa, se non que os meus pais comenzaron a falar, primeiro comigo, e despois a falar máis no seu entorno… cos seus irmáns… [e] foi como naturalizandose....O meu pai de maior e a miña nai, antes de morrer, falaran máis galego do que falaran nunca.*	'Over time, not only did the fact that I spoke Galician at home become more normalized, but that my parents also began to speak Galician, first with me, and then to speak more in their environment…with their siblings... and it stared becoming more natural... My father in his old age, and my mother before she passed away, they both spoke more Galician than they ever had spoken before.'

These examples of individual action as "active minorities" thus play a part in normalizing efforts, attempting to create and cultivate new identities for themselves as well as other new Galician speakers. Due to their previous commentary, I would argue that their own language choice is partially encouraged by *o mundo tradi* community, where music gives value to identity (Rice 2000: 7), thus giving value and purpose to linguistic expression, and leads them to influence others in their linguistic elections.

4.2. Music and dance practices and social environments

O mundo tradi specifically in Santiago de Compostela could be recognized to produce environments that potentially bridge musical and linguistic identity. What is open for analysis is how participants currently imagine a *foliada* and its objectives, specifically why individuals continue to identify with these new interpretations of "traditional" practices. This following section will address questions regarding current contexts regarded as *foliadas* within Santiago, as well as their perceived purpose; problems and social codes within these social practices; and spaces of "traditional" transmission, be it music and dance centers or social gatherings. Analysis will be based on opinions noted in daily observations, participant observation and interview commentary.

4.2.1. *Ghastas pista?*[35] - *Foliadas* in Santiago

While having witnessed the word *foliada* applied in similar yet varying contexts, I would conclude that they are a mixture of what Thomas Turino categorizes as both participatory and presentational performance music. In theory, the current practices of these "traditional" music and dance gatherings are recognized as communal practices, in that they are open to all persons and levels of participation as a means to achieve *communitas*[36] (Turino 2008: 18). Considering that participatory performance signifies an absence of artist and audience distinction (ibid: 35), in a current *foliada*, this distinction varies depending on the context and its connoted range of permitted instrumental participation, thus categorizing the *foliada* as presentational as well. The invitation to dance, however, is open to all, while also not being divorced from certain social codes.

Although the term *foliada* in Santiago de Compostela often refers to different contexts with diverse participation dynamics depending on whom hosts the gathering, there is a common profile of attendees. Ranging anywhere from early twenties to sixties, participants are commonly middle class university students or civil servants, who have either been involved in *o mundo tradi* since an early age, or have gotten involved during their university years or adult life. They tend to sympathize with the political left and are concerned with related social issues. While Santiago is the capital and a university "town," it has attracted individuals from both urban and rural areas, which are involved in these cultural gatherings. Although some have carried out their own personal *recollidas* in rural areas, most have attained their knowledge of "traditional" music and dance from cultural centers.

One of these contexts of a *foliada* is known as an *Estalotada*, which are musical gatherings organized by a group in Santiago known as *Os Estalotes*[37], who play "traditional" Galician music with *gaitas, pandeiretas, cunchas, bombo, tambor, acordeón* and *zanfona*. Although these are the

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[35] A colloquial Galician expression to ask someone, "Do you want to dance?"

[36] *Communitas* is a possible collective state achieved through rituals where all personal differences of class, status, age, gender, and other personal distinctions are stripped away, allowing people to temporarily merge through their basic humanity (Victor Turner, 1969).

[37] *Os Estalotes* define themselves as, "a group of traditional music, whose main and differentiating feature is singing, a condition that has been established from the beginning, since the founders (Morgan, Enrique, José Luis, José and Javier) who were part of the *Cantigas e Agarimos* choir in Santiago de Compostela. This gave this group of bagpipers the chance to have a repertoire of songs to sing which invites people to actively participate, which is what happens in the *Estalotadas*. The *Estalotes* has since changed given that not all the initial members remain, and other young men and women have joined together to form the new group: Alberto and Xosé (bagpipes); Antonio (tambourine); Ferrás (tamboril) and Toño and Manolo (percussion)… *Estalotadas*' philosophy is lived out through popular gatherings organized every three weeks in different bars in the San Pedro neighborhood (and surroundings), where everyone can participate: dancing, singing, talking, playing, etc. They have performed uninterruptedly since the academic year 1993-94… with the intention of recuperating singing practices and personal relationships, just as our elders did in these social spaces and taverns" (Personal translation from https://www.facebook.com/groups/54976980803/about)

most prominent instruments, an occasional guitar, clarinet, flute and saxophone have been noted to be present. This group leads with their select repertoire, while in theory, all attendees are welcome to play, sing or dance along with them. The foundational musicians are mostly middle-class men, aging anywhere from early twenties to sixties. Other participants are commonly university students and middle class civil servants, also in their early twenties to sixties, who have been consistently involved in *Estalotadas* over the course of their musical trajectory. These gatherings are usually carried out in the evening in a variety of taverns in the center of Santiago or in the sociocultural center *A Gentalha do Pichel*, every three weeks. I was made aware that *Os Estalotes* were part of the foundation of what is known as the *foliada* in Santiago today, starting back in the early 1990s. Initially, they were centered around singing, not so much dancing, as the original members were from the *Cantigas e Agarimos* choir. Over time, participants in these festivities who were enrolled in "traditional" music and dance schools started bringing their dance training (often prepared for staged performances) to this less formal environment.

A Gentalha do Pichel is also known to organize other types of *foliadas*. For example, the event *Tresfoliando* which began during the academic course 2015/16. In this event, less formal groups of students from different courses at three different "traditional" centers are given the opportunity to play what they have been learning throughout their courses. These types of *foliadas* are more presentational performances, considering that the musicians and singers are part of closed groups playing within an organized schedule. Not everyone is freely welcome to play, but the participatory factor welcomes all attendees to dance. *A Gentalha* also hosts an event known as a *foliada aberta*, where there is no formal nor organized group, but technically anyone is allowed to play, sing and dance. These gatherings usually have a high concentration of university students and working individuals in their twenties to forties, both novice and experienced musician and dancers, who have learned a majority of these cultural practices at *A Gentalha.*

Another context is the event known as both *Seráns da Malatesta*, hosted by the cultural association *A.C. Seráns en Compostela*. I was informed that this event was initiated around 2007, out of the desire to imitate rural expressive practices in the urban setting in Santiago. Dedicated organizers in Santiago invited groups from other areas of Galicia, which in turn influenced more ***seráns***[38] to spark in other urban areas. Like *Tresfoliando,* this event attracts a similar profile of individuals involved in "traditional" music and dance schools, where the average participant is in their twenties to forties, either university student or working professional. *These seráns* could be

[38] A *serán* is an evening festive gathering of "traditional" music and dance. It used interchangeably with the word *foliada.*

categorized as both presentational and participatory performances, as they maintain distinction between musicians and the attendees, while inviting all to dance. The schedule of the event begins with an *obradoiro de baile* [dance workshop], followed by three or four closed groups of experienced musicians with formal training, and finishes with an open *foliada,* where anyone is allowed to play. The presentational value of this environment is highly respected, as it provides a space for formal musicians to exhibit their work. However, due to the large space of the location, I would argue that this event is highly centered around dance. Like Turino points out, "success of a performance more importantly judged by degree of intensity of participation than by quality of music and sound…in these contexts, the music could be the most quality performance based on sound, rhythm, tuning... but if no one joins in, could be considered a failure" (Turino 2008: 33). Considering the *obradoiro de baile* [dance workshop] before the musical presentations, it can further be assumed that dance is a valuable component of the success of this gathering.

Although the word has been noted to signify differing contexts which invite distinct levels of participation, for the majority of the interviewees a *foliada* was defined as a social gathering of playing "traditional" Galician instruments and dancing "traditional" dances, where playful spontaneity, freedom within informality and cultural identity were valued. This was specifically observed in Alberto's (A) commentary:

Extract 12

A:	*Primeiro unha foliada é baile, para min...un grupo de xente que toque... pode ser gaiteiro, pode ser… que haga un intento facer música… e que se xunten para intentar pasarlo ben… pola tardiña, a partir da noite… e bueno, que acaba cando deixen de tocar os músicos."*	'First, for me, a *foliada* is dancing, ... a group of people who play... be it a bagpiper, be it... a person who makes an attempt to make music… and come together to try to have fun... in the evening, during the night… and it ends when the musicians stop playing.'

This commentary coincides with the idea of music as *process* rather than a *product*. In saying "attempting" to play and the intention of "having fun," Alberto demonstrates his perception that effort outweighs official skill, valuing the level of participation over sound quality (Turino 2008: 35). Similarly, Tereixa valued the participatory aspect of the *foliada* as *mínima organización* [minimal organization] and Cris as *informalidade, no sentido de estar comodo* [informality, in the sense of being comfortable]. This ideology infers that the participatory practice "...functions to inspire people to join in, and this type of music making serves a deeper function of creating a special sense of social synchrony, bonding, and identity" (Turino 2008: 48).

In saying that the *foliada* ends when the musicians stop playing, Alberto also identifies the value of time within the festive gathering. It is common to hear that a *foliada* continues, "*Atá que o corpo aguante,*" [Until the body can take it]**,** indicating a celebration of extensive duration. According to Turino, time is key in participatory traditions where dancing, playing and singing for long periods of time allows for humans to live out their innate need to deeply connect with one another. The time limitlessness of participation within a *foliada* can therefore allow "people [to] experience *each other* in heightened physical-sonic ways that provide a powerful sense of identity and unity beyond normal social interactions" (Turino 2008: 188).

Therefore, the participatory, festive, invigorating and identifying elements of these environments thus allow ample opportunity for an individual to experience what Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's theorizes as *flow,* "a heightened concentration where one invests their full attention in an art, disregarding other thoughts, concerns and distractions" (Turino 2008: 4) creating, "a strong force for social bonding" (ibid: 29). In other words, the alluring collective character composed within this participatory event thus invites a participant to conceptualize their individual identity as a component of the group identity. Xeila's (X) perspective of a *foliada* exemplifies the function of the *foliada* as this perpetual cultural representation of identity.

Extract 13

X:	*[É] como unha festa tradicional na que ...claro, a xente vai para pasarlo ben, pero creo que é... enaltecer a nosa cultura, porque realmente, todo o que se move nesta festa está relacionada coa nosa cultura. O baile e a música... a festa é a que se fixo sempre ...en Galicia. Sempre ao final, hai esta festa; a xuntarse, bailar, ver os videos das recollidas de como facía o baile ... e tal. É a nosa cultura, é a base de todo. Que era xuntarse, a bailar e tocar instrumentos, e facer musica.*	'[It's] like a traditional party where… of course, people go to have a good time, but I think it's… exalting our culture, because really, everything that happens in this party is related to our culture. The dance and the music… it's the kind of party that Galicia has always had. In the end, there is always this party; to get together, to dance, to see the recorded videos of *recollidas*, of how people used to dance... and such. It is our culture, it's the basis of everything… which was getting together, dancing and playing instruments, and making music.'

Thus, Xeila perceives the *foliada* as a continuation of traditions, a ludic experience, and most importantly an esteemed representation of Galician character and process of living out cultural identity. She reveres it as a seemingly eternal practice; something that has "always been" and "always will be." This perspective once again reaffirms the *foliada* as a component of the Galician cultural identity (Smith 1992: 58), as it represents the continuity of timeless practices, a memory

captured in documented *recollidas* and a destiny in being recognized as the foundation of Galician culture.

This subjective and collective identity constructed in the *foliada* was also recognized by "Bailadora." She noted first an identifying factor within the love of music and dance, and further expanded with an identifying notion among the collective group: finding affinities with other participants. These shared interests and habits thus create a collective cultural identity within what Turino conceptualizes as a "cultural cohort or identity cohort" (Turino 2008: 111). While the explicit identifying factor within the cultural cohort of a *foliada* is music and dance, participants are likely to share similar values and lifestyles constructive within a Galician cultural identity. The music context of a Galician *foliada* thus illustrates and supports Frith's idea of music and performance not solely as reflections of ideas of those involved, but the creation and production of their identifications and experiences (Frith 1996: 108-09).

