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Arreidis (Roots): Fala Language and It S Quest for Identity

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ARREIDIS (ROOTS): FALA LANGUAGE AND ITS QUEST FOR IDENTITY

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In this dissertation, native speakers', and past academics' views of Fala are explored, along with the sociolinguistic and ideological dimensions of those views. This dissertation also investigates Fala's orthographic reform, Fala's recognition as a language at the regional and national level, and the repercussions it has had on research involving Fala. More generally, I present the case of Fala as an example of the effects that language ideologies can have on minority languages that, like Fala, with a small speaker population, may see themselves unrecognized and forgotten by governmental linguistic policy efforts given their size. In order to do this, the main research questions addressed in this dissertation are, (1) What attitudes and ideologies are at play among speakers of Fala? What effects can those attitudes and ideologies have on Fala? (2) Additionally, what are the attitudes and ideologies at play among academics who have researched Fala in the past and those who research it in the present? How could these attitudes and ideologies affect Fala? Because none of this has been done before, I hope this dissertation will help shed some light on the current status of Fala and what the future may hold for the language and its speakers.

KEYWORDS: Fala; Linguistic Ideologies; Extremadura; Iberian Languages; Language Documentation; Linguistic Attitudes

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CHAPTER I: THE REALMS OF LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGY AND LANGUAGE POLICY

It was a fall day like any other in the small town of Eljas, Spain. The time was noon, and students had recess for 30 mins. At that time, I was one of those students, and I had gotten together at the basketball court with a handful of friends even though it was rather cold because that was the place to go during our free time. We were a lively group of children, happily chatting about our day while having sandwiches.

That day I noticed something; while chatting, my friends would use Fala (our native language) with one another, but when addressing me, they would change to Spanish without hesitation. I understood Fala too, and could speak it as well, but for some reason they would not address me using the language. With the years and experience, I realized that this could have been because they knew my mom was not from town so instinctively, they assumed they had to speak to me in Spanish because I was 'different.'

This experience made me think of all the ways in which we communicate with others, and all the things we communicate without words. I knew that Fala was and would always be a part of me, and something that I would carry with me for the rest of my life, no matter where I go.

After growing up, I started noticing there were fewer births but plenty of deaths every year. This, along with the fact that there were not many written accounts of our language back then, prompted me to think that our language might need some extra pushes and efforts to maintain it other than the simple and traditional method that had been used for centuries of oral transmission. This is part of the reason I am writing this dissertation today: to document and potentially help preserve Fala.

The goal of my dissertation is to explore native speakers' and past academics' views of Fala, along with the sociolinguistic and ideological dimensions of those views. This dissertation

will also investigate Fala's orthographic reform, Fala's recognition as a language at the regional and national level, and the repercussions it has had on research involving Fala. Because none of this has been done before, I hope this dissertation will help shed some light on the current status of Fala and what the future may hold for the language and its speakers. More generally, I present the case of Fala as an example of the effects that language ideologies can have on minority languages that, like Fala, with a small speaker population, may see themselves unrecognized and forgotten by governmental linguistic policy efforts given their size.

In order to do this, the main research questions addressed in this dissertation are, (1) What attitudes and ideologies are at play among speakers of Fala? What effects can those attitudes and ideologies have on Fala? (2) Additionally, what are the attitudes and ideologies at play among academics who have researched Fala in the past and those who research it in the present? How could these attitudes and ideologies affect Fala?

It could be argued that documenting does not serve as the sole effort necessary to preserve a minority language (Hill, 2002) because there are many other external and internal variables that can affect preservation. When it comes to language use and enhancement we may wonder, who has the authority to dictate how a language should be used or documented? Opinions usually diverge in different directions: first, there are those who claim only individuals with the knowledge acquired from higher levels of education should dictate how languages will be preserved. Secondly, there are those who believe that it should be the speakers of the language who decide how they are going to use and preserve the language (Spolsky, as cited in Austin & Sallabank, 2014, p. 410). And thirdly, there are those believe the collaboration between members of the community with the linguists is necessary to make sense of the community's concerns (Hill, 2002).

Language ideologies can affect language policies and regulations given that language policies are one specific instantiation of a subset of language ideologies. On the one hand, Michael Silverstein defines linguistic ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979, p. 193). An ideology has also been defined as a system of shared ideas or patterned beliefs that guide norms, values, and ideals accepted as truths by a particular group of people (Steger, 2007). On the other hand, language policies are defined as the set of laws and rules conceived by a country's government through legislation to determine the usage and limitations of a given language. I will define these phenomena further later on, but their definitions are needed at this point so as to understand how both ideologies and policies usually work closely together.

It is of great significance to understand how language policies or the use of language can have an effect on maintaining social power, or even be used to dominate the way in which general population can communicate in some cases (see information on Francisco Franco's prohibiting the use of any language other than Castilian Spanish in Spain during his dictatorship from 1939 – 1975 in Chapter 2). According to Kaplan and Baldauf, "A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system" (1997, p. xi). In some cases, language policies arise out of the need for preservation; one example might be the Canadian Province of Nunavut, which made Inuktut/Inuit an official language of the province, along with the national languages of English and French (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, April 5th, 2013). If there are many languages present in the same national territory, it makes sense to provide citizens with a set language that can be used for business and governmental matters, aside from what they chose to use at home and in their personal interactions. However, decisions involving language use do not always satisfy all speakers.

Determining a language policy that proclaims one language as the official language of a nation and other co-existing languages in the same national territory as co-official can bring recognition to these languages as well as their speakers; on the other hand, it can potentially make speakers of the co-official languages feel less important because "all ways of speaking are not equal in the real world, so to speak a minority variety often takes a conscious 'act of identity'" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). In the case of Spain for example, Castilian Spanish is the official language of the country, and languages such as Galician, Basque, and Catalan possess the status of co-official in their respective territories. While this may seem as a linguistically responsible decision, it does not mean all speakers of those languages will be pleased, so I will offer the examples of Basque and Catalan as minority languages included in language policy decisions in Spain and the European Union in Chapter 2.

Definitions of attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, and ideologies as they relate to language tend to overlap to the point that attitudes and opinions are often considered synonyms (Sallabank, 2019, p. 61) making it hard to compare theoretical propositions (Ellis, 1985). For example, attitudes are defined as "an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, but that, being a 'disposition', an attitude is at least potentially an evaluative stance that is sufficiently stable to allow it to be identified and, in some sense, measured" (Garret et al., 2003, p. 3). Attitudes and ideologies, no matter if understood as one or separate, are meant to be understood as evaluative stances, since they help us categorize everything around us. Linguistic ideologies can also be defined in different ways but at the core of all definitions for language attitudes and ideologies there are some common terms such as 'beliefs', 'culture', and 'language use.' Michael Silverstein claims that the term *idéologie* was invented by Antoine Louis Claude, Compte Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) (Silverstein, 1998, p. 123) in order to develop a deeper understanding of human consciousness,

perception, and nature, and as I previously mentioned, he defines linguistic ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979, p. 193). An ideology has also been defined as a system of shared ideas or patterned beliefs that guide norms, values, and ideals accepted as truths by a particular group of people (Steger, 2007). To add to this definition, Irvine conceptualizes ideologies as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." (1989, p. 255). An emerging consensus from these definitions is that, across a range of social contexts and communities, a code (or a language) has specific ways in which it can be used ('language use'), framed by a given 'culture' or shared notions about what is appropriate or not. It can be safely assumed then, that each language and how its speakers think of it will be affected by these given parameters.

Hodge & Kress (1993) conceptualize ideologies as "a systematically organized presentation of reality" and understand ideologies as involving description of the truth (1993). Language allows us to represent reality according to our perception and personal interests, which vary from one individual to the next. We are aware this is how reality is organized and described, and how careful we must be with our words to not disturb others with different perceptions. Issues come into play then, when personal interests are put ahead of other people's vision and thus, language and its descriptions create conflict. Behind each attempt towards language policy, standardization, or even description, there is an ideological system at play with its own ideological motivators and justifications.

Because ideologies are emergent within specific communities, each with their own strategic sets of values and goals, we can agree with Lippi-Green in saying that prestige in language is relative (2012, p. 29), and so what may be considered prestigious by one social group may be considered un-prestigious for another linguistic community. Prestige in language is directly linked

to language ideology since whatever set of ideology speakers of a language share will condition their perception of a linguistic issue, or as I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, will condition their decision to adopt or create certain proposals for unifying and stabilizing a language's orthography, something that Woolard anticipated when she concluded that language attitudes and the evaluative reactions associated with other language varieties can make one language variety seem more prestigious than another (Woolard, 1989). However, Woolard also states that attitudes related to language use are interconnected and may offer insight into language, and into other individual and community priorities that define social life (Woolard, 1998), thus helping to understand and deconstruct the ideologies at play in certain situations. Along that same line, Garrett et al. also argue that language attitudes support all kinds of sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena, such as group stereotypes and how we relate to others (2003, p. 12), and that these attitudes are acquired at a relatively early age, when individuals start developing intergroup relations (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 3; Sallabank, 2019, p. 61).

Speakers' perceptions about their language are the main source of information for researchers to understand language endangerment and revitalization efforts (Sallabank, 2019, p. 80) thus, linguistic attitudes should be acknowledged, as they can provide insight into individuals' values and ultimately explain linguistic choices. And although we can safely assume part of an individual's identity is constructed through interaction with other members of the linguistic community and even through interaction with members of other linguistic communities, Kroskrity adds that identity construction is also completed through particular linguistic choices (2000). Within the field of language revitalization, Fishman alluded to similar truths in his observation that interactions between family members has the power to promote and even retain the use of a minority language (1991), a fact also confirmed more recently by Shirakawa in a study involving

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immigrants speakers of Brazilian Portuguese in Japan and the linguistic practices among parents and children; Shirakawa found that "language practices at home when involving the ethnic language have a positive correlation in forming favorable linguistic attitudes towards the minority language" (Bugel & Montes-Alcala, 2020, p. 226). Discourse and ideology are two elements that must be understood and analyzed together, because they are closely related (Woolard, 1998) and because there is a need to "recognize the sociocultural foundations of language and discourse" (Krosrity, 2000, p. 2).

Although the notions of 'belief', 'culture', and 'language use' can be considered internal factors shaping the way speakers use the language from within, that is, from inside each speaker's mind, there are other external factors that can be considered crucial to a language's ultimate status in a community. In the remainder of this chapter, I explore the notions of erasure and iconicity as defined by Gal and Irvine (1995) in relation to language ideologies. Because arguments and discussions as well as proposals about the orthography of a given language can have repercussions in the representation and performance of the speakers' identities (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998, p. 286), the authors of such proposals must be extremely careful; in the case of Fala, not only are there repercussions for the representation and performance of speakers' identities, but repercussions at the political level, regionally (autonomically[1]), and nationally.

Simply put, erasure denotes the elimination of certain features specific to the language because of its transformation onto a similar standardized code (Gal & Irvine, 1995). For example, Gal and Irvine explain that when a social group, or a language, is conceived as homogenous and

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[1] From autonomous community, a territorial division in Spain. Autonomous communities came to life after Franco's dictatorship ended and democracy was established in Spain. Despite the numerous attempts at setting territorial divisions in Spain beginning with the establishment of the First Republic in Spain, it was not until the recognition of Spain as a democratic state and the creation of the Spanish constitution of 1978 that these political and administrative divisions were officially created, recognized, and given autonomy to govern according to their own Statutes of Autonomy (for more information, see Chapter 2).

its internal variation is disregarded, it is considered erasure (Gal & Irvine, 1995, p. 974). On the other hand, iconicity is when a local ideology posits a direct resemblance between a group's speech and other elements of its social practice. For example, Hungarian craftsmen were assumed to be ostentatious and elaborate both in their lifestyles and their speech, compared to Hungarian farmers who were laconic and simple in lifestyle as well as speech. The notion that "their simple/elaborate speech means they are simple/complex people" is an iconic relation (Gal & Irvine, 1995). It becomes clear how these terms are related to the issues presented in this dissertation.

Creating a script for a language of oral tradition implies many variables and it is much more than a technical matter (Jaffe, Androutsopoulos, Sebba & Johnson, 2012, p. 1). Schieffelin and Doucet performed extensive research with Haitian Creole and found that orthographic representation for Haitian Creole meant something different to its speakers; from the Kreyol dialects explored in Schieffelin and Doucet's research there are two varieties that serve as examples: *Kreyol rek* and *Kreyol swa*. *Kreyol Rek* and *gwo Kreyol* are synonym of rough and often associated with pejorative connotations, while also associated with authenticity and sincerity (1998, p. 292). *Kreyol swa* on the contrary, is synonym of smooth, and associated with prestige and educated individuals (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998, p. 291). Other than ease of learning, the orthography meant to reflect how its speakers saw themselves recognized at different administrative levels (1998).

Schieffelin and Doucet add that language varieties can sometimes be "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." (1998, p. 292). This conceptualization of certain language varieties being associated with the ideas of 'authenticity' and 'realness' hints at the effects that iconicity can have in a linguistic community.

Jaffe et al. also talk of the inseparable link between identity and ideology, and they state that there are different kinds of identities that "have been found to be constructed through scripts and orthographies" (2012, p. 3). That is why when a higher positioned linguistic community that shares a specific linguistic ideology tries to make certain sociolinguistic phenomena homogeneous, disregarding internal variation and imposing them on other, minority communities, it is considered erasure.

Erasure then, becomes a key issue in Fala's maintenance; since there are three variants of the language, one of each existing in each town, proposing an orthographic reform that disregards the internal variation would be a mistake; proposing an orthographic reform that does not respect the differences of each variant challenges the speakers' linguistic identity. It is in this way that we can understand that, as we will see in Chapter 5, Fala speakers rejected orthographic proposals that did not align with the vision they had about their language.

Additionally, Gal and Irvine also define the term iconicity as "a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic practices, features, or varieties and the social images with which they are linked." (1995, p. 973). Through iconization, a feature can be interpreted as containing the essence of a social group. To add to this, Woolard states that speech is not just indexing a particular group, but it can also be an iconic representation of the essence of a person (2005, p. 3) Gal and Irvine define iconization as "the transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked" (Irvine & Gal, 2009). For example, certain emblematic sounds that exist in Fala and not in Spanish[2], such as [ʤ] or [ʒ] which become indices of Fala that signal socially to the interlocutors of their shared linguistic background. In other words, Fala as a language and its emblematic sounds have become indices

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[2] When mentioning Spanish and not specifying Castilian Spanish throughout this dissertation, I refer to Standard Peninsular Spanish.

that metonymically reflect certain characteristics of the speakers; using the language is something that marks you as a member of the community. However, not only have the sounds become indices, but also the act of speaking the language itself; when outsiders visit the Fala speaking towns, they are automatically marked as non-speakers and as such, they are automatically addressed in Spanish given their status as foreign to the native community. On the other hand, if someone known to be a native from one of the three towns decides not to use Fala for a conversation with another Fala speaker, they risk being regarded as neglecting the bond they share with the interlocutor and what the language represents; what is more, they are at risk of being criticized for not using Fala.

Fala speakers recognize linguistic differences among the three towns and want to keep them visible. For example, the word 'doctor' could be represented as *medicu* in Eljas, *mecu* in San Martín de Trevejo and *meicu* in Valverde del Fresno. The lexical differences here may help us to understand the way speakers project themselves as members of their specific Fala community and their town in the presence of other Fala speakers, unveiling in this way, the linguistic ideology that speakers may be unconsciously or consciously applying to each situation. Schieffelin notes "For people to have such intuitions about language, and for people to be able consciously to formulate and communicate them…, may thus be 'ideological'" (1998, p. 125). We can understand then that the fact that speakers are able to differentiate themselves from the community and also, the community from other linguistic communities has an underlying ideology at play that can affect their acceptance of different written ways in which to represent their language. This in turn becomes proof of how writing systems and orthographies are seen as practices of choice (Jaffe et al., 2012, p. 9), decisions made at the individual level before they become social or even cultural, and proof of the practical nature of literacy (Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1984, Barton, 2006, Gee, 2008, as cited in Jaffe et al. 2012).

Woolard's conceptual framework developed with Gal (Gal & Woolard, 2001, as cited in Woolard, 2016) contributes to the understanding of Fala as carrying authenticity value. Woolard states that this framework includes,

> Two interdependent ideologies of language [that] have typically underpinned linguistic authority in the modern western world: an ideology of authenticity, which holds that a language variety is rooted in and directly expresses the essential nature of a community or a speaker, and an ideology of anonymity, which holds that a given language is a neutral vehicle of communication, belonging to no one in particular and thus equally available to all. (2016, p. 7)

Through this framework, Woolard considers the language ideologies and the politics of language in Catalonia (2016), but the framework can also be extrapolated to understandings of Fala, given that both languages are minority languages of Spain, even if of different size.

To begin, an ideology of authenticity relates the value of a language with its relationship to a certain community. Thus, for a language variety to possess authenticity, or be conceived as authentic, it must be perceived as belonging to a particular geographical location to have value (Woolard, 2016, p. 22). If the relation between the variety and the place is not clear, the variety may lose value for the speakers (Woolard, 2016). An example of this comes from research by Thiers et al. involving Corsican; Corsican speakers rejected a standard for the language under the basis that it did not sound as if it were from somewhere specific, calling it 'Corsican from nowhere' (Thiers, Postner & Green, 1993). Woolard advises that the importance of considering the significance of authentic voices relies on the fact that it signals identity as a form of social indexicality (2006, p. 22) because it depicts "the essence of a person" (p. 22-23).

In an ideology of anonymity, however, "hegemonic languages in modern society often rest their authority on a conception of anonymity" (Woolard, 2016, p. 25) because "public languages are supposed to be able to represent and be used equally by everyone precisely because they belong to no-one-in-particular" (Woolard, 2016, p. 25). That is to say, a member of modern society is supposed to 'sound' like everyone else by using unmarked public language, granting them authority by means of anonymity (Woolard, 2016, p. 25). To exemplify this, Woolard offers the example of Basque's standardization; when language planners decided how to represent a standard of Basque that could make the language more universal, sometimes they chose leveled forms or koines so that the standardized version of the language could not be identified with any specific location (2016, p. 28). By providing the language with anonymity through its standardization, language planners tried to make Basque more 'universal' perhaps to escape the conceptualization of the language as a minority, thus rendering it as less important than other languages.