These identifying experiences for "Bati Gol" (BG) are lived out through *Estalotadas*. As a long-standing member and musician in *Os Estalotes,* h**e** claimed the word *foliada* to be synonymous with *Estalotada*, defending that they are the only gatherings which are participatory in Santiago. "Bati Gol" explained the overall intention of the *Estalotada* as such:

Extract 14

BG:	*A intención é... o que facemos nós é para seguir mantendo vivo o espírito das Estalotes e pasarlo, primeiro nós ben, e despois o resto da xente...as foliadas abrimolas nós, vamos os de sempre, pero despois cada un ven cunha pandeireta, outra ven cunha tal e toca todo dios. Non é unha persoa soa. Somos todos. Os que veñen ás Estalotadas e os Estalotes.*	'The intention is… what we do is to keep alive the spirit of the *Estalotes* and to have fun, first us, and then the rest of the people... we are always the same ones to initiate the *foliadas*, but then someone comes with a tambourine, another comes with [another instrument] and everyone plays. It is not just one person, it's everyone. Those who come to the *Estalotadas* and the *Estalotes*.'

Considering that these were the environments that sparked his interest and continuous involvement in the traditional music scene, he recognizes the role of the more organized group, which can be comparable to Turino's study of participatory music in Zimbabwe, where he noted that, "core specialists were not stars of the situation… but the ones responsible for maintaining solid rhythmic groove and melodic-harmonic foundation that made fuller participation both possible and enjoyable" (Turino 2008: 133). It can be assumed from "Bati Gol"'s commentary that maintaining a

solid foundation of music is more inviting for a novice participant to make an attempt, knowing that a possible mistake will not ruin the entire *flow*.

Accumulating the variety of personal accounts and perceived intentions of these practices, we can apply Rice's "model for ethnomusicology[39]" (Rice 1987: 473) for studying the intention of the *foliada* from a historical, social and individual perspective. In other words, "traditional" Galician music is historically constructed— based on recorded past practices redeemed through a cultural revival; socially maintained— through the collaborative, identifying and participatory *foliada* and other presentational performances; and individually adapted and experienced— where individual participants are able to personally live out their own identity in relation to how they perceive and express tradition.

4.2.2. "*A participación é sobrevalorada ou mal entendida:*" problems and social codes of participation

In theory, a *foliada* has been revered as an open and spontaneous event. In practice, this is not always the case. While it is commonly spoken of as a participatory gathering, the valuing of participation appears to be dependent on various factors. Some support the idea that these social spaces equally call for an awareness of social codes, or specifically *how* to participate. Balancing open participation and conceptualized customs thus plays a role in how one identifies within these environments. While having carried out his own *recollidas,* taught *pandeireta* and dance as well as participated in various "traditional" gatherings in Santiago, Ramón (R) frames the *foliada* as such:

Extract 15

R:	*É un momento para a música e o baile, relativamente espontaneo... cunha finalidade exclusivamente lúdica... libre, pero libre non de todo. É dicir eu non podo ir a un tablao de flamenco e bailar reggaeton…. A foliada é a libertad con limites. Eso é de toda a vida…[Hai] códigos... pra que este* libertad *funciona dentro dun ordén… porque a* libertad *sen orden non é* libertad*, é caos… e cando hai caos, hai conflicto, a non se respeitan os* espacios *da xente.*	'It is a relatively spontaneous moment for music and dance… with an exclusively playful purpose... freely open to participation, but not in all senses. I mean I can't go to a flamenco *tablao* and dance reggaeton…. A *foliada* is freedom with limits. That's how it has always been... [There are] codes... so that this freedom can work within an order… because freedom without order is not freedom, it's chaos… and when there is chaos, there is conflict, and people's spaces are not respected.'

39 This model was inspired by Clifford Geertz's claim in *The Interpretation of Cultures* that, "symbolic systems… are historically constructed, socially maintained and individually applied" (Geertz 1973: 363-364).

Although agreeing with previously noted definitions, what Ramón stresses is a certain limit of participatory freedom, not only with an intention of maintaining order, but because that is the way "it has always been done." He distinguished the fact that the many types of *foliadas* today are quite distinct from the older rural *foliada.* His experience documenting and learning first hand from *os vellos* has generated a reverence for past practices, which implies an awareness of space, level of personal ability as well as the ability of others. He considers certain norms to allow for "fluidity," an assumable equivalent of *flow.* Too many "new dancers interrupt the flow" (Turino 2008: 34), where their lack of awareness of the environment, not knowing how nor willing to follow the "traditional" dance structure, could result in being ignored and abandoned on the dance floor. Overall, he does value the act of spontaneous participation, that everyone should be able to participate, but that the spaces of others should be respected.

This could be a reason for the *obradoiros de baile*; not only to share cultural dances, but an attempt to ensure a certain level of flow for interested novice dancers. From what I observed as a participant in *foliadas* and schooling in Santiago, *muiñeira* and *jota* are danced with partners in two rows facing each other with no physical contact; where individuals take turns initiating dance steps for the rest of the group to follow. When groups grow to larger sizes, the issue arises from differing levels of skill represented within one group. If an experienced dancer initiates complicated steps that few can follow, some would condemn this an exhibitionist act of "elitism," placing more value on simplicity in order for everyone in the group to participate. In this case, the function of dance is perceived to serve a purpose of inclusivity over a display of maximum skill, "even if this might limit a given performer's desire for personal expression or experimentation" (Turino 2008: 33).

This concept is often transmitted through teaching styles and can be observed on public notification for *Tresfoliando*, stressing the importance of awareness for distinct levels of experience in the intention of the gathering:

> "*partilhar experiências, pontos, risas, toques, melodias… a aprendermos os uns das outras desde o respecto polos distintos niveis, desde a igualdade e, sobretodo, desde a diversom!*" (https://www.facebook.com/gentalha.dopichel/photos/2339603282976726)
>
> [to share experiences, dance steps, laughter, styles of playing, melodies… so that we learn from each other through respect for distinct levels, equality and, above all, through having fun!"] (Personal translation).

While "Xil" would agree that everyone can participate, he concludes that this does not necessarily mean to participate in the same group. Having also established relationships with

elderly rural communities during the execution of his own *recollidas,* he believes that what has become of the perception of participation in urban communities is often "*sobrevalorada ou mal entendida*" [overrated or misunderstood]. He explained that much of the confusion of mixing of levels in one large group— what he called *macrofilas* [long rows]— are a modern concept, a product of folklorism, adopted from staged performances; where in "traditional" *foliadas* of past rural communities, dancers formed groups of either two or three pairs. Levels of skill were thus confined to a smaller group. He concurs with Ramón in saying that everyone should be able to participate, but with an awareness of whom they have chosen to participate with. The issue here is not so much excluding people from participating as it is encouraging an easier access to flow with the people at your own level. Here, older forms are revered not just for being "old," but because they can avoid participatory conflict. What one might consider elitist behavior, another may consider freedom of expression in knowing who to dance with.

In other words, it is an individual's responsibility to recognize the levels represented in a group that they join. If the steps appear too difficult for them, they should take the initiative to create their own group with individuals of their equal level. This critique can be exemplified as Ramón (R) calls to attention the misinterpretation of participation when it comes to dance.

Extract 16

R:	*Hai os que din, 'é unha cousa participativa, e a responibilidade é facerlo participativa…' Non.* Perdona… *Pasoume tamén a xente que dixo, que se veu a poñer ao meu lado que non a fun chamar tampouco, e dixo 'Saca puntos faciles.' Eu dixenlle 'non' …unha cousa é unha imposición, e outra é, "Oye, ves bailar co nós?" "Ah si si, claro." Eu bailo con todo o mundo.*	"There are those who say, 'It's a participatory thing, and the responsibility is to make it participatory…' No. Sorry… It's happened to me where people came next to me in my row, people who I didn't even invite to dance with me either, saying, 'Do easy steps.' I said, 'no'...one thing is an imposition, and another is 'Hey, do you want to dance with us?' I would say, 'Oh yes, of course.' I dance with everyone."

Ramón rejects the responsibility of *always* having to adapt to others' levels. As a ludic event, he values the freedom to participate in a way where he feels free to initiate the steps he wants. If he begins to dance separately with one other person, and others join him, he perceives it as their own responsibility to either "keep up" or create their own group with their own level. If he is invited to dance with others, he perceives it as his own responsibility to be aware of the group he has joined. It is not that he opposes the different levels, but calls for an awareness of one's personal ability and how it affects a group formation and flow.

In terms of participatory instrumentation, "Bati Gol" (BG) claimed that in *Estalotadas*, everyone is allowed to participate, as long as they consider some norms. I have personally observed that freedom to participate within these contexts often depends on assumed social codes and a participant's established rapport with the members. "Bati Gol" (BG) explained:

Extract 17

BG:	*Hai que ter algunhas normas, non? Ou sea, non pode haber dous tambores, non pode haber dous bombos, que hai loucura*.	'You have to have some rules, right? That is, there can't be two snare drums, there can't be two bass drums, because that would be madness.'

The indication is that one must be aware of acceptable instrumentation. A first impression could be interpreted that unbalanced, powerful instrumentation could overwhelm the other valuable elements of the *Estalotada*— other instruments and singing. Taking into consideration the fact that the founders of *Os Estalotes* were initially part of *Cantigas e Agarimos* choir, it seems reasonable to conclude that the singing in these gatherings was a highly valuable component. Furthermore, it is possible that the acceptable instrumentation is based on formations found among this choir. The historical contextualization of the structured performances of this Galician choirs at the end of the nineteenth century is noted as such:

> "*Todos os coros partían dun modelo semellante ao proposto por Perfecto Feijoo, isto é, cun gaiteiro, un tamboril, bombo...*" (Silva 2019: 15)
>
> ["All the choirs were based on a model similar to the one proposed by Perfecto Feijoo, that is, with a bagpiper, a snare drum, bass drum..."] (Personal translation).

Thus, the influences of the historical practices that *Cantigas e Agarimos* choir have on the current practices of *Os Estalotes* could be perceived as timeless norms of a *foliada*, when in reality, their existence is linked to a structure formed to accompany a nationalist movement at the end of the nineteenth century. According to Xelís del Toro, norms among instrumentation have not been consistent, where the formations with bagpipes in particular have been modified over the centuries[40]. By no means is this to say its current structures, such as what is arranged by *Os Estalotes*, should not be respected as valuable art forms, only that they should be contemplated

[40] "The nineteenth-century predominance of the bagpiper as a solo musician, or accompanied by a single drum, had by the end of the century given way to a preference for two bagpipers and two drums: this quartet formation came to be regarded as the traditional mode of performance. At the start of the twentieth century, new formations appeared introducing other instruments such as the clarinet, accordion and violin. These new formations also enlarged the repertoire to include new rhythms and lyrics (Luengo in Milladoiro 1998:171-6)" (De Toro 2002: 242).

when spoken of as the one "true," "timeless" and "authentic" form of playing. "Bati Gol" also did acknowledge this as, accepting that in reality, everyone constructs their own version of tradition.

Once again, notions of timeless norms based on documentations of older generations come into play as "Xil" and Ramón both critiqued some present day behaviors within the *foliada*. Having dedicated much time and effort to *recollidas* as well as teaching "traditional" music and dance, they claim that in the process of "reviving" the *ruada antiga,* after it being silenced during the Franco era current, current displays of expressive practices demonstrate a lack of social code transmission. After his personal experiences in "the field," "Xil" (X) noted the loss and recovery of *códigos* from the rural past to an urban present:

Extract 18

Xi:	*Non habia unha transmisión ou adaptación de códigos daquelas ruadas aos novos tempos. Agora hai una ausencia de codigos nas ruadas. Un ... é se unha esta cantando, e outra xente quere sumar, pedes permiso. E non ponas a tocar... [cun] cantando e veinte pandeiretas que non saben a canción… que ...unha voz non pode subir acima de veinte pandeiretas.*	'There was no transmission or adaptation of codes from those *ruadas* to the new times. There is now an absence of codes in the *ruadas*. One... is if someone is singing, and other people want to join, ask permission. And don't start playing... [with] one person singing and twenty tambourines who don't know the song... one voice can't rise above twenty tambourines.'

While the principles illustrated by "Xil" appear practical, he explains that somehow among the concept of "open participation" they have been lost or they are not being taught. Not only Franco's post-war Spain and folklorization of art forms were reasons for the decay of these "traditional" practices, but furthermore, emigration and the imposition of new musical rhythms (Alén 2009: 76), alongside industrialization, causing many inhabitants of rural communities to relocate to urban areas and thus exchange rural expressive practices for new pastimes. One can only imagine how these cultural phenomena of the time affected the revival of these practices. And while individuals looked to "traditional" practices as viable sources in reclaiming "authentic identity," their documentations and interpretations would be assorted.

"Xil" and Ramón both recognize and mourn the absence of past social codes lost during the revival after having carried out first hand experiences of *recollidas* and compared them to contemporary practices. At the same time "Xil" admitted that, "*non todas eran interesante, loxicamente*" [they were not all interesting, logically], accepting the loss of some old *foliada* norms because they appear outdated with no value today. This could give reason for the employment of current interpretations of tradition, due to the fact that "it is often not because old ways are no

longer available or viable, but because they are deliberately not used or adapted" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 2012: 8).

Those involved in these cultural cohorts currently in Santiago render their personal perspectives of how to participate based on various references: what they see on stage; what they experience first-hand in *foliadas*; what they learn in a structured classroom; or what they analyze in either recorded videos or first hand experiences from *recollidas*. This mixture of references thus could cause a confusion of these codes. While much of the interviewees painted an ideal image of the intention of a *foliada* corresponding with Turino's findings and theories mentioned in the previous section, it is evident that there is a potential for an over idealization of harmony created through these practices.

In the end, opposing opinions exist regarding participation, based on perceptions of the past and objectives of the present. Perhaps the adaptation or reformulation of these codes has been done so both consciously and unconsciously to invite more participation. Although folkloric performances have been noted to influence *foliada* dance formation, perhaps within this revival, there was a lack of leaders who knew how to initiate steps. Therefore, those who were unaware of how to form their own small groups thus joined with larger groups in order to participate. Alongside folkloric influences, this theory could explain the new perspectives and value of participation. Out of the many interpretations of how to revive "traditional" ways, be it in playing, singing dancing will encounter issues of transmission, based on the objectives at hand.

4.2.3. "Traditional" Music and Dance Schools in Santiago de Compostela

Although many would concur that much of their knowledge of "traditional" music and dance was formed by observing and participating in these spaces of music and dance expression, it is safe to say that most individuals who participate in *foliadas* in Santiago attend some form of formal classes which prompt them in their ability to participate. Also, many *foliadas* are often organized by traditional music and dance centers, thus attracting their students to apply what they have learned in the classroom to the *festa*. So where does this knowledge that is transmitted in the classroom come from? What political ideologies are laced within these practices? What are different styles in teaching and the common attitudes in regard to these styles?

The documentation of traditional processes called *recollidas* have been observed as sort of sacred pilgrimages, where *os vellos* could be paralleled to Anthony Smith's commentary regarding

the historical construction of a national identity, in that, "the peasant masses are treated as repository of truth, wisdom and culture" (Smith 1992: 66). While the objective of *recollidas* is to conserve and transmit Galician music and dance, the way in which individuals transmit their interpretations of these documentations is not independent of personal or institutional objectives. To simplify objectives of the majority of Galician "traditional" music and dance transmission styles in Santiago, one could say that there are two styles of schooling: either preparation for participation in *foliadas* or preparation for folkloric staged performances[41]**.** Primarily, these differences can be observed in dance transmission, where staged performances teach a strict and more rigid technique to prepare an aesthetic portrayal of these practices, and gender plays a role in choreography.

Throughout the interviews, each of the eight individuals had attended some sort of music and dance training, and three were tambourine or dance instructors. *A Gentalha do Pichel* was recognized as a "non-folkloric" school, preparatory for *foliadas*, equipping students with the tools of participation and cultural representation with an evident nationalist and *reintegracionista* political ideology. The school was also esteemed for its festive atmosphere and organized events. Xeila (X) mentions her reasons for deciding to attend *A Gentalha*:

Extract 19

X:	*Era unha maneira de coñecer xente da contorna que a min me gusta máis, que é a foliada, e falar en galego, por respecto de todo esto.... sínteste agusto neste sitio porque a forma de pensar é moi similar...*	It was a way to meet people in a place that I like the most, which is the *foliada*, and speak in Galician, out of respect for all this… you feel comfortable in this place because the way of thinking is very similar...

Xeila indicates both a social and cultural identity fostered in this center, where people share a passion for not only music and dance, but how this helps shape an identifying environment of common interests; to speak Galician and to find like minded people. Teachers at this school are known to emphasize the importance of personal *recollidas*, as well as teach "equality" in dance, absent of gender roles. While educators teach a foundation of corporal form and movement form, they also accept that *xeito* (style) is a personal exploration. This would differ from a school that is considered as "folkloric," which strictly separates the *xeito* of women and men.

The political orientation of "traditional" music and dance centers and events in Santiago de Compostela tends to often sympathize with the leftist ideologies and nationalist sentiment, in which *A Gentalha* is the most vocal of them all, weaving together music and nationalist sentiment to

[41] There are also those who establish musical projects based on *recollidas* in a more individual professional manner, but I will not so much address that in this study.

Figure 4.5 - Translation: On left, "For sanitary hygiene, it is obligatory to use a mask in this social center." On right, "For democratic hygiene, it is not permitted to display the Spanish flag in this social center." Photograph from *A gentalha do pichel* facebook page (shorturl.at/arwIU).

mobilize the cultural movement (Bolhman 2010: 5). Therefore, this center attracts a specific leftist political profile, often of younger *reintegracionistas* and *independentistas*, who are often advocates of current social issues. The concern is that while this school has an evident political ideology, it runs the risk of attracting only those who sympathize with their political ideals, while discriminating against those who do not. Take for example the comment by Tereixa (T):

Extract: 20

T:	*É unha asociación reintegracionista, nacionalista, demais ...que eu imaxino que alguen que non comungue moito co isto non se lleva por ir ...por moito que lle gusta o baile, ou pandeireta , non se vai occurir a ir ali.*	'It's a reintegrationist and nationalist association… I imagine that someone who doesn't agree with these things is not going to want to go there... no matter how much they like dancing, or tambourine, they're not going to to think to go there.'

In hopes of persevering Galician culture— music, dance and language— this center takes on a political responsibility where these elements are attached to a nationalistic ideology, as seen in figure 4.5. Although with good intentions of cultural conservation, an attachment of too much political sentiment may cause resistance, as seen in the example with Alberto. When political intentions come on too strong initially, this could mask the invitation of an identifying experience in another way. If one intention within this center is linguistic normalization, perhaps the forceful political ideology could discourage someone to enter, due to "an overpolitisation of the language as a communicative expressive activity" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 103).

Political sentiment may act as a repellent for those interested in these practices, but others find it necessary, especially its role in the movement towards linguistic rights and representation. Thus, *A Gentalha* takes on an important role as a social-cultural-political center. With its clearly nationalistic sentiment, it is easy for someone to find like-minded people and be freely able to express themselves in Galician, as stated by Xeila. Ramón, for example, believes this bold linguistic attention is what is lacking in other "folkloric" centers. His critique demonstrates the correlation between identity markers. Where there is promotion and transmission of music and dance, so too should there be promotion and transmission of language.

As for other schools, the political sentiment is not as evident. *A Xuntanza* was noted as a space to *pasarlo ben* [have a good time] because the objective is not so much centered around the stage performance. *Brincadeira* was also noted to create a *bo ambiente* [good environment], although there is more precision in instruction as they do prepare an *agrupación* to participate in staged competitions. *Cantigas e Agarimos* was revered in its historical trajectory and perfected aesthetic performances, while also critiqued for its militant style of instruction and elite character. In these centers, these practices represent a cultural identity or a ludic pastime, where participants are not as explicitly active in social, political and linguistic issues as perhaps those of *A gentalha*.

With different centers offering different styles dependent on their objectives, conflict is more probable when diverse training is being represented in the same space of a *foliada*. Although *Cantigas* is highly appreciated and successful in their performances, outsiders have opined that they bring an exhibitionist attitude to *foliadas,* where closed "cliques" are often formed pertaining to the music or dance school you attend. Reflecting on Ramón and "Xil"'s opinion that everyone should participate, but that does not mean together, people from *Cantigas* would feel free to express their skills together and people of other schools and levels to enjoy their levels together. At the same time, this has been interpreted by individuals as closed groups. Although these schools are noted to have different objectives in their teaching styles, one noted commonality is their objective for *recuperación* [recovery], *conservación* [conservation] and *transmisión* [transmission] of tradition. In the words of Cris (C):

Extract 21

C:	*Ao final compartimos ao final a misma base, ou sea o que nos move a bailar e cantar, "o noso"... pero cada un o ve dun punto de vista diferente ou sea totalmente diferente, para min eh.*	"In the end we share the same base, in other words what moves us to dance and sing, 'what is ours'... but in my opinion everyone sees it from a different point of view…"

In the end, whether through a loss of codes, misconstrued perception of participation or critiques of transmission or interpretation, all of these interpretations intend to represent what they perceive as "traditional," and "tradition has little to do with the mere persistence of old forms… [and] much more to do with the way elements have been linked together or articulated" (Storey 1998: 450).

4.3. Music, dance, language and identities

This section intends to more directly examine these interrelated elements of identity expressed in a *foliada*. First, it will introduce the idea of a *foliada* as identity, considering it fosters identifying cultural expressions of music, dance and language. Next, it will examine the sense of nostalgia of a "traditional" past, paralleling perspectives of previous expression of music, dance and language, while debating issues of "authenticity" and an institutionalization of these practices. The final section will examine how the *foliada* acts as a space for a continuation of music, dance and language, and the potentials for the future of these forms of expression.

4.3.1. The *foliada* as [musical and linguistic] identity

For those who are devoted practitioners of "traditional" Galician music, I would infer that the seemingly sacred rituals within these environments represent more than simply the sound of the music being played, but moreover for many they embody a social, political and sociolinguistic character, with the power to emotionally shape and influence people to acquire a certain identity. Where Merriam (1964) recognizes music not only as a component of culture but moreover *as* culture, I would equally argue that the musical environment of a *foliada* is not limited to a part of one's "identity," but instead it could be approached as an entirety, or "music *as* identity."

In my personal involvement, it was mainly through song that I began to construct much of my idea of the Galician identity. First, by identifying with the initiative to participate, and later with comprehension and sympathy for the lyrics; it was then that these cultural references of places, food, celebrations, emotions began to paint the image of a Galician character and spirit for me. Previously, the intention of the *foliada* was recognized primarily as a cultural expression of pleasant diversion. As for my own experience, this attractive participatory and presentational atmosphere had the potential to emotionally allure me into its social space, take delight in the celebration as well as the challenge of equipping myself with the skills to become one of the group, to join in the

group identity. After some time frequenting these spaces, and all the while observing the majority of participants to be Galician speakers, it eventually felt strange for me to continue in my identity as a Castilian-speaker, considering I had begun to understand Galician and felt enticed to speak it.