Additionally, we can understand that there is indexicality attached to the use of Fala and the situational contexts in which it can be found. Indexicality is defined by Ochs as "a property of speech through which cultural contexts such as social identities (e.g., gender) and social activities (e.g., gossip session) are constituted by particular stances and acts" (1992, p. 335), and it is considered one of the four processes through which identity is formed along with practice, performance, and ideology (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Indexicality is not always associated with language; it may refer to certain roles or activities in society that index, or "point to," other elements such as qualities or social identities. But within the language domain, "linguistic features can index more than one dimension of the socio-cultural context" (Ochs, 1992, p. 335) therefore, if the Fala varieties in their respective towns are conceptualized as 'ways of speaking', they may be indexically associated with the social groups

they represent (Hymes, 1974). The speakers of each Fala variety, while using language features such as the emblematic sounds of Fala, may index the interlocutors' social identities, both as members of the Fala speech community and also their specific relationships to each other. However, for any indexical associations to take place, Woolard claims that, "a relationship of association must be noticed and interpreted in order to signify." (2004, p. 88). For example, when white youths in the US and England use elements of African-American English, they may be trying to index "coolness" and awareness of popular culture, but depending on who hears them and that hearer's values and perceptions, the teens may instead end up indexing their appropriation of Black identity—and thus face social censure (Woolard, 2004, p. 89).

Do patterns in linguistic behavior over time and across contexts enhance and promote these momentary associations made between language forms and social meaning? This seems to be what Bucholtz and Hall believe; through repetition of language and other social practices, the individual's representation of self within the community comes to life (2004, p. 377), which consolidates identity forming through habitual action (2004, p. 378).

Matters of indexicality are particularly relevant in multilingual environments. Myers-Scotton explains that linguistic varieties are always socially indexical, so that, through their use in social relations, they come to index those relations (1993, p. 85). For example, when a minority language is used in the home and the national language in schools, the minority language often becomes indexical of home life, and the national language of school values and activities. Silverstein also concluded in 2003 that "all macro-socio-logical cultural categories of identity, being manifested micro-sociologically…as indexical categories, are to be seen as dialectically constituted" (p. 227). This leads me to believe that while those Fala varieties may be indexically associated with the groups they represent, it is through their continued and widespread use that

they may also indexically represent the relationships among those speakers, by signaling each other their belonging to the Fala community. In the context of Fala, this indexicality could also be understood as speakers using the language among each other and what it means to them as indexical of their individual identities within the linguistic community. An example of this would be mannerisms (or possibly even specific lexical items) that some speakers may have transformed into identifying characteristics of their speech.

Along the same line, when using the language in written form, these representations can also signal authenticity, since as Jaffe, Androtsoupoulos, Sebba and Johnson point out, respellings can "locate the speaker as an 'authentic' speaker of a distinct code" (2012, p. 220) something I will show participants practice multiple times in the data collected for Chapter 5.

Thus, following Woolard's research with Catalan (2016), it can be argued that since the language varieties may be associated with authenticity given their indexical value, their use among speakers also may signal authenticity to each other in different contexts (Woolard, 2005). Earlier I explained how the use of Fala can index authenticity, however, each Fala variety can also index the speaker's town of origin. For example, if in a casual conversation between a Fala speaker from Eljas and a speaker from Valverde del Fresno one of them were to say, 'What are you doing?' the way the sentences translate to Fala, signals to the hearer where the interlocutor is from. In Eljas, the sentence translates to *Qué fais?,* in Valverde del Fresno to *Qué facis?*, and in San Martín de Trevejo to *Qué fadis?* Hence, the authenticity that each town´s variety carries with each speaker.

At the same time Woolard, following Silverstein's understanding of indexicality as a dialectal process (1996), mentions that indexicality can be transferred ideologically and transformed in the process (Woolard, 2004, p. 88). As an example, she offers a situation involving a linguistic variety associated with authority in the classroom. If used in a different context, this

linguistic variety, Woolard says, can still be used to signal authority (2004, p. 88). This leads me to believe that speakers, when using their Fala variety, with its authenticity value, may be able to project themselves as authentic within the Fala community. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, when participants were asked if they believed Fala should have a unified spelling system, most participants responded that a written representation of the language must respect internal variation; this could mean that Fala speakers are able to transform the initial value of authenticity associated to language choice, to the speaker's projection of their individual identity as authentic within a particular interaction[3]. For example, if a speaker from Eljas were to travel to San Martín de Trevejo and use his/her Fala variety there, they could be projecting themselves as authentic to their interlocutor while also indexing their belonging to the same linguistic community as a whole. Additionally, language vitality is so strong and positive attitudes toward the language are so widespread that even foreigners are making efforts to learn the language in order to integrate themselves in the community, signaling in this way to other Fala community members that authenticity. Eventually, future research will consider investigating these relationships, the value of indexicality in Fala, and how codeswitching between Fala and Spanish may fortify the indexing of Fala as authentic.

   With this initial chapter, I hope to have shown how the field of language ideologies and the processes involved are a good lens through which to look at attitudes and academic activities concerned with a minority or endangered language variety. However, I do understand that what I have provided in this chapter merely scratches the surface of the topic at hand. Consequently, in the following chapter, I will offer a look at the dialectology of Spain as the linguistic context for Fala, a demographic description of the language, along with an evaluation of Fala through the

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[3] See Gal and Irvine (2000) for more information on fractal recursivity.

scales of Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), Lewis and Simons' Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), and UNESCO 9-factor assessment so as to offer further detail on the language researched in this dissertation. These scales consist of different elements used to evaluate language use in different communicative contexts and domains and will help understanding where Fala currently stands in terms of vitality.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 1 has introduced the main motivations for this dissertation, as well as the main research questions that the dissertation aims to answer. In this chapter, the notions of language documentation and language policies are also introduced, as well as language attitudes as they relate to speaker perception of the language and its community. In addition, this chapter explores the concepts of Erasure and Iconicity as first introduced by Gal and Irvine (1995), Indexicality, and Authenticity to show the importance of these processes in any language revitalization or documentation effort.

Chapter 2 continues with the introduction of Fala, the minority language presented in this dissertation. Demographic data is offered along with an exploration of the dialectology of Spain, the linguistic policies of Spain and the European Union in modern times, and the analysis of Fala's status as a language through the GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) (Fishman, 1991), EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) (Lewis & Simons, 2010), and UNESCO's 9 factor assessment for language vitality. This analysis provides a general view of where Fala stands in present times as a language, and helps contextualize consequent chapters pertaining to documentation efforts and speaker attitudes towards the language.

Chapter 3 explores the different hypotheses in regard to Fala's origins that scholars have proposed throughout the last century, given the fact that in some cases, these hypotheses were presented in order to justify Fala's usage and standardization in written form. In presenting these texts, I conclude that these historically reconstructive efforts have been tied to linguistic ideologies and at points, to political interests. In turn, these justifications allow to explain the debate over the ideal orthography for Fala, which is explored in Chapter 4, and they help understand why some community members foreground Fala's preservation, while others foreground its authenticity.

Chapter 4 presents two examples of legacy orthographies for Fala that reflect native speaker pre-conceptions of Fala usage preceding any orthographical proposal. In addition, chapter 4 introduces Jones and Mooney (2020) framework to analyze and understand endangered language documentation and preservation efforts. This framework is followed by the example of Basque, another language of Spain, as illustrating the success of the practices Jones and Mooney's framework provide. Moreover, this chapter includes an analysis of the main two orthographical proposals for Fala from the last decade, *Critérios Para Oriental a Ortografia da Língua do Val de Xálima* by Antonio Corredera Plaza, Eduardo Sanches Maragoto, and José Luis Martín Galindo (2015), and *Ortografía da Fala* by the Cultural Association A Nosa Fala in collaboration with the scholar Miroslav Valeš (2017). After that, the examples of legacy orthographies are translated using the aforementioned orthographical proposals so as to exemplify how these proposals diverge or converge with native orthographical pre-conceptions of Fala.

Chapter 5 focuses on answering the questions (1) What did other Fala speakers think about these proposals? And (2) How did speakers from different towns think inter-town variation should be handled in an orthography? To that purpose, I present the data collected during 2017 and 2018 about what some Eljas, San Martín de Trevejo, and Valverde del Fresno's local residents thought

of Fala, its orthography, and the proposals by Corredera Plaza et al. (2015), and Valeš et al. (2017) that were presented in Chapter 4. The chapter concludes there is a majority of positive attitude towards the orthographic proposal by Valeš et al. (2017) and the legacy orthographies it respects and represents.

Lastly, Chapter 6 answers the questions (1) What does language pedagogy mean for a language with the status that Fala has of declining demographics, no universally accepted writing system, and non-widespread literary practices? And (2) How can we promote the use of the language in written form for younger generations through the use of literature? In this chapter, a community-wide effort is presented as a possible path for a pedagogical future involving Fala. In addition, this chapter presents the current efforts taking part by professors at the high school IES Val de Xálima trying to promote the writing, maintenance, and use of Fala among the student population through diverse activities.

CHAPTER II: FALA´S STATUS AS A LANGUAGE VARIETY OF SPAIN

The Linguistic Landscape of Spain

In order to understand Fala's geographical and linguistic situation in Spain, we must also take a look at what the linguistic landscape of Spain currently looks like. Throughout Spain's history, there have been many events that have helped shape the current dialectal and linguistic variation present within the Peninsula. These events are of great importance when looking at Spain's dialectology diachronically; from the Romanization of the peninsula after the arrival of the Roman Empire, with the Visigothic invasion and later Muslim invasion, to the reconquest of the land by the Christian crown and the peak of Castilian Spanish, phonological, morphological, and syntactic changes ensued throughout the centuries (Pharies, 2007). Nonetheless, the scope of this chapter is limited to describing Fala as a language and the linguistic landscape in which it thrives.

Spain naturally then, can be considered a mix of different cultures and languages that have coexisted within the peninsula for many centuries. This helps explain why the Spanish language includes many lexical items initially borrowed from different languages, Arabic being one of the biggest influences with thousands of lexical items taken in as contribution (Pharies, 2007, p. 42). But the current linguistic landscape of Spain still reflects the richness obtained from all these cultures and languages that coexisted at times in such a small territory. In fact, Fishman has gone as far to say that Spain, after what then was the Soviet Union, "constitutes the most populous *economically developed multilingual country* in the world and the oldest multilingual state in the world, predating even the Swiss confederation in that respect" (1991, p. 295) in part thanks to Catalan's contributions and the considerable number of places where it is still spoken today (Valencian Community, Balearic Islands, etc.) (1991, p. 295). This multilingualism was first

recognized with the Constitution enacted in 1978 after Franco's death and the establishment of democracy in 1975. Through the Constitution, Spanish was established as the official language of the state, and that other languages will be official in their own Autonomous Communities. However, no reference to what the 'other' languages are, or where exactly should they be 'official' can be found in the Constitution (Costa, 2003). In fact, Costa states that Spain could be considered closer to "a monolingual nation-state than to a proper multilingual one" (2003, p. 416) since personal language rights are limited to specific territories, "where the local language is legally recognized alongside the state's official language (2003, p. 416).

Leaving aside languages of immigration or so-called global languages, the main languages and language varieties currently present in Spain are Galician, Asturian, Cantabrian, Leonese, Castilian, Riojan, Basque, Navarrese, Aragonese, Catalan, Valencian, Balearic, Madrilenian, Manchegan, Murcian, Extremaduran, Andalusian, and Canarian. Figure 1 shows a map in which those languages are color coded and their distribution given within Spain:

Figure 1: Romanic Languages in the Iberian Peninsula (González i Planas, 2004).

On this map, Fala exists in a small corner near the border with Portugal (see the black dot, which I have added to the map from González i Planas (2004)). Despite the difficulty in determining the reach of some varieties on this map, the map itself can help understanding how dialectal varieties and languages are distributed within Spain's geography.

While this map offers a complete representation of the Romance languages in the peninsula, is not always the case that the representation of the dialectal and linguistic diversity in Spain is complete on other maps. Carrasco González advises misrepresentation is far too common in peninsular dialectology manuals, which do not address all dialectal groups (1996, p. 139). Finding Fala represented in a map of the languages of Spain is not common. The omission of mention on maps that involve representing the linguistic diversity of Spain is problematic, especially because it promotes erasure by omission to acknowledge the language. It seems that a lack of a linguistic and ethnographic atlas for Fala's administrative region of Extremadura has

been a problem for some time (González Salgado, 2004) an atlas that neighboring communities such as Andalucía and Castilla-La Mancha do have. González Salgado argues that if a linguistic and ethnographic atlas were to exist, it would make it much easier to relate the linguistic varieties in Extremadura with those in other regions in regard to phonetic, lexical, morphological, syntactic, and ethnolinguistic characteristics. (2004, p. 1). Accordingly, in 2005 González Salgado created the website titled *Cartografía Lingüística de Extremadura*, [Linguistic Cartography of Extremadura] in which he brought together maps of phonetic isoglosses, maps of lexical areas, and an interactive map pertaining to linguistic characteristics for some localities in Extremadura that he had collected as a result of his research throughout the years. Still, it is clear that dialectal maps need further development; Fala is spoken and written, and speakers understand it as meaningfully different from Extremaduran Spanish; therefore, a map without it cannot be considered to accurately reflect 'all' language varieties or languages within Extremadura or Spain, but simply a few; this lack of representation on maps pertaining to linguistic variety was in fact one of the principal research motivations for this dissertation.

It is important to note as well that the map shows the romance languages present in the Iberian Peninsula and not the dialectal varieties of Spanish. Of course, language in Spain additionally varies due to social factors such as social class or register and is not solely tied to a geographical location. Languages do not simply exist within an insulated bubble, but in relationship with other codes, styles, and registers, in what has been determined a linguistic ecology (Haugen, 1972) a language ecosystem. Languages and their practices depend on "social domains, the activities involved in those domains, and the language proficiencies of the participants, in addition to pressures in choices about language determined by external authorities and policies" (Grenoble & Whaley, 2020, p. 6). This is to say that languages do not always comply

with physical or abstract borders, and therefore isoglosses do not always coincide with political borders.

Despite being a relatively small country compared to other European countries or the United States, Spain is quite rich when it comes to language variation. Additionally, when looking at the autonomous community of Extremadura as the linguistic context in which Fala thrives, we can observe two distinct areas where variation also exists; there is an isogloss dividing the way language is used in Extremadura (not pictured in map above), similar in trajectory to where the provincial line between Cáceres and Badajoz lies (see map below). The way Spanish is used in the northern part of Extremadura has similar characteristics to Castilian, even though intonation may differ in some areas. The way in which Spanish is used towards the southern part of the autonomous community has similar characteristics to those variants in the area of Andalucía. In addition, in the border areas of Extremadura with Portugal there are also several towns where language boundaries become blurry: specifically, in the towns of Olivenza, Taliga, Cedillo, La Codosera, and Herrera de Alcántara. In these towns, a dialectal variety resembling Portuguese is spoken even though they are situated in Spanish territory. These varieties sometimes are addressed as part of the Galician-Portuguese group just as in the map above. Unfortunately, this is not always the case, with these varieties sometimes being classified as Portuguese. This is something Carrasco González criticized, saying that all these border varieties are sometimes described as Portuguese without any distinction, as if they were an extension of Portuguese at the other side of the border (1996, p. 139).

Carrasco González understands the variation in the Extremaduran towns of Olivenza, Táliga, Cedillo, La Codosera, or Herrera de Alcántara as belonging to the Galician-Portuguese linguistic branch (1996). Moreover, as can be seen in Figure 2 below, he divides these into four

different dialectal groups in which he also includes Fala: (1) Jálama Valley, (2) Herrera de Alcántara, (3) Cedillo and the border area of Valencia de Alcántara and La Codosera, and (4) Olivenza (1996, p. 135). This border area in Extremadura between Spain and Portugal is called *A Raia* in Portuguese or *La Raya* in Spanish, meaning the line (also understood as the border). The area where these towns exist is shadowed with pink on the map above and are categorized as part of the Galician-Portuguese group, but it is worth noting that the variety spoken in Olivenza and Táliga is also known as *Portugués Oliventino*, meaning Portuguese from Olivenza. The name derives from the fact that the area was under the Portuguese jurisdiction for many centuries until 1801. During the 1940s and 1950s, with the implementation of Franco's dictatorship and a monolinguist model that would punish any language spoken other than Spanish, *Portugués Oliventino* stopped being used by parents who decided not to transmit it to children for fear of repercussions (de la Torre, February 13th, 2011). Even though relations between both countries have long been reestablished since the enactment of democracy in 1975, the population of Olivenza is now mostly monolingual with Spanish as their language. Only some elders still use Portuguese (de la Torre, February 13th, 2011).
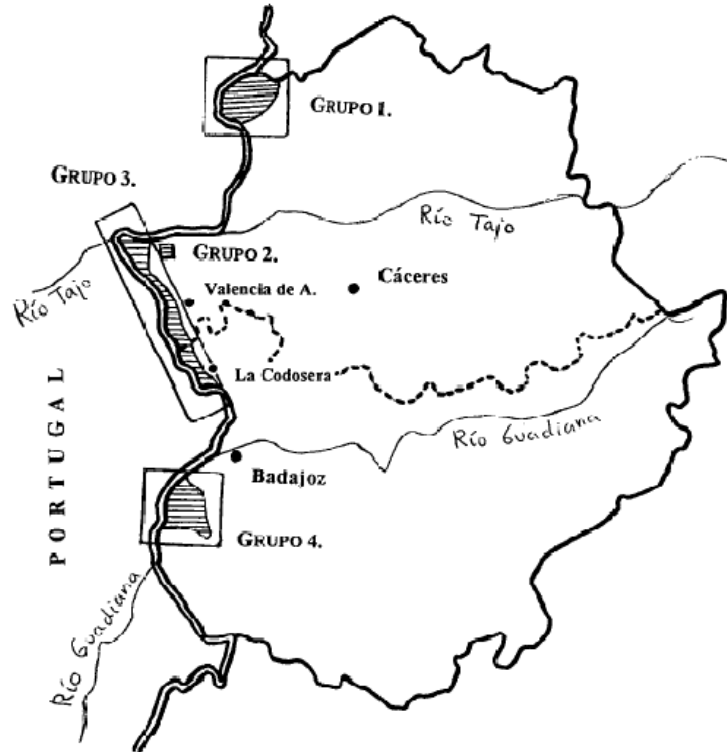
Figure 2: Linguistic map of Extremadura: dialectal groups as determined by Carrasco González (1996)

Fala happens to be situated near the border with Portugal, in the northwestern corner of the province of Cáceres. In Figure 2 the area is shadowed in grey and labeled *Grupo 1* [Group 1]. As can be seen in this map, Fala does not extend beyond the border. The language, and consequently the three towns where it is spoken, are lodged between the Portuguese border to the west, and the border with Castilla y León to the north. The towns are located in a small valley, hence the name *Valle de Jálama*, or *Vál de Xálima* in Fala, at the bottom of Jálama mountain, an approximately 1500-meter (4900ft approx.) mountain on the border between Extremadura and Castilla y León. The area also adopts other names such as or *Val do Riu Ellas* as some Fala speakers call it, since the three towns are located near the River *Erjas* in the northeast of the province of Cáceres in Extremadura, Spain.