I believe that I found a self understanding in my attraction to participatory music and dance, which thus contributed to taking on a group identity constructed out of a "collective self-understanding as represented by various characteristics, activities, and customs, including music" (Rice 2007: 23). Sympathizing with these collective characteristics and customs eventually would invite me to discover my individual identity as a Galician speaker. Thus, while music, dance and language are recognized as prominent identity markers, they take on a profound purpose for Galician identifications within these settings, where their expressions represent more than just sound and movement. As for music, Eugenia Romero's explanation can be considered:

> "...[m]usic also implies much more than just texts (whether lyrics or musical scores). Musical practices include whole constellations of social uses and meanings, with complex rituals and rules, hierarchies and systems of credibility that can be interpreted at many levels" (Romero 2017: 318).

The constellations of social use and meanings for Galician "traditional" music can be interpreted through their uses among the rural past and the urban present. Although the lyrics, musicality and dance expression are important for the continuity of a collective identity, the way in which these practices intend to reflect the past while being subjected to present social phenomena continue to shape a Galician identity today. Balancing a loyalty to the past and modernity is vital to how they are received as valuable practices in a modern, urban society. They have become conscious displays of a cultural identity where political, linguistic and social issues are often attached. And while an adaptation of these rural practices to an urban setting is bound to confront modifications and new variations, the collective intention to uphold and reinterpret these practices remains of value. The implications of social meanings attached to Galician music expression can thus be compared to those attached to linguistic expression as well:

> "...simply using language in particular ways is not what forms social groups, identities, or relations (nor does the group relation automatically give rise to linguistic distinction): rather ideological interpretations of such uses of languages always mediate these effects" (Woolard 2020: 18).

Just as music is perceived as more than just sound, so too is language. Language use can also be recognized as a more conscious display of cultural identity, especially when diglossia is a factor and dominant vernaculars are seen as a threat. Supported by both cultural and political

manifestations, naturally the use of Galician language is not divorced from certain ideologies, based either in rural or nationalist sentiment. Thus, I would infer that this identity manifested in the modern day *foliada* through music, dance and language is more than the songs being sung, the dances being danced and the language being spoken, but how all of these intend to revere the past and consciously express a modern-day Galician identity, supporting a distinction from Spain and protection from globalizing efforts. Therefore, sympathizing with one of these expressive practices could potentially evoke a sympathy for the other.

Applying the three suggested forms of identification by Brubaker and Cooper (2000) to the social setting of a *foliada,* a contextualization of music as identity can be observed. First, *identification and categorization,* in that there is room for identification of self and the categorization of others through performing abilities in music and dance and in varieties of language being used, all in which "sameness" is not the objective. Second, *self-understanding and social location* in that identification is not dependent on a universal concept of the Galician "identity," nor universal concept of a *foliada*, but of an awareness of self and social environment through topics being discussed, songs chosen to be sung, or regional dance styles being exhibited. Third*, commonality, connectedness, groupness* where one is able to find belonging in the sharing of viewpoints whether on issues of politics, education, gastronomy, or language choice.

The identifying forces composing the *foliada* interrelating music, dance and Galician language expressions is accepted as an obvious phenomenon for some. Ramón expressed that these social environments facilitate sympathizing with or even using the Galician language:

Extract 22

R: *Se chegas ao baile e a música, te acabas a chegar a lingua, hai máis* facilidad*... hai unha identidade cultural ... que vai un pouco asociada a un movimento cultural, se non vai asociada cunha identidade cultural… Unha persoa castelanfalante que se chega ao mundo da foliada ten máis* facilidad *de chegar á lingua. Porque entra nun contexto que favorece* [*o galego*]. *Porque a maioría ... fala galego e non castelán… o valor intrínseco que ten a cultura tradicional e a lingua é o* mismo. *É un pouco buscar teus raíces…buscas unha cousa...pois se queres ser coerente buscalas para a outra.*

'If you approach dance and music, it is easier to approach the language... there is a cultural identity… associated with a cultural movement, if not associated with a cultural identity… A Spanish-speaking person who enters the world of *foliadas* has an easier time reaching the language. Because they enter a context that favors [Galician]. Because the majority in this social environment speaks Galician and not Spanish… the intrinsic value of traditional culture and language is the same. It's a bit like looking for your roots… [while] looking for one thing... well if you want to be consistent, you look for the other.'

Here, Ramón highlights a consistency of a cultural identity, composed of language, dance and music. Since the *Rexurdimento*, these identity markers have been observed as highly valuable cultural manifestations in their ability to mobilize a Galician character, and even today a notion of their connection continues to be observed, and therefore one could influence the expression of the other. Although not all Galicians sympathize with the recovery of musical practices nor linguistic normalization since the Transition, I would argue that a "community of practice" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 96) for those who do can be found among what is recognized today as the *foliada*. Therefore, as long as language is linked to identity, and identity is linked to music and dance expression, their overlapping can be again recognized as a consistent expression of identity.

According to "Bati Gol," *foliadas* have an attracting element which can evoke appreciation for Galician culture and language where *todo vai ligado* [everything is connected]. However, an individual must decipher if sympathizing with these elements is part of their own self-understanding. The issue is if entering these spaces can guarantee a sympathy for the national sentiment, and furthermore the promotion of its language. "Bati Gol" expresses that this comes from more personal motivation, evoked by a sense of responsibility for language survival, social and political injustice or cultural commitment (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015: 155).

With such appreciation and dedication to the cultural musical practices, there is a possibility that a sense of cultural commitment to Galician language could be ignited. This is also addressed by Xeila, who understands the *foliada* may not guarantee the use of Galician language, but personally recognizes the strong link among identity markers:

Extract 23

X:	*De feito, sorprende bastante neste ambito de baile e de musica a escoitar a xente falar en castelán, atá me choca ... non sei se vai da man que o respeto de que ti tes de cara o baile ou a musica de aqui leva que tamén respetes o idioma ou visa-versa ... se o visualices como unha festa sin máis e... non. Pero persoamente visualizo como respeto a todo.* Entoces *para min, o baile é tan importante e forma tanta parte de Galicia como a musica, e a lingua tamén. ...é un simbiosis de todo. Eu creo que vai todo da man, todo unido.*	'In fact, it's quite surprising to hear people speak in Spanish in music and dance contexts, it even shocks me… I don't know if it goes hand in hand that the respect that you have for the dance or the music means that you also respect the language or vice versa… if you see it as nothing more than just a party... no. But I personally see it as respect for everything. So for me, dance is as important and is as much a part of Galicia as music, and language as well… it's a symbiosis of everything. I think it all goes hand in hand, all together.'

After the dictatorship, "music was to be a key element in the rapid formation of a new Galician identity that could reconcile the rural and the urban..." (Colmeiro 2014: 101). This reconciliation has been expressed within the urban *foliada*, where an "identity" of revival and resistance gave and continues to give their musics meaning, and equally music further gives value to identity (Rice 2007). The pride and value in these practices could be argued to furthermore give linguistic choice meaning, as these spaces often foster Galician linguistic identity. Therefore, within the *foliada,* both a musical and linguistic identity are given a stage.

4.3.2. Paralleling and intersecting musical and linguistic "authenticity"

Growing up in a rural *aldea* of Galicia and having had personal musical and linguistic experiences with *os vellos,* Ramón paralleled "natural" transmission of music and dance by *os vellos* in the *aldea* to the "natural" ways of learning and speaking Galician in *as aldeas*. By "natural," he meant learning outside an official institution, thus differentiating past rural forms of transmission to current urban forms. In other words, in urban areas like Santiago, people learn music, dance and normative Galician language in schools or associations, where people in *aldeas* learned to sing, dance and speak organically in their day to day. Where education from the *aldea* was a result of the social context of the past, regulated and normative schooling in urbanized areas is that of the present.

Distinguishing a community and place as holders of "natural" expression can thus be linked to notions of "authenticity." According to linguistic anthropologist Kathryn Woolard, "authenticity

locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community. To be considered authentic, a speech variety must be very much 'from somewhere' in speakers' consciousness, and thus its meaning is profoundly local" (Woolard 2008 : 304). Although specifically examining authenticity in language, in the case of Galicia, I would argue that Woolard's claim could also be applied to music and dance expression, that authentic forms of music and dance are perceived as those linked to *os vellos do rural*. Therefore, authentic music, dance and language expression are attached to a space and time.

While "traditional" expressions learned in the rural areas are perceived as more "authentic," those learned through official institutionalization therefore confront notions of "artificiality," or "anonymity," as in they are a product not originating from a specific space and time, but out of contemporary constructions to meet modern objectives of maintaining and projecting a national identity. Woolard distinguishes perceptions of linguistic authenticity (being from "somewhere") from linguistic anonymity (being from "nowhere") (Woolard 2008); where the construction of standardized Galician is often perceived as "anonymous," so too could urban music and dance expression be considered, as a product resulting from the mixture of regional specificity with urban interpretations, and therefore being "traditionally" from "nowhere." Nonetheless, I would argue that it has been the appreciation of the "authentic" which has produced the "artificial" or "anonymous." In other words, cultural revival and conscious conservation risk constructing contrived cultural expression. While modifications in their transmission and expression are consequently considered less "authentic," they can ensure a destiny for cultural expression.

The paradox of "authenticity" and Galician tradition conservation is as such: in the desire to revive and maintain the valued "spontaneous" and "organic" forms of music, dance and language of rural areas, formal methods of documentation and transmission have been put in place. Although "authentic tradition" is often synonymous for expressive practices independent of official schooling, the longing to conserve and record "authenticity" has led to institutionalizing expressive forms valued for existing outside of institutionalization. Nonetheless, if the goal is to ensure that these cultural expressions continue to uphold a Galician identity against the pressures of Spain and an ever more globalized world, perhaps institutionalization guarantees their future existence. The issue thus lies in how the individuals institutionalizing these practices perceive "authenticity" and how their perceptions affect the transmission of "tradition." As Gelbart points out, "what we consider authentic always shows us more about ourselves and our values than about the object under consideration" (Gelbart 2007: 172).

With the constant concept of *os vellos do rural* as a repository of authentic identity, some opine that even though they speak with many *castelanismos*, or even completely in Castilian, the fact that they maintain both the "original" Galician accent and grammar structure deems them more representative of an authentic Galician linguistic identity than someone who speaks normative standard Galician. Therefore, through processes of cultural conservation (*recollidas*) and transmission of musical practices, it is inevitable to encounter recordings of lyrics in Castilian. This phenomenon was explained to be the result of *cantigas* carried over from the region of Castile and León or as linguistic "contamination" due to Castilian imposition. A majority the interviewees did not have a problem with the fact that some songs sung in a *foliada* contain lyrics in Castilian, due to the fact that that is how *os vellos* sang it. As for translation, some expressed how they would not mind to *galeguizar* [translate to Galician] the lyrics; while others considered this somewhat "sacrilegious," in that what is produced by *os vellos* should be respected and is not able to be translated. The trouble with translation rests not only in transmitting equivalent themes while interpreting proper musical meter, but also that many times a Castilian grammatical and phonetic foundation is maintained, and only lexicon changes to Galician.

When asked "Xil" his opinion regarding Castilian lyrics in a *"*traditional*"* music gathering, he explained:

Extract 24

Xi:	*...as cantigas en castelán que cantaban os vellos ... son cantadas por algunha xente que teñen unha estructura mental en galego. Entón, teñen cousas moi interesantes, mesmo sendo en español, teñen construcións en galego... poden ser cantadas en español pero teñen todos os rasgos fonéticos do galego da zona da persoa que está cantando. A min eso me parece maravilloso. Despois, hai outras cantigas que poden aparecer que están en galego, pero teñen unha construción en castelán. Me parece máis perigoso porque, como dixen antes, que eu penso que o perigo do galego é que vaise diluir, vaise misturando co español. Entón hai moitas cantigas que teñen a estructura española pero un léxico galego.*	'… songs in Spanish that the old people sang… are sung by some people who have a mental structure in Galician. So, they have very interesting components, even being in Spanish, they have constructions in Galician… they can be sung in Spanish, but they have all the phonetic features of Galician from the area of the person who is singing. That seems wonderful to me. Then, there are other songs that may appear that are in Galician, but have a construction in Spanish. It seems more dangerous to me because, as I said before, I think that the danger of Galician is that it will be diluted, it will mix with Spanish. Then there are many songs that have the Spanish structure but a Galician lexicon.'

In "Xil"'s commentary, Galician traditional lyrics are observed through three linguistic elements: grammar, phonetics and lexicon. He establishes the difference between songs sung with

Castilian lexicon, but Galician phonetics and grammar structure; and songs sung with Galician lexicon, but with Castilian phonetics and grammar structure. In this, favorability is given to accent and grammar structure over actual words. Just like previously referenced Woolard and Bonfiglio, "accent matters" (Woolard 2008: 3), as "it is unconsciously perceived as the repository of the linguistic capital that is desired and worshiped" (Bonfiglio 2010: 16). In making this distinction, his main warning is that of the dilution of Galician in the Castilian language. His opinion reflects the idea that if song maintains Galician phonetics and grammar, Castilian lexicon is not seen so much of a threat. However, if the opposite occurs, Galician risks losing the more valuable grammatical and phonetic elements. The transmission of Galician traditional lyrics thus encounters these three linguistic elements, which are observed to either help or hurt the future of the Galician language. In the end, the pursuit of linguistic normalization through lyrical expression confronts juggling authenticity among grammar, phonetics and lexicon.

What can be observed is that the concepts of musical and linguistic tradition are not divorced from both change and stagnation, from what is permitted to change, protected from change, or forced to change. While a perceived "authenticity" in Galician language is faced with the imposition of either Castilian grammar, lexicon or accent, as well as an "anonymous" standard Galician, musical "authenticity" is confronted with questions of codes, folkloric influences and diverse reinterpretations of *recollidas*. Change thus is produced in the overlapping of these elements. Coping with these concepts of change and authenticity, we can apply Gelbart's interpretation of tradition:

> "Tradition seems to always be under threat of change— to need protection, to be breaking down, since the concept is really about setting the acceptable limits of change, about the force working against change, about establishing a form of 'authenticity'" (Gelbart 2007: 171-72).

4.3.3. *Foliadas e futuro* - Preserving and Reinterpreting Galician music, dance and language

If the *foliada* can thus be recognized as an identifying expression to influence language choice, the balance of "tradition" and contemporaneity is essential for its continuation of interested participants. In terms of a future for Galician music and dance, the interviewees spoke of adaptations to current times which could attract larger participation, while at the same time evoked

issues related to "authenticity." As for modernization processes of music, both lyrics and instrumentation can be observed. Lyrical theme adaptations such as modernized modifications, translation from Castilian to Galician and elimination of sexist lyrics were addressed by interviewees. Alberto (A) made a reference to the "updated" lyrics arranged by formal musicians in presentational performative environments. While they are not necessarily *foliadas*, they still invite the component of Galician dance participation, and their songs could potentially be reproduced in a *foliada* context:

Extract 25

A:	*Pois pareceme que se está adaptando bastante ben na suas letras, ao que é a sociedade de hoxe en dia. Porque falache de letras bonitas sen igual sacar unha copla de ir a buscar as vacas cando... igual as novas generacións e nenos que non viu unha vaca na sua vida. Creo que o que se están intentando adaptar a eses novos tempos, a que a xente sinte máis identificada máis co que cantan...*	"Well, it seems to me that lyrics are being adapted quite well to what society is today. Because there are still beautiful lyrics without talking about, for example, having to go look for cows when… maybe there are new generations and children who have not seen a cow in their life. I think that what they are trying to adapt to these new times is that people feel more identified with what they sing..."

Alberto's commentary focuses on the lyrical aspect of music and the adaptation of identifying cultural themes being sung about. This symbolizes how "traditional" music is accompanying the movement of society from rural life to urban. Where some may perceive this as a threat to the "authenticity" of what should be considered "traditional" music, he observes this as not so much a loss, but however a gain, in that this music becomes more relatable for larger masses, and thus reaffirms a current Galician identity. In this perspective, the essence of being "traditional" rests more in the instruments being used, while giving flexibility to "traditional" themes in lyrics. In light of musical adaptations Eugenia Romero opines:

> "Contemporary Galician music offers an approach to *galeguidade* that emphasizes on the one hand, a position that goes beyond the global and the local (becoming glocal) and, on the other, a cultural and musical transmigration that in turn produces a hybridism of sounds, styles and rhythms creating a music (and an identity) more in tune with the present time" (Romero 2017: 317) [Personal translation].

This global-local hybridization of sound has also been observed in instrumentation within what is considered as "traditional" music, beginning earlier in the 1970s music revival, which has also led to other issues regarding what is perceived as "traditional." Regarding musical instrumentation, some critiqued the dilution of the "true essence" of traditional music by blending

outside influences. Take for example the Celtic music revival and the effect it has had on Galician "traditional" music. While referring to Galicia's recent participation in Celtic music and dance festivals, "Bati Gol" (BG) shared an anecdote which can be classified as the repercussions of linking Celticity to the Galician identity.

Extract 26

BG:	*Nas ultimas Estalotadas que houbo, chegou un tio Danés e preguntarame ... "Tocades bouzouki e violin?" E eu dixen, "Non, iso é folk." ... é concepto da musica tradicional. O gran problem co que venden fora, todos eses grupos potentes, é folk. Entón, a xente chega aqui, ven moi confundidos co rollo folk, rollo de bouzoukis e violins... baterias coa musica tradicional. Eu vexo un gran problema en eso...É musica de grupos galegos, si, que tocan moita musica irlandesa, moitas pezas da musica tradicional levados ao folk, eu vexo ben. Pero que non vendan o que non é. É o que vexo e sempre defenderei...*	'In the last *Estalotadas*, there was a Danish guy and he asked me... 'Do you play bouzouki and violin?' And I said, 'No, that's folk'... The big problem with what they sell internationally, all those powerful groups, is folk. So people get here, confused by the folk deal, by bouzoukis and violins and so on... drums with traditional music. I see a big problem with that… It's music from Galician groups, yes, who play a lot of Irish music, a lot of traditional music carried over to folk, I think it's good. But don't sell it for what is not. That's how I see it and I what I will always defend."

Here, "Bati Gol" establishes a distinction between "folk" and "traditional" music based on the instruments used. He defines "folk" as a hybridization of "traditional" Galician instruments and outer influences, which is sold to an external audience as "traditional Galician music." He classifies traditional as "*o que facemos nós*" [what we do], referring to *Os Estalotes,* which involves primarily *gaitas, tambor* and *pandeireta*. This issue of mixing mostly is the result of Celtic influences, which began back during the *Rexurdimento* and were once again revived during the Galician cultural music boom in the 1970s. Calvo-Sotelo expands on the Celtic repercussions for Galician nationalism:

> "[There are] two aspects of the duality that burdens Celticity… On the one hand, the vindication of Galician identity and its desire to mark a difference within the Spanish nation and, on the other, the Celtic syncretism that tends to treat all Celtic nations alike, without regard for particulars. Both stances are highly revered, but in practical terms this discourse has little to do with the fervor of protest song. There is not a definite objective to struggle for, only a nationalism without a nation" (Calvo-Sotelo 2013: 57).

In other words, Celticity that once strengthened Galician nationalism is now modifying traditional expressive practices and distracting it from its original objective. For "Bati Gol," the overpowering effect that Celticity has on the music industry is overlooking what others deem

"traditional." At the same time, the label of "Celtic" attached to Galician music can be perceived as both helpful and harmful to Galician nationalism; helpful in that formal Galician musicians themselves have more opportunities to receive global recognition, being invited to play at Celtic festivals, and thus further helping Galician identity to feel more clearly distinguished from a Spanish one. At the same time, while entering into the family of Celtic nations, Galicia risks surrendering its individuality in order to be one with them. Just as Galicia attempts to escape a homogenous community in Spain, it is as if it enters another one among the "Celts," and Spain could use this to its own benefit, where both the essence of Galician music and identity could become more difficult to define.

In spite of all this, the maintenance of the foundational elements of Galician music and dance were noted to have potential to carry on the overall essence of the *foliada*. Whether the desire of belonging to a collective community, the observation of enjoyment that a *foliada* exhibits, the social and physical health exercised through music and dance, the invitation of participation for all ages and levels; interviewees mentioned these physical emotional characteristics to have the ability to *engancharte* [hook you], therefore establishing a prediction of the future interest in participants and the demand for traditional music and dance schools.

As for the future of Galician dance, it too is cultivated in the balancing of a loyalty to orthodoxical expression and a discernment for contemporary adaptations. Considering this balance often ensures continuation to these practices, the center *A Gentalha do Pichel* promotes a prominent opinion regarding the free expression of *o teu xeito* (your own way) alongside the elimination of gender roles in how dance is taught and practiced, which was previously addressed. As mentioned before, although individuals attend different schools for different motives, in the Santiago *foliada* it is currently rare to observe an obvious display of gender roles within dance. As for the stage, it will be interesting to observe how younger generations will approach contemporary issues among cultural expression in an ever more globally interacting world, as they continue to sing a new song for tradition. It is possible that even in a theatrical representation of tradition in the future, gender roles could become obsolete.

In balancing the value of authenticity and the freedom of spontaneity, I observed a fear of creating a dance of "anonymity," where the essence of its origin is lost. Regarding dance *xeito* or style, Xeila opines:

Extract 27

X: *Non sei se atá que punto as veces se deixa de dar valor ao baile. Creo que todo o mundo debe bailar sexa como sexa, pero as veces se ves dende fora dis, "jo, igual está perdendo realmente o que é." Pois se bailas sexa como sexa, pode ser que perde o baile, e como era ... Xa non se fai como se facia ao principio... Supoño que muda o xeito de bailar, ou certas cousas de zonas, que se bailaban e se deixan de bailar... Se cadra deixamos de darlle valor á realmente as orixes. Entonces acaba perdendo o xeito de bailar dunha zona por exemplo. Ou que se perde ou que se* olvide *ou que xa non ten valor.*

'I don't know to what extent we sometimes fail to give value to dance. I think everyone should dance how they want, but sometimes if you look at it from the outside you say, 'Shoot, maybe it's losing what it really is.' Because if you dance however you want, you may lose the dance, and what it was … People no longer dance like they used to in the beginning… I guess the dance style changes, or certain things from certain regions, that were danced in a certain way and now are not... Maybe we stopped giving value to the actual origins. Then dance styles from certain areas are lost. Either it is lost or it is forgotten, or it no longer has value.

As loyalty to heritage meets contemporaneity in this passing on of practices, how much leeway permitted for modifications is left open for debate. How instructors and students juggle conserving customs while welcoming contemporaneity, all in hopes of endorsing a nation, sparks curiosity. Thus, ideologies of dance and its origin are also at the forefront of dispute. Ideals for transmission and continuity of these practices are in the hands (and feet) of those who document, transmit, absorb and observe the traditions at play. In the end the construction of a nation meets a construction of reality and that reality is one shaped by a common understanding of the past, agency in the present and hope for the future.

Language

With regard to the future of the language, interviewees were more skeptical. Where some opined that Galician will only continue to exist if rural space is maintained, others mentioned that it will eventually die out with elderly rural communities, leaving only *neogalego* of the *neofalantes*; coinciding with studies by O'Rourke (2014 : 89). In spite of this, new-speaker vitality was noted to be fostered in the *foliadas.* Ramón mentioned an interesting new profile of new speakers being stimulated in these environments, where he has observed language shift among various individuals with certain social and political profiles who enter into these spaces. He mentioned how this *neogalego* profile in these *foliadas* is creating a new dialectal variety. According to Tereixa (T), she acknowledges the *foliada* and its potential to encourage Galician language use, while being equally

practical in recognizing that this community is quite small among the mass of Castilian language speakers in Galicia.