There are numerous theories about the origin of the river's name, but the most accepted among the Fala speaking community is that the name comes from the Arabic *al-arhja*, meaning

'windmill'. Spanish history provides evidence that the area where the three towns currently sit was at some point under Muslim control during the Muslim expansion that took place over most of the peninsula. Therefore, it is possible to believe the name of the river could derive from that period, given the etymology of the Arabic word *Al-arhja*. Further evidence of this is the fact that some inhabitants of the area still call the river *riu dus muiñus* (windmills' river) due to the array of approximately 20 windmills that used to cover the landscape for the production of olive oil. The remains of these windmills are still visible and their names along with those of the owners are still remembered by the elderly. It is clear that not only the geography and toponymy of the area has its intricacies and carry interest, but also the language. While Fala has not been given much attention or representation in linguistic maps, the language has been of interest for linguistic scholars during the last two decades due to its disputed origins and the theories with regard to it. Even though no supporting evidence exists that the area may have favored Fala's maintenance throughout the centuries, there has been an ongoing debate in regard to Fala's origins due to Fala being different than surrounding varieties; Carrasco González considers Fala to be a linguistic variety that shares many linguistic characteristics with other languages (Galician, Portuguese, Astur-Leonese, etc.) but he indicates that there is no predominant influence for a given language over Fala so as to determine Fala as belonging to one of them (1996, p. 142). This, along with other theories are explored in Chapter 3, where I offer an overview of a century's worth of theoretical approaches and hypotheses about Fala's origins.

Language Policy: The European Union and Spain

In order to better contextualize Fala, we must also take a look at the measures that both the European Union and Spain have adopted that affect minority languages, and the understanding of the future of minority languages that both governmental institutions may hold.

The European Union has adopted certain policies pertaining to the linguistic diversity under its domain. In 1995, the European Union recommended that European citizens should know their language(s) plus two others foster bilingualism in the EU, leading the EU to change their linguistic policy in favor of multilingualism (Lasagabaster, 2011). Other initiatives such as the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages[4], and funding allotted for the research of these languages (Sallabank, 2019, p. 6) also take place. Moreover, the EU website includes information about Erasmus+, a program described as one of the initiatives to protect and promote the teaching and learning of minority languages (Communication Department of the European Commission, 2020). The EU recognizes the linguistic diversity within its borders and promotes multilingualism. In the EU's official website, multilingualism is listed as one of its main cores, recognizing both the languages of all its member countries, and their regional languages. The statement reads "The EU is home to over 60 indigenous regional or minority languages, spoken by some 40 million people. They include Basque, Catalan, Frisian, Saami and Yiddish" (Communication Department of the European Commission, 2020). Among those, Fala seems to be categorized as Galician in the territory of Extremadura, and deemed as non-oficial (Brohy, Climent-Ferrando, Oszmianska-Pagett, & Ramallo, 2019, p. 17).

To understand the present state of bilingual communities in Spain, and the linguistic policies surrounding these languages within the country, one must also understand the language

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[4] Comes under the Council of Europe not the EU (Sallabank, 2019).

shift in those communities during the nineteenth and twentieth century due to political changes. Two common examples of this are the languages Basque and Catalan, both considered minority languages in Spain's territory.

Spain's current territorial divisions are in the form of Autonomous Communities. There is a total of 17 autonomous communities, and two cities with Statutes of Autonomy (Ceuta and Melilla). In 11 of these autonomous communities, a minority language is spoken, meaning that almost 45% of the population is exposed to multilingual contexts on a daily basis (Brohy et al., 2019). Regional governments in these areas are responsible for education, justice, and health among other things.

In regard to Basque, Fishman states that even though there was Basque literary tradition from the sixteenth century onward, it was not very popular (1991) and concludes that "the relative neglect of Basque literacy…for nearly 500 years exposes Basque…to hurdles to this very day" (Fishman, 1991, p. 159). On the other hand, Catalan was very popular between the thirteenth and sixteenth century (Fishman, 1991, p. 295), with standardized grammar dating back to medieval times (p. 297). Fishman claims that the surviving texts are testament to the fact that during the thirteenth century, Catalan was the preferred language for governmental and documental matters even above Latin (p. 297).

Until the eighteenth century, there had not been any official rules for language use in Spanish, but in 1713, the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española* (Royal Academy of the Spanish Language), also known as RAE, was created to standardize Spanish and create usage norms. Later on, the RAE created its first dictionary, *DRAE* or *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* in 1726, the *Ortografía* (Orthography) in 1741, and the *Gramática Castellana* (Castilian Grammar) in 1771 (Hernández-Campoy & Villena-Ponsoda, 2009). Moreover, King Charles III imposed

Castilian Spanish as the official language for the kingdom in terms of administration and education in 1768 (Mar-Molinero 2000; Moreno-Fernández 2005, 2007, as cited in Hernández-Campoy & Villena-Ponsoda, 2009).

Hernández-Campoy & Villena-Ponsoda state that the dialectal diversity of Spain is a result of the Latin-based dialects, languages from other civilizations present in the Peninsula at different times (Iberians, Carthaginians, Phoenicians, etc.), and the varieties of Arabic of those who stayed in Spain after the reconquest (2009, p. 182). This in turn, would put standard Spanish as it was, and as it is still spoken today, as a regional variety of Spanish just like any other. However, unlike other varieties, Castilian Spanish came to be the variety used by scholars, thus, becoming a model of language use for others in the long run (Hernández-Campoy & Villena-Ponsoda, 2009).

Nevertheless, with Francisco Franco's insurrection and consequent dictatorship (1939-1975), other languages aside from Castilian Spanish were not allowed to be used, to the point that disobedience with respect to language use was punished with arrest. Francisco Franco had a clear policy for language suppression; during this time, language shift took place for Basque, Catalan, Galician, and Fala along with others. These languages suffered neglect and even persecution in Spain's territory; they were suppressed and Catalan, for example, was prohibited from all realms of public life, including the educational system. Catalan names and toponyms were prohibited and replaced with Spanish ones (Fishman, 1991, p. 297). However, the Spanish-only language policy also triggered linguistic and cultural awareness (Lasagabaster, 2011).

After the Franco regime ended and once the constitution was almost complete in 1979, a Royal decree authorized Catalan to be included as a compulsory subject in schools, allowing some schools to use the language as means of instruction (Jeffrey Maley, 2006). After Francisco Franco's death in 1975, the grip that government had on minority languages slightly softened, and

in 1979 the then newly established democratic government of Spanish created the Constitution along with Statutes of Autonomy. Specifically, Articles 2, 3.2 and 3.3 of the Constitution recognize the linguistic, cultural, and national pluralism, and Title VIII of the Constitution outlines procedures for the creation of regional autonomies. In addition, with this recognition the Basque Government was created, and therefore recognized as legitimate (Fishman, 1991, p. 150).

That same year, in 1979, the central government of Spain also issued a 'Decree of Bilingualism' which, aside from declaring Spanish the national language, also declared that "all public-school students in regions with an indigenous language must receive three to five hours of instructions per week in those languages" (Fishman, 1991, p. 150). In the case of Basque, the *ikastolak* (plural for 'school' in Basque) where initially Basque was clandestinely taught, became fully legitimate private schools with Basque immersion programs after the Statute of Autonomy was established (Fishman, 1991, p. 165). Soon after the Decree of Bilingualism saw the light, in 1982 the Basic Law on the Standardization of Basque came to be (Lasagabaster, 2004), and in 1983 a 'Charter of the Catalan Language' was adopted, establishing equity between Spanish and Catalan for governmental domains (Fishman, 1991, p. 305)

Even though in 1992, Spain signed the European Charter for Regional and Minority languages, the country did not ratify it until 2001 (Brohy et al., 2019). Before then, some languages such as Catalan, Basque, or Galician were already protected given their co-official status, but it is important to acknowledge that for centuries, the dominant language ideology in Spain viewed national identity as inextricably linked to 'the only language' (Lasagabaster, 2011), thus Spanish was considered "an indicator of loyalty, patriotism, belonging, inclusion, and membership" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 174). This, of course, had an impact on other languages, its use interpreted as a lack of loyalty, and unfortunately, a monoglot ideology is still common among certain

individuals (Woolard, 2016). Woolard offers the example of Juan Ramon Lodares, a Spanish philologist that explicitly associates "the preservation of linguistic differences with isolation, backwardness, and illiteracy" (Woolard, 2016, p. 61) at times even comparing Hitler's ideologies with those of Catalan or Basque nationalism (Lodares, 2002, as cited in Woolard, 2016, p. 62).

In present times, the minority language communities within Spain are more or less diglossic, and the languages have experienced dialectal diversification (Guijarro-Fuentes & Cuza, 2018). For example, Basque is comprised of eight dialects, and Catalan with four (Guijarro-Fuentes & Cuza, 2018). However, this diglossia does not equal recognition; Catalan, for example, as understood under the Constitution of 1979 is "best treated as an object, a heritage to be treasured, rather than a medium of communication actually to be used in contemporary life." (Woolard, 2016, p. 44) given that regional languages such as Catalan and Basque are deemed as co-official but only in their respective areas. Moreover, the language employed in the Constitution does not treat these languages as being as relevant as Spanish in terms of officiality. Woolard warns us that "the official status for Castilian is so taken for granted that it is not recognized as a language policy" (Woolard, 2016, p. 65). The use and recognition of Castilian Spanish are so widespread that its legitimacy is never questioned. However, as I previously mentioned, Castilian Spanish as we know it nowadays, considered the standard Spanish in Spain, is not more than a regional dialect that was favored among others for official communications in centuries past.

The recognition of these minority languages in their respective regions helped propel the inclusion of educational policies that also recognized the languages. However, despite language planning strategies that included identity-building projects, results vary widely from region to region (Lasagabaster, 2003; Woolard, 2016).

Despite the Spanish government and the EU currently recognizing linguistic diversity and multilingualism the Communication Department of the European Commission states that while they can promote the research, teaching, and recognition of such languages, the legal status and to what extent they receive national support is determined by national governments (Communication Department of the European Commission, 2020).

The examples of Basque and Catalan contribute to the idea that it is important to recognize in general, that the speakers' view holds importance because their views on language reflect their identities, and because they are the 'keepers' of the language. Today, Basque is used in all educational levels, media, and in writing (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 143) and so is Catalan (Costa, 2003). In the case of Fala, because of its oral tradition, speakers have kept it alive through generations. However, some Fala speakers have expressed discontent at the fact that Fala does not enjoy the same recognition as other languages in Spain (see discussion groups data in Chapter 5), at times applying adequation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010) and putting forward similarities between both Fala and Catalan as justification for Fala's due recognition (Chapter 5).

Therefore, when it comes to preservation of that language with everything that it may involve (asking the autonomous government to provide funding towards preserving the language, proposing talks among scholars about the language on how to preserve it, or even creating an agreed-upon orthography model that can be used by speakers of the three variants of the language,) I believe speakers of Fala should have a word in how the language can be used and/or spelled.

A Nosa Fala (**Our Fala**)

Fala has been recognized as historic-cultural patrimony of Extremadura and it was declared necessary that institutions and public administration would guarantee the defense and protection

of the language. (Decreto 45/2001, de 20 de marzo, por el que se declara bien de interés cultural la "A Fala"). Fala speakers use the language on a daily basis for all interactions except church mass and contact with outsiders ("Fala", para. 10). It is spoken in the localities of Valverde del Fresno, Eljas, and San Martín de Trevejo and among the three towns, there is a total population of 11,000 individuals, 5,000-6,000 of whom live elsewhere but come back during the summer ("Fala", para. 5). However, it is necessary to look at the population numbers in order to understand the size of the linguistic community. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics in Spain from 2018, shows that the total population for the three towns is of only 3,586 inhabitants. (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2019). Here is a detailed look at the local demographics for each town from that year:

Locality	Men	Women	Total population
Valverde del Fresno	1,183	1,166	2,349
Eljas	466	449	915
San Martín de Trevejo	165	158	323

Table 1: demographics for each town in 2018 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2019)

These figures reflect some population change; while the data reflected on Fala's Ethnologue page is from 2015, the data from the National Institute of Statistics is from 2018 which implies a fall in the number of Fala speakers across a 3-year time span. Here are the results for local demographics for each town from 2008, 10 years prior:

Locality	Men	Women	Total population
Valverde del Fresno	1,304	1,121	2,425
Eljas	534	512	1046
San Martín de Trevejo	446	480	926

Table 2: demographics for each town in 2008 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2019)

In a matter of only 10 years, data shows that the three towns have had a decline in population. A visit to the Town Hall in each locality aids confirming that the three towns also have an aged population, with population pyramids that look thinner at the top where the younger populations are, and wider at the bottom where the more advanced ages are represented.

Fala's Status: GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) and EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale)

The EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) and GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) can help us fully understand Fala's status as a language. EGIDS stands for the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale and it is "a tool that is used to measure the status of a language in terms of endangerment or development" (Ethnologue, What is EGIDS?). Ethnologue does not categorize Fala as a threatened language, which would mean Fala, even if used for communicating by all generations, would be losing users. Instead, the EGIDS scale considers it a developing language (Ethnologue, Fala) which recognizes Fala as being used vigorously, and as having literature even if it is not widespread or sustainable.

Originally, the GIDS scale was developed by Fishman and presented for the first time in *Reversing Language Shift* (1991) to measure the vitality and endangerment of languages, focusing

on intergenerational transmission for the maintenance of language. This scale included 8 levels that are described as follows:

Level 1. The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.

Level 2. The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.

Level 3. The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.

Level 4. Literacy in the language is transmitted through education.

Level 5. The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community.

Level 6. The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.

Level 7. The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children.

Level 8. The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.

According to Fishman, endangered languages will not need to create an orthography until they have reached level 5 on the GIDS scale, once intergenerational transmission is well established (Jones & Mooney, 2020, p. 11), because for Fishman, a standardized orthography may not be necessary in situations where a standard cannot be agreed upon without causing interdialectal tension (Jones & Mooney, 2020, p. 11). A standardized orthography can undermine revitalization efforts especially when the community is unwilling to accept or participate in such

efforts (Fishman, 1991, p. 345). Implementing an orthography that erases internal variation for the sake of preservation and implementation of a written code can be detrimental to the linguistic community. However, as we will see in future chapters, an orthography developed with the collaboration of members of the linguistic community that accounts for legacy native pre-conceptions of a written representation of the language, and that respects inter-town variation, can become a very useful tool in language maintenance and enhancement efforts.

Looking at Fala through the GIDS scale, we can conclude that it stands above level 6, since the language is used orally and learned as first language at home by the younger generations. However, according to the GIDS we could also understand Fala as standing at level 6, and at level 5, given that the language is used orally by all generations and in written form to a certain extent. As I will show in Chapter 5, Fala has not been fully established in written form. While the GIDS describes intergenerational transmission through somewhat strict terms, it was later judged to have several shortcomings. For example, it does not account for the direction of language shift and language change properly. Furthermore, the GIDS does not provide proper description for all possible statuses of a language, and it identifies intergenerational transmission as the most important factor in language shift, (which may not be accurate because maintenance is equally as valuable). Moreover, the GIDS is based on fairly strict terms, not considering that languages at different levels on the scale may require a different set of interventions (Lewis & Simons, 2010). The GIDS levels 1-5 are more focused on institutional support, while 6-8 focus more heavily on intergenerational transmission, and the scale does not develop properly the lowest levels (7-8), where disruption is greatest (Lewis & Simons, 2010). Lewis and Simons believe that the development of the lowest levels could prove useful for language revitalization purposes (2010).

For these reasons, the original GIDS by Fishman was expanded into the EGIDS by Lewis and Simons in 2010. It included the following levels:

Level 0, International: The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.

Level 1, National: The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.

Level 2, Regional: The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.

Level 3, Trade: The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.

Level 4, Educational: Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.

Level 5, Written: The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.

Level 6a, Vigorous: The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.

Level 6b, Threatened: The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.

Level 7, Shifting: The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves, but none are transmitting it to their children.

Level 8a, Moribund: The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.

Level 8b, Nearly Extinct: The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.

Level 9, Dormant: The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.

Level 10, Extinct: No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.

According to the EGIDS then, Fala would stand at level 5, since the language is used orally by all generations, while also being used in written form, but only in informal contexts. Notice that on this scale, and unlike Fishman, Simons and Lewis do not specify if a written code has been established at level 5 for it to be widely used, but instead Simon and Lewis simply require that the language is somewhat used in written form in certain contexts. Even though Fala's standing is not as worrisome according to EGIDS as it is in GIDS, further detail and analysis is needed of Fala's status. Another vitality scale is UNESCO's 9-factor assessment for language endangerment and vitality. It includes the following items:

Factor 1. Intergenerational Language Transmission (scale)

Factor 2. Absolute Number of Speakers (real numbers)

Factor 3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population (scale)

Factor 4. Trends in Existing Language Domains (scale)

Factor 5. Response to New Domains and Media (scale)

Factor 6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy (scale)

Factor 7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use: (scale)

Factor 8. Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language (scale)

Factor 9. Amount and Quality of Documentation (scale)

(Brenzinger et al., 2003, p. 17)

Both EGIDS and UNESCO's 9-factor assessment are essential tools to gauge the vitality of minority languages and to get an accurate idea of what chances of maintaining its use the language may have. Since none of the factors included in UNESCO's assessment should be used individually to obtain an accurate representation of a language's ability to be maintained, I am going to look at Fala using UNESCO's 9-factor assessment as a whole to provide a general view of where the language stands in terms of vitality.