Extract 28

T:	*Mira, eu sei de xente que é castelán falante, e que está metida na musica tradicional e todo o tempo que están na agrupación, nas foliadas e máis, non as escoitas a falar castelán. Que a min ao principio me chocaba moito… Como, si bailas e tocas tes que ser galego ou galego falante.. Pero a ver, eu creo que axuda a que se use a lingua galega. Pero claro, todos estamos aquí nese "ghetto" lingüístico (risas).*	'I know of people who are Spanish speakers, and who are involved in traditional music, and every time they are in the group, in *foliadas* and such, you don't hear them speak Spanish. That shocked me a lot at first… Like, if you dance and play you have to be Galician or Galician speaking … But let's see, I think [these environments] help Galician language use. But of course, we are all here in this linguistic 'ghetto' (laughs).'

Nonetheless, Galician language is being used in a "normal" sense as the medium to mobilize another identifying force of music and dance expression. "Xil" (Xi) was one to say that singing in Galician helps to normalize the distinct varieties of the Galician language, while some songs are taught in a way to maintain linguistic phenomena or distinctive lexicon of a certain region. Learning these songs has the potential to thus affirm and esteem the non standardized varieties, which are often associated with "rurality, poverty and backwardness" (O'Rourke 2014: 89).

Extract 29

Xi:	*Vexo que cantar en galego normaliza, axuda normalizar...a lingua e a vision que ten un proprio como falante… o ambito de cantar en galego crea tamen un ámbito linguistico á marxe disto*.	I see that singing in Galician normalizes, helps to normalize ... the language and the vision that one has one's own as a speaker ... the scope of singing in Galician also creates a linguistic scope apart from this.

Normalizing efforts of the Galician language through song has been observed in song translations by popular and prominent groups, such as the "traditional-fusion" group *Tanxugueiras*[42]. While there are those who are critical of lyrical translation, it is possible that someone could arrive at the Galician language due to the rising popularity and musical variety of *Tanxugueiras,* which could shine a new light on both Galician "traditional" music and language for someone initially with no interest in these expressive forms at all. Furthermore, considering their

[42] "Strong, brave and empowered women. Singers of a new decade. The voices of Olaia Maneiro, Aida Tarrío and Sabela Maneiro, full of virtuosity and force, are the greatest exponents of a generation open to the evolution and reformulation of the collective creation of Galician music… In 2021, the singers ... consolidate the identity of a group that curiously explores the fusion of tradition with urban and modern sounds. Their latest single, *Midas*, with influences of sounds close to trap or electronica, focuses on bold artists, called to take the rhythms and energy of the earth on stages around the world" (Personal translation from: https://tanxugueiras.com/biografia-gal/).

nomination as candidates to potentially represent Spain in the Eurovision 2022 contest[43], it will be interesting to observe how their popularity could give a voice to Galician music and language on both an internal and global scale.

Due to institutionalization of these practices, opposing opinions regarding the authenticity of transmission of "traditional" music, dance and language expression will exist, whether in the *foliada* where perspectives of participation conflict, or in language where the number of speakers of the perceived "true" Galician are declining. Whether a modern musical gathering should be considered a *neofoliada*, or if what is being spoken should be considered *neogalego*, what is noteworthy is how new interpretations of these expressive practices coincide and assist one another in their continuity. The passing of time confronts the inevitability of modern interpretations pertaining to how communities identify with these expressions and how they adapt to the cultural phenomena of the time. All the while, these reinterpreted practices are producing an identifying space in which current and new variants of the Galician language have the potential to flourish.

[43]https://eurovision-spain.com/tanxugueiras-recoge-el-guante-y-envia-cancion-para-eurovision-sigue-la-linea-de-figa-o-midas/

5. "*Os vellos facian asi*": mourning the loss of an "authentic" past

During fieldwork I observed equally a pride in current forms of cultural expression as much as a nostalgia for the loss of how *os vellos* used to play music, dance and speak. While dealing with complex themes of "tradition", "modernity" and "authenticity," it is no surprise to encounter contradictory ideologies among cultural practices. In daily discussions and interviews with twenty to thirty year olds involved in "traditional" music and dance practices, I found inconsistencies regarding mourning the loss of "traditional" expressions of venerable *vellos do rural*, alongside the methods dedicated to "saving" tradition today. This section will therefore address notions of musical and linguistic mourning, perceptions of "authenticity," and the safeguarding of these practices through institutionalization.

5.1. Musical mourning

Since the emergence of nationalism in the nineteenth century, music, dance and language have all been recognized as valuable components in the construction of Galicia's national and cultural identity, where an image of rural Galicia was the idealized stage. Due to their appropriation and prohibition under Franco, emigration, and a mass movement to urban communities, these expressive practices of rural communities began to diminish over the past century. At the fall of Franco, musical and linguistic expression were looked to once again as powerful pillars of identity to support Galicia through the Transition in a reclaiming of what was "theirs." However, before and during this revival, these practices have experienced inevitable change. While they still evoke pride, some diminishing or lost qualities equally evoke a sense of mourning.

Os vellos are often referred to as "authentic" holders of music and dance, highly esteemed for their lyrical improvisations. This comes at no surprise, considering that these practices originated in these specific territories. There were notions that learning directly from older generations or video recordings of *recollidas* was the closest way of approximating to "true" tradition, something a modernized school cannot fully offer. When asked how to define the musical social space of the *foliada*, what I found noteworthy was that "Xil" (Xi) spoke in the past tense:

Extract 30

Xi:	*Pois un serán, unha ruada, unha rua, unha xunta, un serão, ...unha fiada... hai moitas palabras para dicir o mesmo… Tiñas un espazo no que a música era o vehículo para socializar e para romper certas convencións sociais que existian fora… O que vexo en común de todos é que era un espazo para socializarse que nunca vai voltar… porque hoxe en dia non temos as relacións cos veciños que habia antes ... nin vivimos nun mundo tan solidario como antes, sen querer idealizar. Solidario no sentido do que habia máis comunidade [e as persoas se coidaron un aos outros]... Hoxe vivir no rual non quere dicir vivir diferente que un urbanita.*	'Well, a *serán,* a *ruada,* a *rua,* a *xunta,* a *serão, ...* a *fiada ...* there are many words to say the same thing…You had a space where music was the vehicle to socialize and to break certain social conventions that existed outside [the gathering]… What I see in common of all these spaces is that it was a space to socialize that will never return… because today we do not have the relationships with the neighbors that existed before… nor do we live in a world as supportive as before, without trying to idealize. Supportive in the sense that there was more community [and people cared for each other]. Today, living in rural areas does not mean living differently than an urbanite.'

In this explanation, the element of time and space is paramount. "Xil" defines the *foliada* or *ruada* as being inseparable from the social practices of rural communities in the past, thus perceiving originality connected to an age and location. They are a part of a past rural lifestyle which cannot be fully translated into even into a modern rural lifestyle, let alone an urban one. What is currently being interpreted in these *foliada* contexts contains influences of urbanity, *recollidas* and folkloric performances. It can be assumed that for "Xil", the true meaning of an "authentic" *foliada* is rooted in the past, however the word is being appropriated in various settings of the present. Where terms such as *neofalante* and *neogalego* have been observed in this study, in light of "Xil"'s reflection, I propose these current urban musical gatherings could even be considered *neofoliadas.* "Xil" notes that rural communal lifestyle has changed, and thus expressive practices have changed along with it. He recognizes this as inevitable change, considering he mentions how he does not want to "idealize," but one cannot dismiss the sense of mourning a loss of a supportive community. In the words of Matthew Gelbart:

> "There is ultimately no great difference between viewing tradition as inherently a decaying force and viewing it as inherently threatened by the decay of 'traditional' ways of life. In both cases, 'rescue' and mediation are called for. This is the same problem that all music branded 'traditional' or 'folk' has faced ever since" (Gelbart 2007: 170).

Considering the decay of Galician musical traditions is paralleled by the decay of the traditional and rural lifestyle, value and appreciation for these expressions evokes a "rescue" in the Galician landscape recognized through the act of *recollidas*, establishment of "traditional" music

and dance schools, as well as the publishing of *cancioneiros* [songbooks]. One prominent work of documenting and "saving" the dwindling musical expression of rural communities was the *Cancioneiro Popular Galego* arranged by Dorothé Schubarth and Antón Santamarina. While in the field, I had the opportunity to attend a showing of a beautifully arranged documentary about the life stories behind this *cancioneiro* called *Dorthé na vila*, directed by Alejandro Gándara and Olaia Tubío. This experience evoked a similar sense of "mourning" and nostalgia of a cultural past. The following is a brief synopsis of the documentary:

> "The Swiss musicologist Dorothé Schubarth came to Galicia in the late 1970s in search of the ancient songs that had already disappeared in central Europe. From her search came the 300 hours of recordings that make up what is considered to be a "Bible" of oral tradition: the Galician Popular Songbook, one of the largest compilations of traditional music in Spain. Forty years later, two young filmmakers set out on a journey in the footsteps of Schubarth to find the voices she collected and discover their life stories" ("Dorothé Na Vila (Trailer)", 2020).

The film interviewed elderly people of the rural communities who were the voices behind the *cantigas* (songs) Schubarth documented, in which they spoke of their interactions with the musicologist, their daily lives during the time of documentation and their "old" forms of learning and playing "traditional" music in a more improvised manner. When the documentary ended, I walked out of the theater reflecting on the aesthetically arranged cinematography, how nice it was to watch elderly people remembering their past expressions of music, the relationships in their communities, and so on. However, I could not negate an overpowering somber feeling as Suso and I began to converse with other friends outside the theater. I was initially confused when I heard comments such as, *Que triste* [how sad] and *Que mágoa* [what a shame]. In my ignorance, I asked why, considering that maybe the film did not stir the same sad feeling within me due to the fact that I was a foreigner, or perhaps just naive.

Later, I came to realize that this feeling of sadness came from the perception that the practices expressed in the documentary were lost, and that "traditional" Galician music is not expressed in the same way anymore. There was mention that people used to learn more "naturally" or "organically," in the sense that there were no organized schools and that people used to improvise their own *coplas* (song verses). Now, however, the art of improvisation is no longer transmitted through the generations, and learning "tradition" today seems to be viewed as being "reduced" due to structured, strict and organized schooling, which is then reproduced in what I termed as *neofoliada.* When asking my fellow *foliada* friends the historical origin of these expressive

practices, an almost unanimous response was that they had been practiced as so *desde sempre,* in other words, that they have always been practiced in the same way. In saying this, it is painted that the current generation is responsible for changing the course of traditions that could be traced back to the beginning of time. What I found somewhat paradoxical, however, was that this *cancioneiro* is highly respected, and perceived to function as a continuation of tradition.

This songbook is appreciated in that the recorded songs connect the present to the past, serving as a component of the idealized rural Galician identity. At the same time, there is a feeling of sadness as the art and tradition of "improvised" music expression is perceived to have become obsolete. Where I find a paradox is in balancing the value of both the *cancioneiro* and improvised expression. In having a structured and esteemed *cancioneiro*, the art of improvisation naturally risks becoming obsolete due to the fact that people want to learn from a permanently printed past, appreciating the songs from their collective history. Is that not the partial function of a *cancioneiro*, to encourage a reproduction of its documented songs of past generations? To document the life of that specific time and place? Just as seen before with Castelo-Branco's explanation, "'tradition' is a model of the past that is inseparable from its interpretation in the present. It refers to a recent or more remote past, reconstructed from written records, sounds or fragments of memory" (Castelo-Branco 2010: 887). The traditional ways of the past have thus been interpreted in new ways coinciding with the present and for maintenance in the future.

There is an obvious appreciation of the songs offered by their "roots," and the work put into documenting and sharing these songs to be passed onto future generations. Due to this, the "traditional" art of improvisation may risk being "lost" per se, but the connection to a past identity, which seems to be so valued, is maintained by the transmission offered by *cancioneiros*. As for a maintenance of identity, this book offers not only lyrical depictions of rural life and Galician traditions, but it is also a reference of the Galician language of that time period. So as this *cancioneiro*, or any songbook in general, functions as a way to preserve "tradition," at the same time it could eliminate other "traditional" and "authentic" forms, such as improvisation.