Factor 1. Intergenerational Language Transmission: In the words of Joshua Fishman, one of the most common factors used when assessing a language's vitality is observing if the language is being transmitted intergenerationally (1991). If this is not the case, then the language will slowly disappear. To represent this item, Brenzinger et al. (2003) offer a 5-point scale in which the following levels can be found: (5) Safe, when all generations speak the language and there is no threat; (5-) Stable yet threatened, when the language may be spoken by all generations, but multilingualism may be present and therefore the dominant language may be used for some contexts; (4) Unsafe, when most but not all children speak the language as their first, but it's restricted to some social domains; (3) Definitely endangered, when the language is no longer learned as a mother tongue by children; (2) Severely endangered, when the language is only spoken by older generations or grandparents; and (1) Critically endangered, when the youngest generations are the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used in everyday interaction. In terms of this first factor scale, Fala would be (5-) stable yet threatened, for the sole reason that it coexists with the national language, Spanish.

Factor 2. Absolute Number of Speakers: It is difficult to provide absolute numbers, so we have to theorize with approximates; with an approximate number of inhabitants and consequently speakers of 3,587 in 2018, Fala can be considered a small linguistic community that only 10 years prior had an approximate number of speakers of 4,497. As I previously mentioned, of course, these numbers are relative; these could be influenced by the emigration to other parts of the country and even outside the country by those looking for different opportunities. We can conclude that, according to Factor 2, Fala's linguistic community is a rather small one. Nevertheless, Factor 2 is also relevant if the diachronic evolution of Fala were to be considered; when a language is in decline, it is common for certain language changes to speed up and for calques and lexical borrowings to appear more commonly (Jones, 2000, 2002). The fact that some speakers believe that Spanish is 'poisoning' Fala's vocabulary (see Chapter 5) may indicate that this stage of decline has begun.

Factor 3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population: in this 5-point scale, it is possible to measure the number of speakers within the total population having the levels of (5) Safe, when all speak the language, (4) Unsafe, when nearly all speak the language, (3) Definitively endangered, when a majority speak the language, (2) Severely endangered, when only a minority of the population speak the language, (1) Critically endangered, when only a few individuals speak the language, and (0) Extinct, when no one speaks it. In regard to this factor, Fala stands within the (5) Safe level, since all members of population within the three towns speak the language; while very few of the foreigners that have settled in the area in the last years do not speak Fala yet, others have attempted to learn the language and use it with other speakers.

Factor 4. Trends in Existing Language Domains: once again, it being a 5-point scale, the levels are as follows: (5) Universal use, when the language is that of interaction, identity, thinking,

creativity, and entertainment, widely used; (4) Multilingual parity, when there are one or more dominant languages that are the primary languages in most domains such as government, public offices, or educational institutions while the language in itself is still used in socializing activities; (3) Dwindling domains, when the non-dominant language loses ground and children become semi-speakers of their own language (receptive bilinguals); (2) Limited or formal domains, when the non-dominant language is used only in ritual or administration, at festival or specific occasions; (1) Highly limited domain, when the non-dominant language is used in very restricted domains at special occasions, usually by very few individuals in a community; and lastly, (0) Extinct, when the language is not spoken anywhere or anytime. In regard to Factor 4, Fala would stand at level (4) Multilingual parity, due to the fact that Spanish is used for administrative and governmental documents and official communication. Fala is used in every other social domain except for church and contact with outsiders.

Factor 5. Response to New Domains and Media: this 5-point scale measures the existence or not of new domains for the language. Level (5) or dynamic, implies that the language is used in all new domains; level (4) or robust/active most new domains, and so forth. As Brenzinger et al. claim,

> While some language communities do succeed in expanding their own language into the new domain, most do not. Schools, new work environments, new media, including broadcast media and the Internet, usually serve only to expand the scope and power of the dominant language at the expense of endangered language. (2003, p. 11)

In the case of Factor 5, Fala does not perform very well; while there are some Facebook pages where Fala speakers share recipes or news about the three towns writing in Fala, and a radio show by secondary school students (see Chapter 6 for details) the language is not used in other

media such as television broadcasts, so media does not play a big role in the language's expansion. Additionally, children learn Fala as their first language (L1) at home, learning Spanish as a second language (L2) once they start attending school around the age of 3. In the Spanish schooling system, children first attend school between the ages of 2 to 5 in what is called *Educación Infantil* [infant's education] and by the age of 3, children are already being exposed mostly to Spanish within the school environment. It is important to note that the children's exposure to Spanish will also depend, of course, on the amount of television the parents may allow them to watch since all content broadcasted on TV is in Spanish and no official media is produced in Fala.

Factor 6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy: as the authors state "Education in the language is essential for language vitality." (2003. p. 11) and so the existence of books and all sorts of materials for the teaching and learning of the language are needed. In the 5-point scale, level (5) would imply that there is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, etc. and that the language is used to write in high contexts such as administration and education; level (4) implies there are written materials exist and children develop literacy at school, but the language is not used in administration; level (3) implies that written materials exists and that children may be exposed to them at school, but literacy is not promoted through printed media; in level (2) written materials exist, but they would only be useful to certain members of the linguistic community, lacking the implementation of literacy as well, as part of school curriculum; level (1) would mean that there is knowledge of an orthography in the community and some material is written; and lastly level (0) means that there is no orthography for the language. In this case, Fala's position is blurry; while there have been talks of possible orthographies for Fala, no official decision has been reached yet. There is an orthographic proposal by Valeš et al. (2017) that is the most commonly preferred among speakers (see data collection in Chapter 5), but the

language is not taught in school, even if there is a limited number of texts written in the language that both adults and children can benefit from reading. From my understanding, this would position Fala somewhat between level 2 and 3. In comparison, other languages in Spain such as Basque or Catalan have an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars and dictionaries, and their languages are used in media and to write in contexts such as administration and education along with Spanish, positioning these languages at Level (5) in this scale.

Factor 7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies Including Official Status and Use is also a 5-point scale, and it includes level (5) which implies equal support as all of the country's languages; level (4) Differentiated support, if non-dominant languages are protected but are there are differences in the contexts in which each dominant or non-dominant languages is used; level (3) Passive assimilation if the dominant group is indifferent to minority languages, level (2) Active assimilation, if the government encourages minority groups to abandon their languages by providing education in the dominant language, level (1) Forced assimilation, if the government has an existing policy declaring the dominant language as the only official language and other languages are not supported; and lastly, (0) Prohibition, if minority languages are prohibited from use. Currently, Fala could be positioned somewhere between levels (3) and (4) given the fact that Fala was recognized as historic-cultural patrimony of Extremadura (Decreto 45/2001, de 20 de marzo, por el que se declara bien de interés cultural la "A Fala"). However, as some participants explained during data collection for Chapter 5, not everyone is satisfied with the declaration of Fala as historic-cultural patrimony, given that it was also taken off the minority languages list of Spain (see discussion group data in Chapter 5), and in some instances, catalogued as Galician-Portuguese (Maia, 1977; Camarasa, 1982; Carrasco González, 1996) (see Chapter 3 for more sources).

Factor 8. Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language: this factor also consists of a 5-point scale that goes as follows; (5) means all members value their language and want to see it promoted in different contexts and at different levels. (4) implies most members support language maintenance, while (3) would imply only many members support language maintenance and others are indifferent to it or even support language loss. (2) when only some members support language maintenance and others are indifferent or even support language loss. (1) if only a few members support language maintenance and most members are indifferent or support language loss, and (0) if no one cares about what happens with the language. This factor is essential since speaker attitudes have the power to shift the fate of a language in question. As Brezinger et al. explain,

> when members' attitudes towards their language are very positive, the language may be seen as a key symbol of group identity […] If members view their language as hindrance to economic mobility and integration into mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes toward their language. (2003, p. 14)

In Chapter 5, I have observed that most Fala speakers have a very positive attitude towards their language and therefore, they see their language as a symbol of their linguistic community identity. The vitality of the language can be observed on a daily basis, the language being used proudly, and speakers are happy to talk about their language to foreigners or visitors. In addition, foreigners who have settled in the area in the last few years, actively try to learn and speak the language as much as they can; this relates to the authentic value that Fala has been given by its community, where in order to be considered authentic, a speaker must 'sound' authentic (Woolard, 2016). Woolard adds that "to profit from linguistic authenticity, one must sound like that kind of person who is valued as natural and authentic' (2016, p. 23) thus, foreigners try to learn and speak

as much as they can, in order to blend in with the rest of the community. Although natives accept foreigners' attempts to learn and use the language because they are trying to integrate themselves, foreigners as L2 speakers may not be able to fully erase their native language from their speech in Fala, at the risk of sounding inauthentic. However, from my observations, Fala speakers seem proud of others for trying to learn their language, and highly encourage them to speak and listen to others speak as much as they can in order to learn further (see questionnaire's part 2 results in Chapter 5).

Fala speakers see their language as a core value of their individual identities and as an essential part of who they are as a community. Further proof of this is offered in Chapter 5, when I show comments left by Fala speakers from Valverde del Fresno as responses to an article in the online version of the Spanish newspaper HOY. Fala speakers complained to Jose Luis Martín Galindo for promoting one of his books about Fala under the premise that Fala was not spoken in Valverde del Fresno anymore (Lorenzo, 2018). However, in Chapter 5 I also show that a few participants expressed that children should not learn Fala at school because it would not be useful outside of their hometowns. And while we could place Fala at level 5 in regard to speaker attitudes, the fact that data reflected those negative statements forces us to lower Fala in the scale. Thus, Fala can placed at level 4 due to the fact that there is not conclusive data about the absolute number of speakers that feel this way. As can be seen, attitudes and politics can play a role in whether a particular language variety has enough social and political status to be seen as a language (Sallabank, 2019, p. 4); attitudes and politics can also have the power to change the trajectory of the language for both good and bad. I will discuss the possible political dimension (see Chapter 3) and the speakers' attitude dimension (see Chapter 5) and their effects on Fala's status in the following chapters.

Factor 9. Amount and Quality of Documentation: this last 5-point scale includes the levels of *superlative,* or (5) which implies there are grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts, and that constant flow of language materials and abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist; *good*, or (4) if there is one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated everyday media, including adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings; *fair* or (3) if there may be an adequate grammar or a sufficient number of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media, while audio and video recordings may exist; *fragmentary,* or (2) if there are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts with inadequate coverage, while audio and video recordings may exist with or without any annotation; and *inadequate,* or (1) if only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists, and fragmentary texts exist. Fala would stand at level (3) *Fair*, since there is an orthographic proposal by Valeš et al. (2017) that seems to be the most accepted among the Fala community (see Chapter 5) even if the proposal does not enjoy of an official status yet. In addition, a dictionary for children has recently been published (2020), and a dictionary for adults is in the works by Valeš. There are also several texts in the language, but Fala does not have everyday media such as official radio or television broadcasts. There is a radio show by students as I explain in Chapter 6 as part of their school curriculum, and there are audio and video recordings of interviews with elder speakers that were used to document the language and create the dictionary, as well as personal recordings shared among speakers over the years about the culture of the three towns and its customs.

After assessing Fala's status through GIDS, EGIDS, and UNESCO's 9-factor assessment, a well-rounded view of Fala's status as a language has been provided. Fala just like any other language, has fluctuated, and will most likely fluctuate between the different levels presented

within these factors throughout the decades. While this fluctuation is inevitable, what can be done is document the language and try to enhance its use and vitality to the best of our ability. Therefore, efforts focused on the revitalization and preservation of the language are vital at this point in time.

Indexicality, Authenticity, Identity, and the Speakers

These attempts at revitalizing and preserving the language have so far been directed by academics and scholars that did not take into account speakers' opinions and beliefs about their language, and data shows that some Fala speakers would like to have a word in what happens with their language (see Chapter 5); additionally, data has also provided evidence that proposals presented prior to 2017 were not welcomed by speakers of Fala, and even pushed some Fala speakers to personally reject the authors of such proposals in some cases (see Chapter 5). Through the data collected for this dissertation I have observed that Fala speakers are very protective of their language and understandably so; Fala has always been of oral tradition and it has not gotten much academic, governmental, or media attention until relatively recently. This is another important element to consider when proposing any regularizing codes for the language. Fala still remains part of the history and identity of all its speakers before anything else.

It is precisely because Fala has a certain indexical value for its speakers as I explained in Chapter 1, perhaps even signaling authenticity among them, that speakers deserve to be heard when determining how to represent their language in written form; it is due to this potential for authenticity signaling that speakers of Fala deserve being involved in decisions about their language in any form. Removing languages, and more specifically minority or endangered languages, from the metaphorical hands of its speakers and transforming them into what Hill calls "a kind of wealth inaccessible to ordinary speakers" (2002, p. 125) is a form of appropriation. In

her discussion of the dangers of the rhetoric of "universal ownership," according to which a specific "endangered language" becomes part of the cultural heritage of humanity in general and needs to be preserved for the good of all humankind, Hill argues that it:

> is illogical in many communities to say that a language belongs to someone who has no tie to the language by virtue of those mediating qualities that often yield a claim on a language in the indigenous world, such as territory of birth or links of kinship. Thus, a statement that an endangered language belongs to everybody rather than specifically to its speakers and their relatives and neighbors can easily be heard not as an expression of a universal human value, but as a threat to expropriate a resource. (2002, p. 122)

Because orthographical debates are rich sites for investigating nationalist discourses, since the acceptance of an orthography is based often on political and social considerations rather than on linguistic or pedagogical factors (Schieffelin & Doucet 1998, p. 285) and because "community language workers, speakers, and other members of local groups are both participants and overhearers in a global conversation about language endangerment" (Hill, 2002, p. 119), speakers should be a more central figure to the development of any regularized written code, especially when a minority or endangered language is involved. Minority language advocates must change their rhetoric so as to help communities defend and reclaim their languages, and attract resources for their community (Hill, 2002, p. 128). For this purpose, Hill recommends the collaboration between members of the community and the linguists in order to investigate and identify rhetorics from the community and make sense of their concerns (2002, p. 129).

It is worth noting that Hill's recommendations come from a place of critique; the way linguists and anthropologists have been talking about minority or endangered languages as a

wealth only belonging to those who place higher in the hierarchy of knowledge (2002) fails to consider those who 'live and breathe' the language on a daily basis: the speakers.

Perley also critiques the way languages have been conceptualized by experts, who often misplace attention on the language as a code instead of on the language as a catalyst for social relationships, being more interested in the language as a code than in the speakers of the language itself (2012). This disembodiment of language, Perley claims, reifies language as an object of value, and places speakers in the role of victims of processes greater than themselves (2012, p. 134). Perley states that these trends have resulted in what he calls, "zombie linguistics" (2012), which he describes as producing languages by documenting them only, when there are few to no speakers, instead of combining that documentation with efforts towards revitalization and community development. He claims that in this way, "expert interests dominate the discourse, as well as the popular imagination, and only 'charismatic' endangered languages will be 'saved'" (2012, p. 134). Clearly, this approach is not what members of marginalized communities need. In the upcoming chapters, these are some of the reasons I will argue for an inclusion of speakers in language representation, documentation, and revitalization processes. This will in turn help show that revitalization efforts are not a single-handed task, but instead, a community-sized task with multiple inputs necessary in order to succeed.

CHAPTER III: HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON FALA´S ORIGINS

This chapter aims to explore the different hypotheses in regard to Fala's origins that scholars have proposed throughout the last century, given the fact that in some cases, these hypotheses were presented in order to justify Fala's usage and standardization in written form. In other words, I will look at the historical treatment of Fala in order to analyze the justifications that authors presented in order to claim Fala's origins to be Galician, Portuguese, Galician-Portuguese, Astur-Leonese, or any combination of those. In turn, these justifications will allow for a partial explanation of the debate over the ideal orthography for Fala, which will be explored in Chapter 4. They will also help understanding why some community members foreground Fala's documentation, while others foreground its authenticity, or the characteristics speakers believe to be part of Fala's authenticity, in their verbalizations of Fala's purpose and worth.

In so doing, I recognize that when linguists and philologists try to describe language, they are not immune to language ideology; as James Collins concludes, the study of language cannot be perceived as a neutral view or a neutral description since it "demands reflexive interrogation of our own ideological commitments" (as cited in Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998, p. 27). As linguistic anthropologists (Woolard, 1992; Jaffe, Androutsopoulos, Sebba & Johnson, 2012; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Sallabank, 2019) have elucidated, anytime someone writes about how a language should be used, described and or standardized, there is an existent language ideology behind. Additionally, Paul Kroskrity states that we should "avoid associating language ideology with either the pejorative vision of others' 'false consciousness' of their linguistic resources or the valorization of the sociolinguist who can truly and exhaustively comprehend the total system" (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998, p. 117). It was already problematized in Chapter 2 that the definition of attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies sometimes

overlap to the point that they are considered synonyms (Sallabank, 2019, p. 61). Therefore, in this dissertation I will align with the definition of linguistic ideologies by Silverstein, who considers them "sets of beliefs about language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979, p. 193), while also refining this understanding by adding the conceptualizations of Steger, who aside from considering linguistic ideologies as beliefs about language structure and use, also believes these ideology systems to be a combination of shared ideas and beliefs that groups of people use as guide norms, values, and ideals accepted as truths (Steger, 2007). To this, I also implement Irvine's conceptualizations, by adding that not only these systems serve as norms, values, and ideals, but also as determining elements through which a particular group of people can understand social and linguistic relationships and the moral and political loads usually brought with them (1989, p. 255).

In providing this historical overview, I am retracing some of the major ideological lenses through which past scholars have understood Fala and its origins, while also fully recognizing them as ideological. With this understanding, readers will be better able to understand the contemporary ideological debates that will guide the following chapters.

I believe it is necessary to look at past and present thinking when talking about language but also at the speakers of the language, since according to Rosina Lippi-Green, language is "a possession all human collectives have in common, is more than a tool for communication of facts between two or more persons. It is the most salient way we have of establishing and advertising our social identities" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 3); this is why a sociolinguistic account of a language and its community should take into account the speakers of the studied language, what they believe about it, and how they perceive it. Speakers themselves hold ideologies about their language and consequently act on them, to varying degrees of explicit awareness. While this is something I will explore in Chapter 5, in this chapter, I will focus on presenting a descriptive linguistic (that is, the

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study and analysis of how a specific language is used) approach to Fala within a century's worth of texts. As I explained in Chapter 1, Fala is a minority language in the northwest of the Autonomous Community of Extremadura in Spain, and according to ethnologue.com, it is spoken by approximately 11,000 people, 5,000 of whom reside in 3 different towns; Valverde del Fresno, Eljas, and San Martín de Trevejo; another additional 5,000-6,000 who live outside the valley go back only for summer ("Fala", 2019, para. 5).