The Galician "traditional" music revival post-Franco primarily consisted of permanent lyrical documentation. These documentations encouraged repetition through new forms of transmission and expression, thus overruling the value of improvisation. Regardless, an essence of "traditional" practices has been passed on. Perhaps this phenomenon could be paralleled to Hobsbawm's linguistic claim that "the very process of turning language into a medium of writing destroys it as a vernacular" (Hobsbawm 1996: 1073). As soon as "traditional" music is permanently printed rather than orally passed on, perhaps in a way, it "destroys" the previous

transmission method of the musical vernacular. However, instead of a practice eventually dying out, printed tradition conserves past expression and allows for future possibilities of interpretation. In the end, past lifestyles and expression will continue to be idealized as long as traditions confront inevitable change. At the same time, changes often occur in order to ensure the vitality in the future forms of these practices.

The mourning of "authenticity" attached to musical expression was also observed in a "casual[44]" *foliada* I was able to partake in with Suso. Among our small group, there was one elderly *pandeireteiro* [tambourine player] known for the improvisation of his *coplas*. After having sang and played together a couple of more popular songs with *gaita, pandeireta* and *bombo*, the elderly man began to play, leaving everyone quite observant and reverent. I was told that what he was singing was not published in any specific repertoire, but instead was his personal improvisation or invention. Throughout the evening, every time he began to play, sing or dance, the younger participants would quickly begin to video or audio record. Considering that some participants were either dance or tambourine teachers, I assumed that these recordings were observed to be of value for transmission in their classes, or out of a general appreciation for documentation.

After the gathering, Suso mentioned how great it was to observe "true" and "pure" music and dance expression, as demonstrated by this older man; one that is not achieved in the institutionalized manner of learning in the classroom. His comment mirrored the same nostalgia felt after watching *Dorothé na vila*. This "authentic" way of playing appeared to signify the art of improvising *coplas*, and not so much reinterpreting what has been learned in a more official classroom, just as depicted in the documentary. I perceived yet another paradox, the reverence for spontaneity in improvised *coplas*, but at the same time an urgency for recording them to later reproduce them, leaving me to ponder if it would be more "traditional" or "authentic" to encourage spontaneous improvisation than to reproduce more popular songs.

Obviously these traditional practices have undergone changes over the last century or so, considering they were originally inspired by rural communities and have since been adapted to cultural and political agendas, from the nationalist, to the Franco folklorist and finally the post-Franco revivalist interpretations. Currently, with such a longing to preserve an identifying art form in this revivalist era, it is only natural that the act of preservation itself would result in modifications. However, this does provoke a sense of loss of authenticity in current expressions as

[44]I use casual in the sense that there was no formal organization by any institution. It was a small gathering at a friend's house.

they are compared to a collective perception of the past. But perhaps the complexities of "authenticity" emerged far before the present era. As observed by Philip Bolhman:

> "The moment folk music enters the national sphere, which it does with great frequency, it too loses the luster of authenticity. Once folk music is uprooted from its pristine world and put on the stage of the nation, perhaps as a national collection in the nineteenth century... it loses its natural beauty and starts sounding all the same, while accruing the ugly messages of national ideologies. The great collectors of European folk music recognized this, while at the same time they attempted to steer clear of nationalism in folk music" (Bolhman 2010: 9).

It seems that as soon as these musical practices have undergone a sort of institutionalization, staged as the "traditional" way, they appear to have lost their "authenticity." At the same time, it is through this mourning that motivation for cultural revival is mobilized, and that these practices can continue to be reinterpreted.

5.2. *Un falar de vellos* - linguistic mourning

Considering the construction of an "authentic" identity for a nation was based on cultural expression of rural communities, their linguistic varieties were deemed the "true" and "real" form. As mentioned before, due to historical and social phenomena during the past century, Galician expression has confronted Castilian imposition and the population of rural communities have dwindled, leaving *os vellos* and their vernaculars in decay. Consequently, Galician language expression is perceived to be in the throes of losing its authenticity, where "authentic" Galician has been referred to as *o que falan os vellos* (what the older people speak), contrasting with what is being taught in school, or "book Galician." Just as expressed by O'Rourke and Ramallo, "There is a reification of the traditional native speaker built around the nostalgia for the past and the mythification of rural Galicia" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018: 101).

Therefore, when speaking with *neofalantes*, a common perception is that they do not know how to speak Galician, due to the perception that "authentic" Galician is only produced by *os vellos*. Although a predominantly Galician speaker from Santiago, as a *neofalante* in his twenties, Alberto accepted this his own inability to achieve authenticity in his own speech.

Extract 31

A:	*O galego para min é o que se fala e que se falaban os vellos… os que che metían unha palabra que non era nin unha palabra portuguesa, nin unha palabra española... era unha palabra que hoxe en dia non se usa.. e o que se di "un falar de vellos," que solo utilian os vellos… eso é para min o auténtico galego.*	"Galician for me is what is spoken and what was spoken by older people… those who use a word that was neither a Portuguese word, nor a Spanish word ... it was a word that is not used today … and what is called 'old people talk,' that only the old people use… for me, that's the authentic Galician."

This more "isolationist" perspective[45] was also expressed when speaking with some friends in the field about their ideal future for the Galician language. Their hope would be for people to speak the same as *os vellos*— phonetically and with same expressions— but without *castelanismos.* This was a common ideal noted among younger *neofalantes* and *paleofalantes* from rural and urban areas alike within *o mundo tradi.* Although *castelanismos* are an indication of Castilian contamination in the Galician language, they are often noted in speech among rural communities, and therefore attached to notions of "authenticity," as they linked a "very localized geographic space where the language continues to be spoken" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2018:102). Whereas for a *neofalante, castelanismos* would be characteristic of a separate identity, due to an "inauthentic" accent. Thus, accent plays a heavy role in whether *castelanismos* are permissibly authentic or not. As indicated prior by Thomas Bonfiglio, accent indicates an authentic community of speaker which deserves to be honored (Bonfiglio 2010: 16).

One of the contradictions regarding "authenticity" in Galician language transmission was expressed by individuals in a social hour after a tambourine class. The three spoke in their diverse varieties of Galician with notable *castelanismos*. They all identified as *paleofalantes*, which opened a discussion about the Galician language phenomenon and eventually the topic of "authenticity." I inquired about how they would define "authentic" Galician, they first mentioned that technically it *should* be defined by the initial root of its existence, however what is considered as "authentic" Galician today is what is spoken in the *aldeas* [villages], from *os vellos* [the elderly], and that could have traces of Castilian "contamination" or *castelanismos*.

Due to the fact that the Galician population was forced to speak Castilian during the dictatorship, they explained how many original Galician speakers ended up speaking a Castilian and Galician mix, which explains the *castelanismos* among the rural population, as well as their own. This produced the Galician that is spoken within their families; one which *sae máis naturalmente*,

[45] This is Galician based on "elements of vernacular dialects and Castilian orthography" (Roseman 1995: 9)

[comes out more naturally] and therefore was more authentic than the normative Galician taught in school or the *reintegrata* form. They mentioned that these two forms often seemed a bit forced, as they do not accurately represent the "authentic" speech of *os vellos*. And so, as this seemingly "artificial" Galician normative standard is taught in public schools, Galician in its "purest" and "authentic" form consequently is not and cannot be taught in schools.

Later, when discussing the future of this "authentic" Galician, a mourning and pensive sadness seemed to arise considering the mortal fate of *os vellos* and the language they will take with them. In other words, Galician, or "authentic" Galician is on the brink of extinction. They thus expressed that the only way to save Galician was through education and schools. The future for Galician thus arrives at a paradoxical state if a shared ideology is that "true" Galician cannot be taught in schools, but that the only way to save it is *through* schools. Now, I imagine that "saving" Galician through schools perhaps does not refer to this assumed "authentic" Galician, but rather a standardized Galician, which in the end is accepted as better than no Galician at all.

One of the individuals also asserted that eventually Galician will not exist anymore, but instead *neogalego*, which he would consider to be the standard Galician being taught in schools today, more likely to be heard in urban areas. He claims *neogalego* to be *pouco identitario* [difficult to identify with], due to its linguistic anonymity, "[stemming] from the absence of traces of any recognizable local variety" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 291). This perspective regarding linguistic authenticity coincides alongside the sociolinguistic findings within the Galician landscape by the respected Bernadette O'Rourke and Fernando Ramallo, who conclude:

> "The implication here is that to speak GOOD Galician is not something that can be learned. It can only be acquired biologically. This is in turn linked to place of origin, being from the 'village' (*aldea*), associating linguistic authenticity with a very localized geographical space. Here the language 'was never lost' (*non se perdeu*) and can thus be traced historically through an unbroken lineage. There is thus a clear reification of the traditional native speaker, where the language is seen to have survived in its purest and most uncontaminated form, built around the nostalgia for the past and the mythification of rural Galicia" (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013: 297)

Needless to say, an essentialist perspective dominates a common perspective of linguistic authenticity in Galicia, where rurality becomes a mythical realm and time capsule for "authentic" language, freezing Galician vernaculars in their assumed "pure origin," since the beginning of their time. Accepting that the most recently attainable versions of the Galician language are assumed to be how Galicians have always spoken —with no outer influences or changes throughout a "unbroken lineage"— disregards the fact that language is ever-changing, shaped by outside

influences, just as seen with the "Castilian contamination", which ironically is often still seen as more "authentic." Nonetheless, the importance of authenticity should be regarded however, in its intention of preserving a "minority" language. The danger is when those *neofalantes* fail to regard themselves as "true" speakers, due to essentialist ideals, where "authenticity" is an unattainable title, and thus can turn away interested new speakers.

While there is mourning of what has been "lost," there is also motivation to revive what is still valued. Thus, the act of ensuring a conservation of this identity has led to institutionalization of these expressive practices, on one hand through the establishing of "traditional" music and dance schools, and on the other hand through the processes of language standardization and normalization policies. While institutionalizing these forms of expression hopes to guarantee the future of their practices, the politicization and urbanization of these practices opens up debate regarding perceptions of "authenticity" and forms of continuity. As seen previously, not only has there been a differentiation between staged folklore and the *foliada*, but also the past rural *foliada* and the present urban *foliada* (or what I termed, inspired by "Xil"'s perspective as the *neofoliada*). The same is true for language; not only have issues risen between Galician and Castilian, but also between Galician and what has been referred to as *neogalego*. Thus, notions of authenticity have been key factors among the revival movements of music, dance and language.

These paradoxes primarily observed amongst younger generations[46] throughout this ethnographic study raise a multitude of questions. Does a *cancioneiro* save or jeopardize "authentic" tradition? Does recording lyrical improvisation with the aim of reproduction honor or threaten "authenticity"? Does institutionalized education help or hinder "authentic" Galician language transmission? Will present younger generations be forever in mourning, even as they become *os vellos*? And perhaps the deeper question is whether or not a purpose lies at the heart of these paradoxes? As stated before, mourning lost elements of "tradition" moves individuals to reinterpret these practices. Their tears of mourning become the salt of a new song, aiding in the preservation of Galician culture. Their mourning makes space for the new. The political resistance group Fuxan os ventos exemplify mourning as the catalyst for rebirth of tradition, as they sing: "*Un cantar de redención / Un vello e novo cantar / Que troque a desolación / Nun limpo e craro alborear"* [A song of redemption / An old and new song / May the desolation change / Into a clean and clear dawn] (Pousa and Rivas Cruz 1978).

[46] Many of these younger individuals observed were living in Santiago, and were raised in either rural or urban communities.

Concluding considerations

The prominent poet of the *Rexurdimento*, Rosalía de Castro expressed in one of her poems: '*cantarte hei, Galicia, na lengua gallega*[47]'. In proclaiming this, she ties together musicality [*cantarte*] and language [*lengua gallega*] as Galician identifiers, in which exalting her *país* is articulated by employing the Galician language through song. Given that her poetry was written before an officialized Galician language standard was put into place, a Galician influenced by Castilian was common in her writings. Where the current Galician standard would be *lingua galega*, Rosalía writes the Castilian *lengua gallega*. Considering prior analysis regarding *os vellos do rural*, and their *castelanismos* often symbolizing a more "authentic" Galician, Rosalía also represents a certain authentic Galician linguistic identity, even when traces of Castilian are present. Therefore, her words are significant for the fundamental findings of this study, revolving around an "authentic" identity displayed through the interrelation of music and language.