Although the topic of Fala has been more extensively studied in the past 20 years, its study is not limited to the present. In order to understand better the different perspectives and theories about Fala's origins, I have found success organizing hypotheses of Fala's origins into three types; a) Fala is of Galician origins, b) Fala is of Portuguese origins, and c) Fala is of Galician-Portuguese or Astur-Leonese origin. I then divide each set of theories into the following sections: Early 20th century: some Portuguese theories; mid-20th century: some Astur-Leonese theories; the 1990s and early 2000s: The Galician-Portuguese stand; and lastly, some conclusions. If we look at the 20th century scholarship on Fala we can see how the earliest scholars thought there was a Portuguese origin or affiliation (Vasconcelos, 1927, 1933; Krüger, 1914; Fink, 1929; Maia, 1977); later, scholars such as Cintra (1959, as cited in Hassler, 2000), Camarasa (1982), and Martín Durán (1999) considered Astur-Leonese as another possible origin for Fala, and lastly, scholars such as Carrasco González (1996) among others, towards the end of the 20th century and beginning of 21st considered Galician-Portuguese as the possible origins. In studies from the 20th century, particularly the earliest ones, the few scholars that focused on Fala at all (Vasconcelos, 1927, 1933; Krüger, 1914; Fink, 1929; Onís, 1930; Madoz, 1955) seem to comment on Fala's existence as if it were something interesting but new, as a phenomenon recently discovered that ought to be documented. During the second half of the 20th century, there was a bigger emphasis on the study

of Fala with Cintra (1959) and Maia (1977) leading the work. Following that period of elaboration, there is an observable gap in the study of Fala between the 1960s until the early 1980s due to the tumultuous times and eventual fall of the dictatorships in the peninsula for both Spain and Portugal. It was not until the 1990s that there was a spike in research and an interest in Fala from scholars from everywhere in the peninsula and even outside of it. I will end by exploring some of these most recent theoretical works that hypothesize about Fala's linguistic and historical origins in the 1990s as well as early 2000s, including the text that marked the declaration of Fala as patrimony of cultural interest by the government of Extremadura in 2001.

On a last introductory note, I would like to remind the reader that while in this chapter I will explore many documents by linguists and scholars from Galicia, Portugal, Spain, and other countries, it is important to keep in mind the fundamental role that ideologies and political interests play in the creation, propagation, advertising, and possible implementation of all these texts. Additionally, where possible, I have provided the original language of citations alongside my English translations, so as to reflect and preserve original wording given the sensitive political tone of some of these texts.

Early 20th Century: Some Portuguese Theories

The first documented linguistic commentary about Fala comes from Asturian writer Daniel Berjano. In 1879 he moved to Extremadura (Azevo, 2012) to develop the role of Property Registrar (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y el Deporte, n.d.) and he classified Fala as a dialect related to both Portuguese and Astur-Leonese (Berjano, 1909). Around this time, Fritz Krüger and Oskar Fink, German scholars and ethnographers from Hamburg also became interested in Fala; in 1914,

Krüger stated that Fala is a dialect related to Portuguese. A few years later, in 1929, his colleague Fink concluded that Fala is an archaic dialect related to Portuguese as well.

But the first more extensive work that references the existence of Fala comes from José Leite de Vasconcelos, a Portuguese ethnographer. Vasconcelos's work with Fala concluded that Fala is a dialect from Portuguese that appeared in the Jálama region due to proximity to the border with Portugal (1927, 1933), and adds that even though the Portuguese language could have been brought to the area due to different reasons, the fact that Spain has control over the geographical area where Fala is spoken may have been one of the major causes for Fala to exist the way it did and evolve away from Portuguese. However, Vasconcelos admits not having enough historical documents to prove his theories further (1927, p. 258), which in turn prevents him from providing a detailed timeline or approximations of when in history Fala could have settled in the area. The hypothesis that he proposed reads as follows:

> *E verdade que quem diz português, diz mais ou menos galego (neste caso: galego antigo); mas a Galiza fica muito afastada, para que exercesse aqui influencia; excepto se se quer supor que o territorio samartinhego foi nos primordios completamente colonizado por Galegos. Na verdade haveria estranha coincidencia: estar tão perto o português, e ser preciso, para explicar o samartinhego, recorrer ao galego, tão distante. Além d'isso não se encontra, ou, pelo menos, não encontrei eu, nenhum resquicio galego na linguagem de San Martin.* (Vasconcelos 1927, p. 258-259)

> The truth is that whoever says Portuguese, means also more or less Galician (in this case: old Galician); but Galicia is too far away to exercise any influence over here; except if [we] want to presuppose that the San Martín's territory was primarily colonized by Galicians. It would be truly a strange coincidence: for Portuguese to be so close, and [for Portuguese]

to be so logical, to explain San-Martinian, by resorting to Galician, [which is] so distant. Despite this, no hint of Galician can be found, or at least I couldn't find any hint of Galician in the language of San Martín.[5] (Vasconcelos, 1927, p. 258-259)

Later, in 1930, Spanish writer Federico de Onís visited San Martín de Trevejo, and for him, Fala was a Portuguese dialect too (Martín Galindo, 2016, p. 4). It is observable that towards the beginning of the century, most hypotheses about Fala's origins were claiming Portuguese as its precursor. I hypothesize that these theories may have been influenced by the belief that proximity to Portugal would make it more reasonable to believe its influence over Fala; however a lack of documentation prevents me from making these claims. In any case, theories and hypotheses about Fala's origins would start diverging in different directions from there on.

Mid-20th Century: Some Astur-Leonese Theories

The next historical document that briefly mentions Fala is the geographic-historical dictionary written by Pascual Madoz (1955). The purpose of this dictionary was to describe the land, its villages, and their population for practical purposes. Despite belonging to a secluded small area in the farthest northwestern corner of Extremadura, and despite being less-widely spoken, and politically underrecognized compared to other spoken minority languages present in the peninsula, Fala is mentioned twice in this dictionary. The first entry talks about Eljas and it claims that the inhabitants use *un dialecto particular, como los de Valverde y San Martín, que consiste en una mezcla de Portugués, castellano antigüo y expresiones que solo ellos comprenden* [a particular dialect, like those from Valverde de Fresno and San Martín de Trevejo, that consists of a mix of Portuguese, old Castilian and idioms that only they understand] (Madoz, 1955, volume II, p. 355). The second time

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[5] All translations present in this chapter are my own.

where Fala is mentioned is in the entry about San Martín de Trevejo where the author claims that its inhabitants use *un dialecto ininteligible, formado de palabras castellanas y portuguesas, todas adulteradas* [an unintelligible dialect, formed by Castilian and Portuguese words, all of them adulterated] (Madoz, 1955, volume III, p. 304). In this case, Madoz considers Fala to be an unintelligible mix of Portuguese, Castilian Spanish, and vernacular from the area. It is observable here that Madoz displays a sort of linguistic prejudice against Fala, and its ostensibly non-systematic speakers, which will also be observed in latter texts. Moreover, the fact that Madoz considers the language something only speakers understand, may be evidence that he considers Fala a somewhat exotic language spoken by a somewhat exotic population. Madoz offers an exotifying ideological portrayal of Fala that contributes to the 'othering' of the Fala community.

The next scholar to work on Fala was the linguist Luis Filipe Lidley Cintra. Cintra published the work *A linguagem dos foros de Castelo-Rodrigo, seu confronto com a dos foros de Alfaiates, Castelo Bom, Castelo Melhor, Coria, Cáceres e Usagre* [The language of Castelo-Rodrigo foros, their confrontation with that of Alfaiates, Castelo Bom, Castelo Melhor, Coria, Cáceres and Usagre's foros] in 1959, where he claimed Fala to be Old Galician influenced with Leonisms[6] due to the repopulation of the area where Fala is currently spoken with Galician colonists that were brought there by the orders of Alfonso IX in the XIII century (Hassler, 2000, p. 638). It is important to note that this is one of the first texts to bring Astur-Leonese to the debate of Fala's origins. Cintra arrived at these conclusions from reading documents regarding the *fueros*[7] from Ciudad Rodrigo dating from the 13th century. These documents covered the history of the region of Riba-Côa, and it was in this way that Cintra related Fala to the dialect spoken in the area

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[6] From the language historically present in the province of León, Astur-leonese; readers should take into consideration that Astur-leonese is also known as Leonese, or Asturian. In addition, some scholars consider Asturian and Leonese two separate languages, while other scholars consider them as one.
[7] The regional code of laws used during the Middle Ages.

of Riba-Côa (Gargallo, 1999, p. 20). Cintra claimed that Fala as a phenomenon was possibly due to the isolation of the three towns in the valley of Jálama but this theory has been debunked by other studies (Martín Galindo 2016, p. 6), including Hassler (2000), in which the author states that Cintra's arguments in regard to Fala's origins are not sufficient (2000, p. 638). Hassler explains that the valley was reconquered from the Muslims in 1184 by the king Fernando II (p. 638). However, Hassler also points out that while Valverde del Fresno and Eljas belonged to the Order of Alcántara, San Martín de Trevejo belonged to the Order of San Juan, two separate religious jurisdictions. At the same time, the towns also belonged to different administrative territories, Valverde and Eljas to Extremadura, and San Martín de Trevejo to Salamanca (p. 638). According to Hassler then, the importance of the study of Fala lays in explaining a common language existing for the three towns, when they were divided for centuries by religious orders that were even rivals at some point in time.

Nevertheless, Cintra was not the only one who considered Fala to be Old Galician of some sort; Clarinda de Azevedo Maia, another Portuguese linguist who specialized in Galician-Portuguese, wrote the book *Os falares fronteiriços do concelho do Sabugal e da vizinha região de Xalma e Alamedilla* [The border languages from Sabugal county and the neighboring region of Xalima and Alamedilla] in 1977; Maia claimed that since the 13th century there had been a Galician-Portuguese language in the region of Jálama that had not evolved and that had influence from Leonese (Maia, 1977). In any case, it should be emphasized that between de Onís' work in 1930 and Camarasa's in 1982, only the texts by Cintra (1959) and Maia (1977) were found to discuss Fala; as it was previously mentioned, this was an unstable time for politics in the Iberian Peninsula due to dictatorships and their final fall. The political situation strongly affected the production of texts involving minority languages; in fact, the use of any minority language was

forbidden during all of Francisco Franco´s regime in Spain which lasted between 1939 and 1975, as well as during António de Oliveira Salazar's authoritarian government in Portugal from 1932 to 1974. Scholars were dissuaded from conducting any research during this period, including research involving any of the minority languages present in Spain. Scholars and academics had to exile in order to avoid being apprehended, and so, research involving Fala stopped.

During the 1980s, after work on minority languages had started to resume, Camarasa (1982) proposed that Fala had common characteristics with both Galician-Portuguese and Astur-Leonese. More specifically, Camarasa assumed Fala to be a hybrid language that appeared as a creole among speakers of both Galician-Portuguese and Astur-Leonese (1982). In this way, Camarasa becomes the third scholar (chronologically speaking,) to claim that the much-debated Fala had partially Astur-Leonese origins. Then, in 1992 Xosé Henrique Costas González would once again bring up Leonese as part of the source for Fala's origins. Costas González claims Fala to be a kind of archaic Galician influenced by Leonese (1992). In addition, with regard to the consideration of Astur-Leonese as the precursor of Fala, there is one more text that proposes this possibility; the work titled *A fala. Un subdialecto leonés en tierras de Extremadura* [A Fala. A subdialect from Leonese in Extremaduran soil] (1999) by Jose Luis Martín Durán. It was one of the volumes presented as part of the series *Estudios Portugueses: Estudios y Documentos sobre A Fala* [Portuguese studies: Studies and Documents about Fala] by Editora Regional de Extremadura; the fact that the series was titled 'Portuguese studies' can be considered somewhat misleading, given the fact that each volume in the series adopts a different ideological and theoretical standpoint in regard to Fala. However, the publishing company Editora Regional de Extremadura states on their website that they want to "promote collaborations with initiatives from private editorials (both in and out of the region) and with cultural businesses that contribute to

outline the collective Extremaduran identity" (Editora Regional de Extremadura, n.d.) which would explain the decision to title the series as such may not have been their decision. The project was funded by the Government of Extremadura and so the decision for the organization and titling of volumes may have come from elsewhere. In this volume, Martín Durán studied Fala through a historical, phonological, and morphological analysis. This was the last text to contemplate the possibility of Leonese as Fala's main source. Nevertheless, a comparison and analysis of documents belonging to the same time period, that is, the 12th and 13th century, would be necessary in order to conclude what exactly would be the right hypothesis about influences on Fala from the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula by the Christian crown.

Martín Durán claims that during the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula and the repopulation of the area where Fala is spoken between the 12th and 13th centuries, there was a type of Leonese spoken in the area brought by the individuals that were repopulating the area. Martín Durán stated that such Leonese had much more in common with the Galician-Portuguese spoken then[8] (1999, p. 12). He stated that Leonese had established itself as a dialect from Latin, which in the 12th and 13th centuries included a vernacular. Martín Durán denominates Fala then as a colloquial way of speaking 'splashed' with other languages in order to conclude that Fala must be a subdialect from Leonese directly influenced by it (Martín Durán, 1999).

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[8] Duran sees Galician and Portuguese as separate language. He believes Fala to be, *Un leones del siglo XII o XIII, de cuando la Reconquista y repoblación de la zona de Eljas...perdón, de As Ellas, como se dice en A FALA...perdón, de Ellas, como se dijo siempre pues el portuguesismo con la incorporación del artículo As es reciente...un leonés que tenía mucho en común con el gallego y con el portugués de entonces...tres lenguas o hablas en el mismo reino de León: reino para los leoneses propiamente dichos, para los gallegos, para los portugueses y para la Extremadura recién conquistada.* [a leonese from the 12th or 13th century, of when the reconquest and repopulation of the area of Eljas [happened]...sorry, of As Ellas, as it is said in A FALA...sorry, of Ellas, as it was always said, since the 'portuguesism' with the incorporation of the article 'as' is recent...a Leonese that had much in common with Galician and Portuguese from back then...three languages or tongues in the same kingdom of Leon: kingdom for the Leonese themselves, for the galicians, for the Portuguese and for the recently conquered Extremadura.] (1999, p. 12)

Figure 3: Map of the Iberian Peninsula in 1030 AD

([www.malagahistoria.com/malagahistoria/taifas.html.](www.malagahistoria.com/malagahistoria/taifas.html))

Figure 3 shows the situation of Spain in 1030 AD, a year before the Muslim caliphate of Córdoba fell; with the fall of the caliphate, the Christian crown from Castilla and León began reconquering Muslim territories and conversions to Christianity started. As can be seen, the border between the Muslim *taifas*[9] and the Kingdom of León stretched all the way to Sierra de Gata, where Fala is spoken (Martín Durán, 1999). According to Martín Durán, there are historical documents that talk about how Coria, a nearby city controlled by the Moors, was conquered by Alfonso VII king of León and so, it would be logical to think that the area of Trevejo, Eljas, and

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[9] Administrative and political division of Muslim territories in the Iberian Peninsula in the XI century.

Salvaleón, merely 51 kilometers away, would have been conquered by him as well (Martín Durán, 1999). Durán writes:

El leonés se queda en dialecto (del latín), un habla coloquial…un dialecto compuesto por un amplio contexto de salpicaduras lingüísticas afines…salpicaduras que al cabo del tiempo todas evolucionan…toman préstamos unas de otras…pero todas evolucionan de manera individual…a veces, tanto, que la gente, al cabo de los siglos, ya no saben de donde procede su habla. […] Es este el caso de A FALA: un dialecto de aquello que sólo quedó en dialecto del latín, por tanto…un subdialecto leonés. (1999, p. 12)

Leonese ended up as a dialect (from Latin), a colloquial talk…a dialect composed of a broad context of similar linguistic splatters…splatters that after some time they all evolve…they take loan words from one another…but they all evolve individually…sometimes, so much, that the peoples, after some centuries, don't even know where their language comes from. […] this is the case of A FALA: a dialect from a dialect of what was left of Latin, in sum…a Leonese subdialect. (1999, p. 12)

An interesting ideological element to note in Martín Durán´s writing is the fact that he implicitly assumes all Fala speakers should know where the language comes from; he mentions "the peoples, after some centuries, don't even know where their language comes from." (1999, p. 12). Now, it is true that Martín Durán may be making reference to language evolution and how speakers do not have a need to understand or remember those changes throughout the centuries, but if it is the case that Martín Durán is assuming Fala speakers should know where their language comes from, it would imply a certain level of prejudice against Fala which in turn is also directed towards Fala speakers. Considering that the speakers of a language should know the origins of

their language is never assumed of any majority language speaker, so there should not be a need to assume minority language speakers should be judged differently.

When it comes to justifying the fact that some scholars have previously said that Fala presents traces of Galician and even Portuguese in its phonetics, morphology, and other aspects, Martín Durán claims that,

> *La razón de que en A FALA se observen algunos rasgos gallegos o portugueses se debe, con toda probabilidad, a que tales rasgos ya se encontraban en aquel leonés que aquí se implantó…pues no debe olvidarse que los tres territorios (León propiamente dicho, Galicia y Portugal) eran parte del mismo reino*. (1999, p. 15-16)
>
> The reason why in A FALA Galician or Portuguese traces are observed, is due most likely, to the fact that those traces already existed in the Leonese language that here was planted…one cannot forget that the three territories (León per se, Galicia, and Portugal) were part of the same kingdom. (1999, p. 15-16)

The last text to consider Fala to be influenced by Astur-Leonese to a certain extent along with Portuguese was written by Juan M. Carrasco González, who explains that there are features of Astur-Leonese and Portuguese in Fala (2007), although more and more Castilianisms are found lately in the language. He defines Fala as an autonomous dialectal evolution from Galician-Portuguese (Carrasco González, 2007). This text marks the transition to theories which put a stronger emphasis on Galician-Portuguese instead of solely on Portuguese or mostly Leonese that we have explored so far. Galician-Portuguese evolved separately in two different branches around the 12th and 13th century, known today as Galician and Portuguese. Speaking about Fala, Carrasco González states that to a certain extent, Fala could be considered a third branch of that linguistic

family: the Extremaduran branch of the linguistic family that extends on the western side of the peninsula (1996, p. 140).