Through a historical review and ethnographic study of cultural expressions in Galicia, this project has intended to establish a relationship between "traditional" Galician music and dance contexts and the use of the Galician language, specifically within Santiago de Compostela. The identifying features of "traditional" music and dance and Galician language have been noted to parallel and intersect, thus inferring that musical environments have potential in encouraging Galician language use, through maintenance or language shift. Historically, music, dance and language have all aided in the construction of the Galician identity, where they were and continue to be valued in how they distinguish a Galician character from the imposition of the Spanish identity and rapidly spreading global trends. Considering that these expressive forms have historically suffered through waves of emigration, Franco's fascism, and industrialization, and therefore have been processed through a cultural revival, current interpretations call into question notions of "authenticity," while equally confronting modern phenomena. Nonetheless, it has been argued that current music and dance gatherings are composed of a community which play a role in mobilizing Galician linguistic normalization.

Galician "traditional" music and dance were most evidently proclaimed as identity markers during the nineteenth century cultural and literary revival known as the *Rexurdimento*. And while identifying musical expression struggled during the Franco era (1939-1975), it was once again seen as valuable for revival in the 1970s. Thus, the importance of music and dance for Galicians in the

[47] Translated as, "I will sing to you, Galicia, in the Galician language" (Castro 1863: 27).

post-Franco era up until today continues to distinguish a Galician identity, where rural practices are being carried over to urban settings, and new interpretations of "traditional" music and dance have sparked throughout the Galicia. Whether through the lyrical depictions of Galician landscape, *aldeas*, customs, celebrations, gastronomy, rurality and social encounters; the *gaita* as the revered cry of the Galician spirit; the rhythmic force of the *pandeireta*; or the regional characteristics of dance style to accompany it all. A celebratory collaboration of these expressions within the *foliada* invites *communitas*, a space for sharing in a cultural identity.

Paralleling the establishment of music as an identity marker, language gave a voice to Galician character during the *Rexurdimento*, as it was the medium to share nationalistic ideas and unite the people, while also being expressed through literature and poems where Castelao's words "*se ainda somos galegos, e por obra e gracia do idioma*" (Castelao 1986: 75) still ring true for defenders of a Galician identity embodied in language expression. In this present study, language was noted to define Galician personality, as *a maior tesouro dun pobo* [the greatest treasure of a people], and the continuation of past generations. Although some clarified that it was not the overall determiner to being Galician, at the same time the language was recognized as a foundation for Galician character. For if the language ceased to exist, so too would an essence of what it means to be Galician.

Therefore, in the longing to reclaim a cultural identity after the Franco regime, music, dance and language were significant and continue to play a part in Galician cultural revival. Among this revival has sprung the establishment of traditional music and dance schools, organized musical events and *foliadas*. At the same time, new linguistic policies have been instituted and accompanied by campaigns working toward linguistic normalization. These identifying features found within these two branches of cultural revival have been found to overlap in the current *foliada;* a festive and conscious display of a cultural, social, political and sociolinguistic identity. As these forms of expression have lived parallel historical trajectories, both supporting the reclaiming of an imagined Galician identity, they can both be found in the *foliada*. Therefore, this project intended to examine at which point these expressions intersected. Galician was recognized as the "normal" medium for verbal exchange within a *foliada* throughout this study; where employing Galician was not only perceived as "normal" within these contexts, but in some participants' day to day as well. Although this is not the reality for all participants in these social contexts, it could be inferred that a percentage of those associated with these spaces also employ Galician outside the "traditional" music and dance contexts.

The social spaces of "traditional" music often imply a certain sympathy for Galician culture, and therefore the Galician language, among its participants. While it would be simplistic to conclude a guaranteed linguistic conversion among those involved with these practices, this study showed that there are *foliada* participants who experienced either having engaged in a language shift related to their participation, or having observed others do so. It was acknowledged that if someone enters into these spaces, they will become more easily exposed to the "normalized" manner in which Galician is used, and thus have higher chance of using the language themselves. Language choice, however, is not divorced from some sort of *sentimento* [feeling] of being Galician and a desire to live out what have been referred to as the consistent components of a Galician identity— music, dance and language. Therefore, the *foliada* could be conceived as a grassroots mobilization of linguistic normalization; while maintaining identifying undertones, and an inviting and emotional festive appeal, it can indirectly encourage linguistic choice. This grassroots normalization has the potential to produce active minorities (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2015: 151) in which *foliada* participants have been noted to encourage other individuals— with or without any relation to traditional music and dance settings— to also employ Galician.

Throughout this project, the role of "authenticity" in Galician music, dance and language has also been examined. As current forms of cultural expression are based on those of *os vellos do rural* [elderly rural communities], *os vellos* are respected as the bearers of "authenticity." They are therefore a revered repository for Galician music, dance and language, as it was in rural contexts where these expressions originated. A desire to safeguard this musical and linguistic identity has inspired conservation and institutionalization: on one hand through *recollidas,* and the transmission of these documentations in official "traditional" music and dance schools and *foliadas*; and on the other hand through policies of language standardization and linguistic normalization campaigns. Considering that the present day urban *foliada* is composed of interpretations based on recorded practices of these past generations, the way in which *os vellos* represent not only musical traditions but also language expression, is honored. Therefore, a modern *foliada* embodies a strong sense of the Galician "identity," one in which has become political, social and sociolinguistic.

While reviving and thus transferring these practices from the rural to urban communities, correlating debates have sparked regarding "authenticity" within the transmission of expression. This has been witnessed among the instrumentation, participation, or structure of music and dance expression, as well as in grammar, phonetics or lexicon of linguistic expression. As for music and dance, "authenticity" confrontations have been observed not only between the folkloric staged displays versus the *foliada*, but also the older rural *foliada* versus the urban *neofoliada*; and as for

language, not only between Galician versus Castilian, but Galician versus *neogalego*. What I found interesting was that these perceptions of authenticity of the "organic" *foliada rural* and *galego rural* often evoke a sense of nostalgia for these past forms of expression; and a mourning that often evokes a longing to conserve and reestablish these expressions. And while intending to conserve forms of cultural expression, instituting these expressions has created a paradoxical phenomenon: where Galician music, dance and language are venerated in their "organic state" outside of institutionalization, the way in which they are ensured in their continuity is through an institutionalization of their expression. Needless to say, a respect, mourning and longing to interpret "old ways" among the elderly rural generations remains present. How new generations cope with loss and revival of music, dance and language thus reflect the purpose of their interpretations.

A collective memory of *os vellos do rural* therefore continues to influence the future of Galician music, dance and language. While revering *os vellos* in their authentic expressions, it could be assumed that balancing nostalgia for the past and adaptations in the present era also play a part in the process of normalizing the Galician language. As they represent a set of identity markers— whether that be in how they danced, sang or played in musical gatherings (*foliadas*), or how they spoke the Galician language (distinct accent, words, expressions, grammar, *castelanismos*)— they are respected references for the constituting of an "authentic" Galician identity. Therefore, the idealization of "traditional" musical and linguistic expression by this rural aging population in Galicia also plays a part in forms of Galician language use.

As I have previously argued, a more grassroots act of normalizing the language can be witnessed in a *foliada*. However, due to differing language ideologies among *foliada* participants regarding the "correct" or "true" Galician, the act of normalizing the language becomes more complex. As seen throughout this study, the current state of defining the Galician language faces challenges, juggling notions of "authenticity," standardization, past and present imposition of Castilian, and *reintegracionismo*. Therefore, the question may not only be if the *foliada* is a component in linguistic normalization, but furthermore what variety of Galician is it most often being reproduced in these settings. What variety of Galician language is being representing?

For those who participate in these musical traditions, *neofalantes* and *paleofalantes* alike, there are various linguistic profiles. There are those who could be considered "officialists" or "isolationists" (Roseman 1995: 8), in that they follow a more standard Galician, "based largely on elements of vernacular dialects and a Castilian orthography, and must be used in textbooks and other publications, the mass media, and in government offices" (ibid). There are also those who support the *reintegracionista* movement, supporting a future for Galician ensured by

orthographically reintegrating with the Portuguese language. And then there are those, primarily *paleofalantes*, who maintain what they claim to be the most "authentic," that is, expressing themselves in the way that they inherited from their past relatives and *os vellos* (the elderly generation), not from the textbook, which is more likely to carry influences of Castilian.

The historical imposition of Spanish on the Galician language resulted in rural communities speaking Galician with traces of Castilian (*castelanisimos*), or speaking Castilian altogether, while still maintaining a distinctive Galician accent and Galician grammatical structures. Consequently, *os vellos* who speak Castilian with Galician phonetics have been recognized as being "more Galician" than people who speak standard Galician. In spite of this phenomenon and diverse language ideologies, these *vellos* continue to be the reference point for an "authentic" Galician identity respected by the common *foliada* participant. Their nonstandard varieties, "have been associated with national identity, authenticity, independence, sincerity and trustworthiness. Much of this is connected to romantic notions about rural people— rough, coarse, but also authentic, real" (Woolard 2020: 292).

In the end, an idealization of "authentic" and "traditional" musical and linguistic expression produced by this rural aging population in Galicia therefore also plays a part in the normalization process of the Galician language. While encouraging individuals to engage in musical practices, on one hand, the reverence for these communities has the potential to encourage the use of the Galician language among "new" and "old" speakers within musical contexts. On the other hand, their vernaculars could represent a maintenance of Castilian within the Galician language in the name of "authenticity." At the same time this study observed a linguistic ideal shared among *foliada* participants was to speak Galician like *os vellos* do, but without *castelanismos*.

Individuals may mourn the loss of how the culture used to be lived out— the idealized "organic" musical expression of the rural life or the vernacular varieties of *os vellos*. However, it should not be forgotten the identified purpose of these expressions brought to urban modernity spoken of by individuals in the field: to revive and maintain a Galician identity. Perceived "traditional" styles of music and dance may have been transformed through their revival, and the future of Galician language may lack old phonetics and expressions resulting in a *neogalego.* Nonetheless, participants still feel a pride in how they continue to construct what it means to be Galician while enjoying current cultural expressions, even if they have been modified.

Perhaps the older intentions and styles of the *foliada* may not be accomplished. However, these practices within these urban communities could now serve new purposes, being lived out as a conscious expression of identity. Where musically, improvisation was once the norm, now joined

lyrical recitation invites a different form of participation, where perhaps song repetition invites and unites more participants. Through a linguistic lens, if more participation is achieved, more people may recognize the common notion that it seems strange to speak Castilian in a *foliada*, where these "neo-practices" could fulfill an unintended purpose of encouraging *neofalantes*.

What has been most noteworthy throughout this project is observing the underlying purpose for carrying on, transmitting and reinterpreting Galician music, dance and language. These cultural expressions have been noted to represent an act of resistance, a continuity in imagined identity and an attempt to fulfill a destiny for a Galician character. And with that, through this present project, I hope to have illustrated the intersecting intentions behind these cultural expressions, establishing the relationship based on the identifying components of Galician music, dance and language use.

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- Ramón, *foliada* participant, tambourine teacher (5 October 2020, Santiago de Compostela, 17:30).
- "Bati Gol" (fictitious name), *foliada* participant, tambourine player and drummer (7 October 2020, Santiago de Compostela, 18:30).
- "Bailadora" (fictitious name), *foliada* participant, (8 October 2020, Santiago de Compostela, 19:00).
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- Xeila, *foliada* participant, (11 November 2020, Santiago de Compostela, online, 18:00).
- Cris, *foliada* participant, tambourine teacher, (11 November 2020, Santiago de Compostela, 19:15).
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List of figures