Carrasco González asserts that the language in the Valley of Jálama evolved independently from the medieval common trunk of Galician-Portuguese that since the 14th century had evolved into Galician and Portuguese separately, with Fala then being a third branch of this linguistic family (Carrasco González, 1996). It is in this way that Carrasco González proposes a genetic relationship between Portuguese, Galician, and Fala. Genetic comparisons between languages are not welcome by some, who consider this language problematic (Sallabank, 2019, p. 15; Denison, 1977). The "family tree" model of language relationships naturalizes and reifies languages instead of seeing them as flexible social and political products, stripping their speakers of agency (Denison, 1977), which in turn may "hinder effective policies in support of linguistic diversity" (Sallabank, 2019, p. 15).

In addition, it is relevant to note that the split Carrasco González mentions between Galician and Portuguese is of controversial nature to this day. Scholars such as Campos considers the split to be completed by the 14th century, with both Galician and Portuguese flourishing separately, while at the same time, also considering the fact that Galician-Portuguese as a unit had been maintained through literature only, with differences in other areas being noticeable between both regions (Campos & Loff, 2009). That being the case, studies have shown that sometimes the boundary between Portuguese and Galician may be marked as something as small as a nasal tilde (Álvarez Cáccamo &. Herrero Valeiro, 1996, p. 148). And while the study of the languages may necessarily be separate, authors such as Lagares Diez advocate for the joint study of languages that may be related, such as Fala, Galician, and Portuguese, regardless of the modern political borders

they may be confined to, in order to learn more about the relationships between these languages (Lagares Diez, 2009, p. 81).

Later on, Carrasco González, influenced by the suggestions of Francisco Fernández Rei, changed his stand about Fala's origins by claiming that Jálama's tongues, rather than being a third branch alongside Galician-Portuguese, were a small branch that got separated from Old Galician and got replanted in Extremaduran land (Carrasco González, 2000, p. 151). Francisco Fernández Rei had published the article "As falas de Xálima e a súa relación coa lingua galega" [Xalima's tongues and their relationship with the Galician language] (2000) not long after the book *Actas del I Congreso sobre A Fala* [Minutes from I Conference about A Fala], claiming in this case that Fala was essentially Galician; At the same time, Martín Durán´s volume *A fala. Un subdialecto leonés en tierras de Extremadura* [A Fala. A Leonese subdialect in Extremaduran lands] (1999) was published, in which the author claimed Fala to be a subdialect from Leonese. At this point, scholars started to diverge theoretically in regard to Fala's origins.

The 1990s And Early 2000s: The Galician-Portuguese Stand

So far, I have explored certain works such as Cintra (1959), Maia (1977) and Camarasa (1982) that have considered Galician-Portuguese or Galician itself as direct influences over Fala's origins. In regard to the 1990s, I have already briefly alluded to Costas González, who in 1992 claimed that Fala was a kind of archaic Galician influenced by Leonese (Hassler, 2000), and Carrasco González who in 1996 would consider Fala to be the third branch from the Galician-Portuguese linguistic family (1996). That same year there was a publication titled *Actas del I Congreso sobre A Fala* (1996) and in it, authors such as Costas González consider Fala as a descendant from Galician. Furthermore, Costas González wrote in his piece "O galego de

Extremadura: as falas do Val do Río Ellas" [The Galician from Extremadura: the tongues of River Erjas' Valley] (1996) as part of the Volume *Actas del Congreso Internacional Luso-Español de Lengua y Cultura en la Frontera* [Minutes from the International Portuguese-Spanish Conference of Language and Culture at the Border] once again, that Fala was categorized as descending from Galician.

Moreover, in his article "Valverdeiro, Lagarteiro E Mañego: O "Galego" Do Val Do Río Ellas (Cáceres)" [Valverdeiro, Lagarteiro and Manego: The 'Galician' of River Erjas' Valley (Cáceres)]*,* Costas González explains that the comparative study of the coextensive toponymic labels, frequently shared between Galicia and this area, makes clear the Galician origin of most of the colonists (Costas González, 1999, p. 84). He also claims that the colonizers of this area were on average of 85% Galician descent (1999). It is through this hypothesis that Costas González confirms that Fala must be of Galician origin. However, despite all the genetic hypotheses that authors have presented throughout time, genetic studies such as Bycroft, Fernandez-Rozadilla, Ruiz-Ponte, Quintela, Carracedo, Donnelly & Myers (2019) seem to show that the populations that took over Extremadura are not primarily Galician. Whatever the link to Galician may turn out to be, Fala speakers tend not to see themselves as Galician so, this allows us to conclude that origins do not have the power to determine identity nor should they.

It is appropriate to mention at this point how Fala was declared an Asset of Cultural Interest by the Ministry of Culture and the Government of Extremadura in the decree 45/2001 of March 20th, 2001 (BOE, 2001, p. 15,035). From there on, there is a myriad of written pieces that focus on untangling the mysteries of Fala's origins to place it under the auspices of the different languages it is related to. This, however, is a clear indication of the political dimension of these texts as well as an indicator of the views and ideologies at play behind all of them. A few years after the

declaration, in 2006, the Galician Nationalist Bloc political party claimed Fala as 'outside Galician,' or Galician used outside Galician borders, in an attempt to achieve political autonomy. We must read Costas González's claims about Fala's Galician origins within this political context.

Having that information in mind, we can understand why and how Costas González also coordinated a project carried out with the Cultural Association Alén do Val in 2009 to publish the book *Habla y Cultura de Os Tres Lugaris* [Language and Culture of the Three Towns] (Riobó Sanluís & Sartal Lorenzo, 2009). In this book, the authors, Costas González first among them, consider Fala to be undoubtedly related to Galician and he gives evidence through an ethnographic analysis of the three towns, including Fala's phonology. In this book, the authors claim that the language label *fala,* despite being the predominant/only label among Fala's speakers, is insufficiently specific. They state that the word *fala* as translated to Galician or Portuguese simply means 'tongue or language,' and so using the term to refer to the language can be ambiguous (p. 33). Instead, the authors propose the name *Valego* as first established by Costas González as a name more easily identifiable for the language. In my analysis, however, this terminology is problematic in itself; the use of *Valego* as a less confusing name for Fala (a shortening for 'Galician from the valley', that is, *valle + Gallego*) feels like an attempt to promote an ideology not shared with or by speakers of the language. It can be interpreted as well, as an attempt to claim Fala as a kind of Galician, with the political implications that entails. Nonetheless, even if Fala descended from Galician, which even the authors admit cannot be proved because of a lack of medieval documents to attest to it, changing the name of the language from the name that the speakers gave it could be considered a type of erasure (Gal & Irvine, 1995) or appropiation.

In terms of history, Costas González and his coauthors ground their hypotheses about Fala by saying that there was a repopulation of Galicians in the area. However, they also recognize that

there is a lack of medieval documentation to prove when or how this repopulation took place. Despite this, the authors claim that the three towns' culture and language is more than enough proof that the base for Fala is Old Galician; quite a bold claim considering no evidence is provided to back it. If Old Galician is enough of a strong interest for researchers, other languages that may have an influence on Fala should also have been named for the purpose of offering a more rounded perspective. It is important to note however, that the authors do say the following:

debemos diferenciar entre gente gallega y gente de habla gallega, pues podemos pensar que habría gente de habla que llamamos gallega en lugares que no pertenecerían al territorio gallego. En los tiempos actuales la política y la lengua van muy unidas, y que la denominación de una lengua se relacione con un territorio puede ser un lastre que determine el resultado de los estudios.

[we must differentiate between Galician people and Galician speaking people, since we could think that there may be people who speak what we would call Galician in places that do not belong to the Galician territory. In current times politics and languages are very close, and the denomination of a language as related to a territory can be an impediment in determining the outcome of research.] (p. 37)

In addition, while the authors recognize there are many hypotheses about Fala, all of these hypotheses along with any theories must be tested and/or discarded after researching them, because there will always be individuals who will want to know the true origins of the first settlers in the area (p. 44). Even if it could be proven that they were from territories now labeled as Galician, Leonese, or Portuguese, the authors state that "*nadie puede pertenecer a algo que aun no existe*" [no one can belong to something that doesn't exist yet] (p. 44), alluding in a sense and hinting to the feudal relationships and territorial divisions that have taken place so many times throughout

Spanish history. After that, the authors present a historical breakdown for each town in order to show documentation that would help when estimating the approximate time period in which the three towns became official settlements; starting with San Martín de Trevejo, they claim that a letter from 1157 is the first document that mentions the existence of the Castle in Trevejo, a neighboring town 10km away from San Martín de Trevejo that nowadays is only inhabited by a handful of people. While another letter from 1184 also confirms this, none of these letters mention the existence of an urban area surrounding the castle, as would be expected. The authors also mention that in 1195, the bishop in Ciudad Rodrigo made a pact with the Orden de San Juan to collect tithing from parishioners from Trevejo, which in turn supports the idea that by then, an urban area existed around the castle. In the case of Valverde del Fresno, the authors explained that the town also appeared as a strategical settlement, while Salvaleón, a fortress situated approximately 19km from Valverde del Fresno, appeared as a spontaneous settlement. The authors note that in a document from 1448, Valverde's people revolted against Penamacor, a Portuguese municipality that was claiming Valverde's ownership under its jurisdiction. Eljas on the other hand, belonged to Salvaleón from 1302 onwards through a donation from Fernando IV. It is important to note the authors recognize the fact that outside the aforementioned documents, there are not many other documents that can be consulted when it comes to researching Eljas' settlement or origins. However, the authors think it likely that these settlements were first established during the 12th or 13th centuries, because widespread economics-driven displacement occurred in other areas of the peninsula as well during this period. Likewise, the authors also mention there is information about other dialects around the area where Fala is nowadays spoken that appeared to later on, disappear; the authors conclude that this makes it even more interesting to try and

understand what processes Fala went through in both the past and present, so as to survive throughout time when other dialects did not.

At this point it also becomes relevant to mention how the popularity of Fala as a research topic contributed to the appearance of a 'Galicist[10]' school of thought and a 'Portuguesist' one. If close attention is paid to the texts hereby explored, we can perceive a clear correlation between each researcher's own ideologies/national affiliations and how these determine their conclusions about Fala's origins. For example, it is in this way that it becomes clear how Vasconcelos, being a Portuguese ethnographer, would consider Fala to evolve from Portuguese, and Costas González, a Galician, undoubtably considers Fala as influenced by Galician. Scholars eventually recognized that their own biases had shaped their conclusions about Fala's origins; this also helped them realize they needed to be more explicit about the conventions they advocated for writing Fala, so the debate of Fala's origins reached a new decision point: how should the language be written, and should it be standardized? For reasons of scope however, we will not be investigating this part of the debate here. Instead, these issues will be investigated and addressed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Other scholars interested in speculating about Fala's origins include José Enrique Gargallo Gil who in 1994 published "La ‹Fala de Xálima› entre los más jóvenes. Un par de sondeos escolares (de 1991 y 1992)" [Xalima's Fala among the youngest/ A couple of school surveys]; Gargallo Gil concluded that Fala was a kind of Galician-Portuguese that had become isolated near the border between Portugal and Spain, therefore evolving on its own and maintaining some archaic features from Galician-Portuguese. Later on, Gargallo Gil went on to publish *Las hablas de San Martín de Trevejo, Eljas y Valverde del Fresno. Trilogía de los Tres Lugares* [The tongues of San Martín de Trevejo, Eljas and Valverde del Fresno. The Three Towns Trilogy] (1999) as the

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[10] In this dissertation I adopt the terms 'Galicist' and 'Portuguesist' to refer to those texts and scholars who lean towards a Galician-resembling version of Fala, or a Portuguese-resembling version of Fala, respectively.

first volume published by Editorial Regional de Extremadura in the collection *Estudios y Documentos sobre A Fala: Serie de Estudios Portugueses.* As it was previously mentioned, this book series also contains work by Jose Luis Martín Durán. In this volume, Gargallo Gil wrote that he does not take part in the discussion of Portuguese or Galician influence, adding that he has not studied the phenomenon of Fala enough to have an opinion about it (1999, p. 9). Nevertheless, Gargallo Gil writes that it cannot be claimed that what is spoken in the Jálama region is a Portuguese dialect, if by Portuguese is meant the present Portuguese spoken on the other side of the border (1999).

After publishing his 1999 work, Gargallo Gil would once more, hypothesize about Fala in the work "Gallego-Portugués, iberorromance. La fala en su contexto románico peninsular" [Galician-Portuguese, ibero-romance. Fala in its peninsular romance context] published in 2007, this time claiming that it had to be related to Galician-Portuguese and that it could not be descended from modern Galician. He denominated Fala as a Galician-Portuguese with hints of Leonese. Surprisingly, this piece comes as a response to the declarations by the BNG or *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* [Galician Nationalist Bloc], the nationalist party of Galicia, and their efforts to have Fala considered a kind of Galician spoken outside of Galicia in 2006. In addition, Gargallo Gil's work also appears at the same time that other 'Galicist' scholars such as Costas González tried to reclaim Fala as Galician. But the speculation and debate were far from over; two years later, in 2009, Gargallo Gil provided a linguistic frame for Fala in his piece titled "Fronteras y enclaves en la Romania. Encuadre romance para la Fala de Xálima" [Borders and enclaves in Romance-speaking territories. Romance framing for Xalima's Fala] evidently opposing the view that some scholars such as Costas González along with the Cultural Association Alén do Val had expressed that Fala is of Galician descent (Sanluís & Anxó, 2009). He claims that authors from Galicia have gotten

used to the idea that Fala is affiliated with Galician due to historical reasons of medieval colonization, but that these theories would make Portuguese a sort of Galician as well (2009) given the fact that both languages are also related in regard to origins. Gil proposes then that the relationship between Fala and Galician is to be purely based on linguistic affinity with one another, and that this relationship should not affect identity (2009); this becomes his reasoning as to why Fala should not follow Galician guidelines and standards when it comes to language usage. Gil's argument directly responds to the text *Habla y Cultura de Os Tres Lugaris* (Riobó Sanluís & Sartal Lorenzo, 2009) and its claims of Fala being of Galician descent, in that Gil considers linguistic affinity a factor in the relationship between Fala and Galician, but not as a determining factor as to the shape Fala should adopt in written or spoken form.

Likewise, Xosé Afonso Álvarez Pérez (2014) observed similarities between Fala and Portuguese in lexical and phonetical aspects even if the latter is in a slightly less obvious way. But while González Salgado's work is descriptive in nature, in *Las Hablas de Jálama en el Conjunto de la Dialectología Extremeña* he advises that the stubbornness in trying to prove one origin or another does not suppose any advances in research, but a stagnation (2009a, p. 68). And while the scholars cited in this chapter have focused on untangling the mysterious origins of Fala in a historical or phonological manner, plenty could have been done to document it further. Salgado continues by saying that preserving Fala is more urgent than trying to normalize it, and that we should make use of modern technologies to make sure that minority languages are not forgotten (González Salgado, 2009a, p. 68).

But Salgado's work does not stop here; in another one of his works, Salgado clearly states his rejection of how some scholars (Cintra, 1959; Maia, 1977; Costas González, 1999; Sanluís & Anxo, 2009) have considered Fala to be solely Galician:

En todo caso, mientras no se resuelvan todas las incógnitas que existen sobre el momento en que se repobló el valle y de dónde procedían exactamente los repobladores, creo que es más acertado apelar a un origen gallego-portugués de esta habla, haciendo referencia así a una época en que la escisión entre lo que hoy conocemos como gallego y lo que hoy conocemos como portugués todavía no se había materializado. Decir, sin ningún matiz, que en una parte de la Extremadura actual se habla gallego es, a mi modo de ver, una grave incorrección; proponer una normativa para las hablas de valle, basada en el gallego de hoy día, deja traslucir los intereses que se han creado desde Galicia, seguro que con muy buena fe, para poder decir que a cientos de kilómetros también se habla gallego; confundir —en definitiva— el gallego-portugués medieval con el gallego actual es una especie de anacronismo filológico sin precedentes. (Salgado, 2009b, p. 363-364)

In any case, while the unknown facts about the repopulation of the valley and where exactly the settlers came from are not uncovered, I think it would be more accurate to appeal for a Galician-Portuguese origin for this language, making reference in that way to a time where the split between what we know as Galician and what we know as Portuguese now, had not materialized yet. To say, without any hesitation, that in part of the contemporary Extremadura Galician is spoken, is in my opinion, a serious mistake; to propose regulations for the languages of the valley, based on contemporary Galician, reveals the interests created from Galicia, probably in good faith, to be able to say that hundreds of kilometers away Galician is also spoken; to mix up – ultimately – medieval Galician-Portuguese with contemporary Galician is a [kind of] philological anachronism without precedent. (Salgado, 2009b, p. 363-364)

According to Salgado there are Portuguese characteristics in Fala's words, and he concludes it would be a mistake to consider it solely Galician, claiming that our best bet would be to consider it descendant of the common trunk of Galician-Portuguese. This is extremely relevant given the fact that, as it was mentioned earlier, in 2006 the BNG had tried appropriating Fala with the argument that Galician was spoken by 80,000 people in Asturias, Castilla y León, and in Cáceres, and thus, that Galician deserved to be promoted and represented beyond Galicia's borders. (La Voz de Galicia, April 25th, 2006).

The Extremaduran government, however, took these declarations by the BNG as an 'act of war'; the president of the Extremaduran government at that time, Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra, classified the declarations by the BNG as 'imperialist delusions' and branded them as an attempt to extend Galician outside of Galicia, and as an attempt to encourage nationalist sentiments (ABC, April 24th, 2006). Considering the fact that nationalist sentiments have always been a prevalent matter in different areas of Spain such as Catalonia and the Basque Autonomous Community[11], the attempt by the BNG to expand Galician outside their autonomous territory was perceived more as an ideological tantrum by the Extremaduran government that did not receive further development, and both Galician and Extremaduran governments reached a truce so as to not produce further accusations.

Conclusion

If there is one prevalent theme through the work presented in this chapter, it is that language ideology is never only about the descriptive facts of language. As I have shown, whether or not authors recognize their predispositions, their ideological claims involve many other things such as

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[11] Basque Autonomous Community refers to the part of the Basque Country in Spain´s territory, as opposed to the term Basque Country which includes the provinces of the Basque Country that are in France´s territory.

politics, history, political and/or ideological affiliation, personal preferences, and individual world views. It is an area where a lot of ideological concepts get intertwined with one another. Nevertheless, something we can agree on is that one thing is to preserve linguistic patrimony for the sake of a language's maintenance and enhancement and another thing is to use linguistic patrimony for the benefit of an outside cause. Therefore, we can conclude that the writings presented within this work can be divided in two different layers: scientific and partisan.

The scholar António Gil Hernández comments on how the majority of languages used nowadays include a mix of other languages, a situation given languages in contact and processes such as borrowing and loan words; languages then could be conceived as independent languages regardless of influences from other languages, however, this can bring complications when theorizing about them (2002, p. 3); for example, if Galician and Portuguese are different languages because they are spoken differently, the same should be assumed about Castilian, Andalusian, Canarian or Extremaduran, but Hernandez advises that in this case, linguistic science would confront political history and constitutional order in the Kingdom of Spain (2002, p. 3). In the case of Fala, accepting a Galician-Portuguese origin for Fala does not mean that Fala's conceptualization and usage by its speakers must be erased, that the language should be modified to fit a pre-shaped mold by its predecessor language; it means that languages evolve through time, and that sometimes languages expand beyond their original isoglosses that served as linguistic boundaries at some point. It is for this reason that both languages, Galician, and Portuguese, are considered separate languages with origins in common, instead of Portuguese being considered a subdialect of Galician or vice versa. In all, accepting a Fala's origin should not be tied to modern political interests that do not resonate with the Fala community. In addition, politics that do not align with the understanding of Fala by its speakers should not determine the language ideology

about Fala's language, because political and geographical dimensions are only considered variables that have the power to change language, not do determine a given language's shape or understanding.

Regardless of whatever the hypothesis is to defend the origins of Fala, it is part of the cultural patrimony of Extremadura and as such, it is the responsibility of the Extremaduran government, but most importantly, the Fala speaking community solely. Jane Hill advises that 'expert rhetorics' may be performed by scholars who try to acquire financial support in order to help a specific minority language community to thrive, but that these possible entailments may distress and alienate speakers, amplifying their distrust of linguists (Hill, 2002, p. 120). As Hill points out, treating a minority or endangered language as a valuable asset that belongs to everyone and not just its speakers can be interpreted as a threat to expropriate a resource, thus prompting the rejection of any sort of outside help by the minority language speakers (Hill, 2002, p. 122). Hence, the responsibility of promoting and representing Fala can take the form of newly created texts, such as a dictionary, an orthographic reform, poetry, theatre plays, and music by the speakers, or the form of economic funds for the creation of a pedagogical plan in order to implement Fala as a subject in primary school by the Extremaduran government. A pedagogical effort would be the most reasonable next step, once an orthographic reform has been approved by the Fala speaker community, of course. In all, the responsibility for Fala´s future can take many shapes and forms, but as both a linguist and community member, I maintain that it should never be scattered among outsiders whose only purpose is to 'reclaim' Fala as a subdialect of another language coexisting in the Iberian Peninsula.

That scholars from Portugal or Galicia are interested about Fala and are willing to explore or study the language is encouraged, because at the end of the day, Fala usage must be motivated

and documented. But isoglosses do not always coincide with political borders and so, Fala's study should not be tied to political interests and motivations. In addition, from a descriptivist point of view, a variety that descends directly from one branch of a given language is never considered of 'lesser' value than a variety that is one of three equal branches. However, claiming that Fala is a separate branch could be considered useful for activists who are trying to create a Fala identity that does not depend on neither Portugal nor Galicia for its prestige.

After presenting several works by different authors that cover over a century's worth of theoretical approaches about Fala's origins and claims about what language family it belongs to, I believe that what this assortment of theories means is not that academics do not have an idea of what is spoken in Jálama's valley, but that these historically reconstructive efforts have been tied to linguistic ideologies and at points, to political interests. I agree with Jaffe in that "there are no neutral ways of representing languages, speakers of communities. Linguistic representations…are always carriers of particular ideological orientations" that have "social, cultural, political, and linguistic consequences; some intended and some…that escape the intentions of their authors" (Jaffe, 2020, p. 81)

The dialectology of northern Extremadura is indeed quite extensive and could potentially be the key to understanding how Fala survived throughout the centuries, how the settlements of these three towns originated, and where the original settlers came from; it could potentially as well, help in the analysis of other minority languages framed in a similar linguistic landscape. However, trying to find a sole relation of Fala with any language instead of simply trying to understand how inhabitants of the three towns use it in present times and how they identify with regards to linguistic affinity, can only lead studies to stagnation.

CHAPTER IV: ORTHOGRAPHIC PROPOSALS FOR FALA AND ITS CURRENT STATUS

In this chapter, I present two legacy orthographies for Fala that preceded any orthographical proposals and efforts, that reflect native speaker pre-conceptions of Fala's usage and written representation. These legacy orthography examples are presented along with an introduction to minority language documentation and maintenance through Jones and Mooney (2020), in which the authors provide an updated and useful framework to analyze and understand the kind of efforts that are necessary in order to document and preserve an endangered language. It will be followed by the Basque language example, as illustrating the success of the practices Jones and Mooney's framework provide. I believe Jones and Mooney's framework establishes key elements that must be acknowledged when trying to develop any orthographic reform for a minority or endangered language; Jones and Mooney recognize that linguistic knowledge is not enough, and that speakers of the language should be included in any conversations in regards to the regularization of their language, something central in my approach to understanding Fala as a language, and the revitalization efforts it has gone through it the last decade. Additionally, this chapter will include an analysis of the two main texts that have proposed an orthographical reform for Fala in the last decade; these are *Critérios Para Oriental a Ortografia da Língua do Val de Xálima* by Antonio Corredera Plaza, Eduardo Sanches Maragoto, and José Luis Martín Galindo (2015), and *Ortografía da Fala* by the Cultural Association A Nosa Fala in collaboration with the scholar Miroslav Valeš (2017). Lastly, the examples of legacy orthography will be translated using the aforementioned orthographical proposals so as to exemplify how these diverge or converge with native orthographical pre-conceptions of Fala.

The first chapter of Jones and Mooney's *Creating Orthographies for Endangered Languages* (2020) focuses on variables to be taken into account when creating a new orthographical system as a language revitalization effort.

Jones and Mooney claim that "in speech communities that are fragmented dialectally or geographically, a common writing system may enhance the status and prestige of an endangered language and may help create a sense of unified identity" (p. 1) which is the case with some languages such as Basque. Basque, also known as *Euskara*, did not get regulated until the 1960s when the Basque Language Academy along with Koldo Mitxelena (Luis Michelena in Spanish,) created a standardized version of the language (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 151) that had been so far divided in multiple variants. This regularization came as an emergency measure; the founder of the Basque Nationalist Party Sabino Arana wanted to maintain each of the historical six provinces of the Basque Country (Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Alava, Navarre, Lapurdi and Zuberoa) as autonomous and self-governing (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007) however, as Hualde and Zuazo note, this decision would have not been beneficial for the Basque language since the actual isoglosses did not coincide with the geographical boundaries of the provinces (p. 148). The language was divided in so many variants that the Basque Language Academy decided to work on a version of the language that would help Basque speakers communicate with one another while preserving their language. This standardized version was called *Euskara batua*, and it is the official language in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and in the north of Navarre, although it remains not recognized as official language in the section of the Basque Country situated within French borders. *Euskara batua* has become the norm in schools, television, radio, and even as the version of Basque that is taught to learners of Basque as a second language. This regularization helped develop the sense of community and belonging, but the process was long, interrupted, and

difficult. The process of regularization for Basque was controversial at first, and after Mitxelena's proposal, there was a strong negative reaction by a small group of speakers due to some of the changes that were proposed (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 159). Despite this, there is one key element that helped promote the acceptance of *Euskara batua*: Francisco Franco's repression of languages in Spain other than Spanish during his regime. While Franco's idea was to suppress the use of Basque, Catalan, and any other language that was not Spanish, this had an unintended promotion of Basque identity within the Basque country (Hualde & Zuazo, p. 160-161) which in time led to the promotion and usage of *Euskara batua*. In present times *Euskara batua* has become even more accepted in the French territories of the Basque Country (p. 162) even if the language does not enjoy the status of co-official language yet. Hualde and Zuazo (2007) conclude that the creation of a standard variety in the case of Basque eventually brought a sense of unity onto the linguistic community, but most importantly, "made it possible for Basque speakers to discuss any topic in Basque" (p. 162), and "eliminated the (sometimes serious) obstacles that previously existed in communication between speakers from different areas of the Basque Country" (p. 162).

As can be seen through the example of Basque, creating an orthography is not a simple process, nor does it come without any setbacks and complications. Creating an orthography first implies a decision of the type of script that is going to be used, from alphabet or syllabary, and while also considering other variables such as the socio-political, psychological, ideological, pedagogical, and technological implications (Jones & Mooney, 2020, p. 1). Having this in mind, the initial rejection of previous orthographic proposals for Fala by its speakers can be explained and understood; a consensus had not been achieved among scholars/writers and speakers.

However, we cannot simply disregard the heavy weight that etymology plays in the ideologies of many lexicographers of minority languages. While initially the weight of etymology

in any ideology could be considered a logical preoccupation to have, it is in fact an ideological position contributing to the idea of what the written representation of a language should look like. As I have already mentioned in previous chapters, the linguist in charge of producing a written code for any language must acknowledge that even the most informed of linguists can be ideologically biased. It is important to acknowledge these biases, but also to make sure they do not affect and intertwine with the linguist's work.

Furthermore, literacy programs and language revitalization efforts go hand in hand; graphization itself, or the development of a written form, is not enough to revitalize a language. However, when paired with the development of a literacy program, speakers are presented with materials that have applications to real life within their communities (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 127). If on top of that the materials created resemble genres of texts in the dominant language that are popular, Jones and Mooney state this can positively affect the speech community since it places both languages (endangered and dominant) on equal footing (p. 3). The authors also present different types of literacy programs and they advise that one of these should be pursued before an attempt at graphization (p. 4). The types of literacy programs presented are: autonomous literacy, in which reading and writing are posed as independent of the social context and culture; *Vai* literacy a concept developed by Scriber and Cole (1981) during their 5 years of research with the Vai people in Liberia; Scribner and Cole claim literacy is more than writing and reading, but also knowing how to apply those skills. Jones and Mooney also emphasize new literacy studies, in which there is a focus on the social and cultural context of literacy, that is, these studies focus on literacy as things people do rather than a cognitive condition (Sebba, 2009); and lastly, functional literacy, a concept associated with adult education programs with UNESCO. In this case, Jones

and Mooney specify that literacy is seen as involving reading and writing (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 111), and as "providing access to opportunities for development" (p. 5).

Jones and Mooney establish that "community involvement and the consultation of native speakers are essential elements of any successful literacy programme, including the development of new orthographies" (p. 5), and that is why the standardization for endangered languages is a double-edged sword. A standardized orthography can raise the language's status within the community, and even create a sense of unified identity, such as the case previously mentioned with Basque. Standardization, however, can also have negative effects such as a variant seen as privileged and over others especially if one dialect is chosen as the reference dialect. Additional issues may arise at the phonemic level if it is the case that the language in question requires additional symbols for the sounds that it does not share with the majority language. Looking at Appendix A, we can observe examples of graphs proposed by Miroslav Valeš and C.A. A Nosa Fala in their proposal (2017) that do not exist in the Spanish language. This is one of the first issues that any orthographic proposal for Fala must be able to address; the phonemic and morphological differences in each of the three variants.

Additionally, Jones and Mooney claim that in order to approach the standardization process properly, the linguist should ideally develop a common-core orthography with elements that are common to all dialects involved (p. 9) and must inform the speech community that the orthography does not replace spoken language (p. 9), in other words, when developing a new orthography, speakers should be encouraged to use their local variety when speaking, but to consider the written code developed as the common-core code that takes into account all varieties most of the time.

This is extremely important because, as Jones and Mooney state, introducing a written code with all the rules it entails, also introduces the ideas of what is 'right' and 'wrong' when it comes

to language use (p. 10). Therefore, the orthography should permit a certain degree of optionality when it comes to spelling (p. 11). An orthographic proposal that disregards internal variation can discourage speakers from using it and ultimately not help in preventing language shift (p. 10-11). Furthermore, the linguist in charge of developing an orthography must take into account the conventions of surrounding languages and superstrate or substrate languages that the endangered language may be in contact with (p. 22) so as to facilitate the process of assimilation. Going back to the example of Basque, Hualde and Zuazo (2007) state that "all Basque-speaking writers have always been literate in a language of greater currency, Spanish or French, which most of the time they chose as their written means of expression" (p. 146). If we were to consider that Fala speakers also have Spanish as their superstrate language and that Spanish is the language taught in schools, displayed in television, along with any content produced outside the linguistic community, then it is understandable why Spanish as the superstrate language would be considered when developing an orthography. Hualde and Zuazo continue by saying "in situations of language contact and, very particularly, in the case of minority languages, we may find different opinions regarding how much lexical borrowing from the majority language — and what kinds of borrowings — should be admitted in written standard usage" (2007, p. 153) offering supporting evidence of the complications that may arise when trying to produce an orthography for a minority language.

An additional negative issue that can arise when trying to develop an orthography for a minority or endangered language is erasure; an example of this is the Hmong language. The Laos government did not allow Hmong to be written, which could be understood as erasure by omission (Duffy, 2007). Additionally, Duffy explains that the Romanized Popular Alphabet (RPA) created by missionaries who intended to give Hmong the written representation that it so far lacked, favored a variety of Hmong among others. This was observable in the way the RPA represented

the aspiration present in White Hmong but not Green Hmong (Duffy, 2007). When internal variation is disregarded in favor of a standard version of the language, a version of the language that is more uniform across variants, then the graphization efforts can go from beneficial to destructive. I agree with Jones and Mooney and consequently with Venezky in that an orthographer should try to ensure the orthography is "(i) mechanically suited for the language it is to reflect, (ii) compatible with, or at a minimum, not alien to its social-cultural setting, and (iii) psychologically and pedagogically appropriate for its speakers" (Venezky, 1970, p. 256).

All those factors have the ability to determine if the orthography will have the chance of succeeding among the linguistic community, but they are not the only ones. According to Jones and Mooney, "a linguistically elegant orthography will only be deemed a success if it is accepted by the speech community for which it is intended" (p. 23). Hence once again, we see the importance of considering speaker beliefs and practices when it comes to graphization processes.

As Jones and Mooney explain, an orthography creation process is not a matter for simply the linguist; it is a sociocultural event because it involves speakers as well. In turn, the linguistic signs can come to index social identity, national identity, cultural politics, representation, and voice (p. 23) and as such, if the people for whom the orthography was developed do not want to use it or are not motivated to use it, then the orthography is a failure no matter how perfect its internal design (Hinton, 2001, p. 144). Taking this as another reason to have native speakers involved, Karan also advises that they must be given a chance to choose what they want their language to look like (Karan, 2014, p. 132) because developing an orthography for a minority language without consulting speakers would not be any better than not trying to develop an orthography at all. In other words, an insider's/speaker's view, and impressions regardless of the linguistic and technical knowledge are necessary, but not sufficient in order to develop an orthography that truly resembles

the original sounds, usage, and idioms of the language at hand. In turn, this inclusion of native speakers is necessary because the creation of orthographic symbols may also mean a development of new strong identity markers that, as Jones and Mooney state, can result in positive or negative ideological reactions (p. 25).

Despite previous efforts to develop an orthography for Fala, the main element I have observed that made all previous orthography reforms fail and not be adopted by native speakers was the strong ideological connotations hidden behind the grammatical rules and diacritic usage. For instance, Jones and Mooney advise the adoption of an orthography based on the language of wider communication, the superstrate language that the minority language in development seems to be most in contact with. This is because "speakers of endangered languages are commonly literate, or semiliterate, in the language of wider communication, and so adapting its orthography can spread the process of learning to read and write a local language" (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 145). Of course, if the case were that most of the population were already literate or at least partially, then Jones and Mooney also advise that the new orthography follow to a certain extent the conventions of the dominant language to once again, promote maximal and fast learning (p. 27). Just like it is the case with Fala, the language at hand that is getting an orthographic representation may contain certain phonemes that do not have an equivalent in the superstrate language. In these cases, Jones and Mooney advise orthographers to create new symbols, to borrow them from another orthographic system, or to combine symbols if needed (p. 27-28).

All in all, speech communities should never be forced to reform or replace an existing orthography when no consensus to do so has been achieved (Bradley, 2005, p. 7), and most importantly, the linguist has the responsibility to acknowledge pre-existing legacy or traditional orthographies that have been used so far in spontaneous writing (Jones and Mooney, 2020, p. 30).

Pre-existing conceptions, pre-existing legacies: *Arreidis: Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus* **(1999)**

and *Vamus a Falal: Notas pâ coñocel y platical en nosa fala* **(2000)**

The following excerpts portraying examples of pre-existing conceptions of Fala's written representation were taken from the books *Arreidis: Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus* (1999) by F. Severino López Fernández, and *Vamus a Falal: Notas pâ coñocel y platical en nosa fala* by Domingo Frades Gaspar (2000). F. Severino López Fernández, a native of Eljas, studied education and was a primary school teacher who also served as the Director of the public school Colegio Divina Pastora in Eljas. He was always involved in events promoting Fala and published another book about the language titled *Topónimus d'As Ellas y Rimas en Lagarteiru* in 1994. Upon further investigation I found that López Fernández has not been involved in Fala events or produced any text related to the language in the last decade because of illness. Domingo Frades Gaspar, native of San Martín de Trevejo, studied agricultural engineering but published different texts in Fala advocating for its increased usage. As with López Fernández, I also found that Frades Gaspar stopped producing texts related to Fala a few years ago due to illness.

Given the fact that *Arreidis: Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus* was published in 1999 as a volume in a series of books dedicated to exploring the linguistic landscape of Extremadura, and given how few Fala natives decided to take a stand in linguistic matters regarding their language, it is no surprise that Frades Gaspar wrote an introduction and some poems included in *Arreidis: Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus*. López Fernández and Frades Gaspar were long-time friends and advocates of Fala and as such, both texts (*Arreidis* and *Vamus a Falal*) were only published a year from each other. Frades Gaspar's book, however, was published independently, and not as a series.

Initially, I intended to present examples of legacy orthography by means of poems or short stories. Nevertheless, after reviewing both texts, I quickly noticed that authors included notes about

grammar and spelling before introducing their contents. For the sake of this chapter, I will first introduce what the orthographical pre-conceptions of both López Fernández and Frades Gaspar were at the time of publication for their books, and later focus on their writing so as to uncover the possible ideologies and attitudes of both native speakers when describing their language's orthography.

In *Arreidis: Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus*, López Fernández acknowledges that he did not do an etymological or philological study of the expressions included in the book, and that in regard to the orthography, he only specifies a few elements to facilitate the books' reading. Among his recommendations are the shortening of a preposition plus article as for example, "na (in a), nu (in u), nun (in un), nunha (in unha), da (de a), du (de u), dun (de un), dunha (de unha)" (p. XVIII). López Fernández also specifies that the grave accent (è) is used to differentiate the article from contractions in dative (p. XIX) for example:

FL: *le disu u pairi*   SP: *le dijo el padre*   PT: *o pai disse a ele* (the father said to him)

FL: *le disu ù pairi*   SP: *le dijo al padre*   PT: *ele disso ao pai* (he said to the father)

Additionally, López Fernández states that the acute accent is used as in Castilian Spanish, and so will the graphs <b> and <v> given that both Fala and Castilian Spanish have romance origin. Moreover, he states that the words without diphthongs in Fala are written without initial <h>, and that for everything else, Castilian Spanish orthography is used (p. XIX). After that, López Fernández offers some 'phonetic resources' including [z], [ʒ], and [ʃ].

For [z], present in words such as FL: *casha* SP: *casa* PT: *casa* (house), or FL: *coisha* SP: *cosa* PT: *coisa* (thing), López Fernández states that in cases such as these, it could also be written casa, or even use <ss> (*cassa*, *cossa*) as is done in other languages (p. XIX). In regard to [ʒ] appearing in words such as FL: <u>x</u>*enti* SP: *gente* PT: *gente* (people), or FL: <u>x</u>*ovis* SP: *jueves* PT:

quinta-feira (Thursday), the author specifies that it resembles the Portuguese sound in the word *gente*. Lastly, when it comes to the sound [ʃ], López Fernández compares the sound to the one present in the Portuguese word *chuva* SP: *lluvia* (rain) but specifies that he does not believe the sound exists in Eljas' variant, where the word *Xálima* has always been pronounced *Sálima* ([s]).

At the end of the phonetic resources proposed, López Fernández claims that it is not his intention to advise on how Fala is written, because until Fala's written code is 'regularized' no one has the power to set non-existent rules (p. XIX).

In *Vamus a Falal: Notas pâ coñocel y platical en nosa fala*, Frades Gaspar includes various chapters dedicated to describing the orthography, phonetics, and grammar of Fala. More specifically, Frades Gaspar focuses on <f> at the beginning of words, <o> to <u> and <e> to <i> at the end of words, the non-diphthongization of <e> and <o>, the diphthong <au>, phonetic changes in the clusters <pl> <cl> and <fl> to Fala's <ch>, changes from the Latin clusters <ly> <k'l> <g'l> <t'l> to <ll>, changes from Latin clusters <kt> and <lk> to <eit> and <oit> in Fala, the clusters <tr> and <dr>, the graphs <j> and <g>, other sibilants, loss of consonants, and some suffixes from Latin.

Frades Gaspar observes that unlike other languages present in Extremadura, Fala did preserve the initial <f> from Latin just like other romance languages such as Galician, Portuguese, Italian, and French whereas Spanish did not, which instead evolved to <h> (p. 37), for example, FL: *falal* SP: *hablar* PT: *falar* (to speak).

Frades Gaspar also notes that there is a pronunciation of final <u> and <i> instead of <o> and <e> that Spanish presents. He states that this phonetic rule also appears in Asturian in the areas of Santander, León, and Zamora, but also in Portuguese and Galician (p. 38). For example, while in Portuguese and Galician the words *fumo* (smoke) and *fome* (hunger) are written with <o> and

<e>, they are pronounced [fumu] and [fomi] respectively. Therefore, Frades Gaspar concludes that

in Fala, words must be written as they are pronounced (p. 38).

In regard to the non-diphthongization of <e> and <o>, Frades Gaspar observes that these

vowels do not always get diphthongized as in Spanish, something that did not happen either in Old

Leonese; nevertheless, he notes that there are other cases of diphthongization in Fala (p. 41).

Furthermore, Frades Gaspar explains that the Latin diphthong <au> became <oi> in Fala

while in Spanish and Catalan it got reduced to <o> (p. 42). For example, the Latin word *aurum*

becomes FL: *oiru* SP: *oro* PT: *ouro* (gold) (p. 42).

Frades Gaspar also addresses phonetic changes in the clusters <pl> <cl> and <fl> that

evolved to <ch> in Fala. He states that while in Catalan it stayed somewhat the same, in Spanish

these clusters evolved to the digraph <ll> (p. 45); examples are the following words:

LATIN	FALA[12]	GALICIAN/PORTUGUESE[13]	SPANISH	CATALAN	ENGLISH[14]
Plenus	*Cheu*	*Cheio*	*Lleno*	*Ple*	Full
clavis	*Chavi*	*Chave*	*Llave*	*Clau*	Key
Flamma	*Chama*	*Chama*	*Llama*	*Flamma*	Flame

Table 3: Taken from *Vamus a Falal: Notas pâ coñocel y platical en nosa fala* (2000, p. 45).

Moreover, Frades Gaspar explains that with the Latin consonant clusters <ly> <c'l> <g'l>

<t'l>, there is a change to <ll> in Fala, Galician-Portuguese, and even Astur-leonese and Catalan,

while changing to <j> in Spanish (p. 45). He offers the following examples:

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[12] Frades Gaspar uses in this column in both Table 3 and 4 the word *Mañegu,* which is the variant of Fala he speaks, to refer to Fala. However, the lexical items used for examples reflect all variants. For clarification purposes, I have changed the word *Mañegu* to Fala in both columns.
[13] While some tables did not offer Portuguese translations, I included them where necessary so as to provide consistent exemplification of lexical items in both Spanish in Portuguese.
[14] My own English translations were also included.

	LATIN	FALA	SPANISH	PORTUGUESE	ENGLISH
ly	*Allium*	*Allu*	*Ajo*	*Alho*	Garlic
c'l	*Oculus*	*Ollu*	*Ojo*	*Olho*	Eye
g'l	*Coagulum*	*Cuallu*	*Cuajo*	*Coalho*	Curdling
t'l	*Vetulus*	*Vellu*	*Viejo*	*Velho*	Old

Table 4: Taken from *Vamus a Falal: Notas pâ coñocel y platical en nosa fala* (2000, p. 45).

In the opposite case where Latin words have <ll>, Frades states that while Spanish and Catalan preserve it, Fala, Portuguese, and Galician reduce it to <l> in words such as the Latin *affullare*, that translates to FL: *abolal* SP: *abollar* PT: *abolar* (to dent) (p. 46).

When it comes to the Latin clusters <kt> and <lk>, Frades Gaspar notes an evolution to Fala's <eit> and <oit> as shown in the following examples:

LATIN	FALA	PORTUGUESE/ GALICIAN	CATALAN	SPANISH	ENGLISH
Lacte	*Leiti*	*Leite*	*Llet*	*Leche*	Milk
Nocte	*Noiti*	*Noite*	*Nit*	*Noche*	Night

Table 5: Taken from *Vamus a Falal: Notas pâ coñocel y platical en nosa fala* (2000, p. 49).

In regard to the Latin cluster <tr>, Frades Gaspar explains that it derived to <dr> in Spanish, but preserved in Fala (p. 49); however, it also caused the preceding vowel to become a diphthong, as can be seen in the following examples:

LATIN	FALA	SPANISH	FRENCH	PORTUGUESE	CATALAN	ENGLISH
Patris	*Pairi*	*Padre*	*Pere*	*Pãe*	*Pare*	Father
Matris	*Mairi*	*Madre*	*Mere*	*Mãe*	*Mare*	Mother

Table 6: Taken from *Vamus a Falal: Notas pâ coñocel y platical en nosa fala* (2000, p. 50).

Additionally, Frades Gaspar also comments on Latin <j> and <g> and claims that although scholars cannot reach a conclusion about these graphs, it is understandable given how the pronunciation of some words containing these graphs differs in Fala (p. 53). For example, the words FL: *ḷusticia*[15] SP: *justicia* PT: *justiça* (justice) or FL: *aḷual* SP: *ayudar* PT: *ajudar* (to help) from the Latin *Iustitia* and *ad iuvare*, respectively, are not pronounced with [x] as Spanish but with [ʒ]. Likewise, the words FL: *genti* SP: *gente* PT: *gente* (people) or FL: *genru* SP: *yerno* PT: *genro* from the Latin *gen-tis* and *gener-ris*, are pronounced with [ʒ].

In regard to sibilants, Frades Gaspar does not offer specific lexical samples, but encourages the reader to try and translate certain Spanish words to Fala in whichever way the speaker believes they should be spelled (p. 53). He then turns the focus onto the graph <z> which appeared in Leonese and Old Castilian Spanish and evolved in Fala to <d> but also in other dialects of the northwest of Extremadura (p. 53). Examples of this are the words FL: *adeiti* SP: *aceite* PT: *azeite* (oil), or FL: *codel* SP: *cocer*: PT: *cozer* (to boil).

After that, Frades Gaspar focuses on the loss of the consonants <d>, <l>, and <n>. He states that while Spanish has a loss of <d> in casual speech, the graph is still used in writing, but that Fala dropped the <d> graph at some point in its history (p. 57). As examples he uses the words FL: *ital* from the Latin *deital*, SP: *echar* PT: *pôr* (to add), and FL: *cuau* SP: *cuidado* PT: *cuidado* (care). Moreover, the Latin endings -*tat* and -*tatis* evolved to -*dad* in Spanish, but in Fala, the final <d> is lost; for example, FL: *amistai* SP: *Amistad* PT: *amizade* (friendship), or FL: *generosiai* SP: *generosidad* PT: *generosidade* (generosity) (p. 57). In regard to intervocalic <l>, Frades Gaspar states that it is lost and offers as examples the words FL: *ceu* SP: *cielo* PT: *céu* (sky), and FL: *doel* SP: *doler* PT: *doer* (to hurt). <l> at the end of words is lost in plural forms just as in Galician as in

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[15] Frades Gaspar uses in these examples the graph <ḷ> which he uses throughout the book for the sound [ʒ].

for example FL: *dagais* SP: *dagales* PT: *rapazes* (young men). The same happens with <n> in words such as FL: *avea* SP: *avena* PT: *aveia* (oats), or FL: *soal* SP: *sonar* PT: *soar* (to ring) (p. 57).

Pertaining to the graph <ñ>, Frades Gaspar notes that in Spanish this graph is used in place of the Latin <nn> and <ny>, for example from the Latin *canna*, there is *caña* (cane) in Spanish, or from the Latin *annus*, there is *año* (year) in Spanish (p. 58). This also happens in Leonese, Galician, and Portuguese with words including the cluster <gn> in Latin. However, Frades Gaspar advises that this rule is not always followed in Fala, where there are words such as FL: *anu* SP: *año* PT: *ano* or FL: *cana* SP: *caña* PT: *cana*, but also *mañán* SP: *mañana* PT: *manhã* (morning) and FL: *otoñu* SP: *otoño* PT: *outono* (fall). Yet the rule is consistent in the cases where there is a Latin <ny> and <gn> such as FL: *viña* SP: *viña* PT: *vinha* (vineyard) FL: *leña* SP: *leña* PT: *lenha* (wood) (p. 58).

After that Frades Gaspar talks about the Latin cluster <m'r> that evolved in Spanish to <mbr> and was preserved in Asturian and Old Leonese in certain areas of the peninsula (p. 59), making a connection here with Fala's possible origins. Additionally, he talks about the suffixes *-arius -aria* that evolved to *-eiru -eira* in Fala and to *-ero -era* in Spanish (p. 59). To exemplify this, Frades Gaspar offers the words FL: *taberneira* SP: *tabernera* PT: *taberneira* (innkeeper), and FL: *zapateiru* SP: *zapatero* PT: *sapateiro* (shoemaker) (p. 59).

For diminutives, Frades Gaspar focuses on the endings *-inus* and *-ina* from Latin. These evolve to *-ino -ina* in Spanish and *-iñu -iña* in *Lagarteiru* (which, according to him, resembles Galician-Portuguese in that regard) while in *Mañegu* they become *-itu -ita* (p. 60). Examples are the following words:

SPANISH	LAGARTEIRU	MAÑEGU	PORTUGUESE	ENGLISH
Amiguino	*amiguiñu*	*amiguitu*	*amiguinho*	Little friend
Perrino	*pirriñu*	*pirritu*	*cachorrinho*	Little dog

Table 7: Adapted from examples in *Vamus a Falal: Notas pâ coñocel y platical en nosa fala* (2000, p. 60).

Frades Gaspar states that these endings separate *Mañegu* from Galician-Portuguese, Astur-Leonese, and even Extremaduran dialects that may follow Leonese tendencies (p. 60).

These examples of pre-existing legacy orthographies are of great importance for this chapter; first, they provide insight into the native speaker understanding and pre-conception of Fala's written code before any attempt had been made by a linguist to represent such code, while also showing how Frades Gaspar had some linguistic instincts that made him look at and compare the source language and the related dialects. Second, the examples contribute to solidifying the idea that orthographies for minority languages should be developed with native speakers' input, since they hold the key to understanding internal variation and how it can be represented.

On the one hand, in the case of López Fernández the author did not include many orthographic rules, but simply a handful of phonological and some morphological notes so as to facilitate the reading of the book. That way, the reader can read the Fala idioms, theatre plays, and other elements included within the book. López Fernández also states this directly, saying that the only purpose of including orthographical notes is to facilitate the reading (2000, p. XVIII). On the other hand, Frades Gaspar does include a more extensive exploration of Fala's morphology, phonetics, and etymology. However, he recognizes that these notes included in the book are his own, and on many occasions, he does not include himself inside the category of scholar when he mentions how "*us istudiosus*" [the scholars] are able to better explain the topics Frades Gaspar briefly scratches on the surface. Nonetheless, the differences in depth of study between both books are observable but also expectable, given the fact that Frades Gaspar did intend to provide some

guidance in the written representation of Fala, while López Fernández only provided a few notes to facilitate reading. Both texts provide examples of legacy orthography.

Critérios Para Oriental a Ortografia da Língua do Val de Xálima by Antonio Corredera Plaza et al. (2015)

In this booklet, Antonio Corredera Plaza, Eduardo Sanches Maragoto, and José Luis Martín Galindo (2015) offer their perspectives on the kind of written code Fala should adopt and the reasons behind their theory. Antonio Corredera Plaza is a native of Valverde del Fresno, and although he has written articles for some regional magazines, he has no formal linguistic background. Eduardo Sanches Maragoto native of Galicia, studied Portuguese philology in Santiago de Compostela and currently works as a Portuguese language teacher in Santiago de Compostela (Quem Somos). Lastly, José Luis Martín Galindo native of Cáceres is a researcher, writer, and president of the Traditional and Rural Association of Extremadura. The individual work of Corredera Plaza and Martín Galindo already generated controversy and continued to do so even after the publication of their booklet in 2015. As I will show in Chapter 5, Fala speakers are against Fala being referred to as Portuguese and have expressed this to both Corredera Plaza and Martín Galindo on some occasions.

In the introduction, authors admit that not every Fala speaker agrees with a unified spelling because they are aware that this sort of standardization could bring a loss of internal variation (p. 2), something that I also found through the questionnaires distributed in during data collection in 2017 and 2018 (see Chapter 5).

Corredera Plaza et al. argue that, while Galician scholars would advocate for Fala to follow the same orthographic and morphographic rules as Galician, and while it could be argued that a

code for Fala should be developed from scratch, another alternative is that the orthographic model that Fala should follow is that of Spanish, given the speakers' familiarity with the language (p. 2). However, Corredera Plaza et al. claim that they do not agree this would be the best course of action and propose a third alternative: Fala is part of the Galician-Portuguese system and thus, should follow the graphic tradition from the Romance language that developed in the far West of the Peninsula, that is, the same graphic tradition of Portuguese, (p. 2). Additionally, Corredera Plaza et al. add that not proceeding in this way would be a wasted opportunity to put Fala in an international spotlight given the fact that Portuguese is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world (p. 2). However, I argue that like Portuguese, Spanish is also one of the most spoken languages in the world even above Portuguese. As of 2020, Spanish is the fourth most spoken language in the world with approximately 420 million speakers, while Portuguese is the eighth most spoken language with approximately 235 million speakers (Fernández, 2020).

When it comes to specifics in the criteria that the authors propose, they begin by advocating for solidarity with Portuguese; Corredera Plaza et al. consider a convergence with Portuguese essential so that Fala can secure a status as "universal" language of communication (p. 3). An example they offer is that of final <o> or unstressed <o> in words such as FL: *carro*[16] SP: *carro* PT: *carroça* (cart) or FL: *cotovia* SP: *alondra* PT: *calandra*[17] (skylark); they claim that "*tem igual pronunciaciõ em portugués que na fala de Xálima…(carr[u], c[u]t[u]via), por isso se deve escrivil igual: carro, cotovia (se bem a pronunciaciõ correta unicamente pode sel carr[u], c[u]t[u]via)*"

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[16] The example lexical items included in this section are written strictly as Corredera et al. conceive them, therefore, the items do not represent the mental lexicon of Fala speakers.

[17] Although the formal term for 'skylark' in Portuguese would be *calondra,* Corredera Plaza et al. argue that the term *cutuvia* is used instead. Perhaps this could be a term used in the Portuguese side of the border area between Spain and Portugal.

[they have the same pronunciation in Portuguese as in the language of Xálima…that is why they must be spelled the same (although the right pronunciation can only be carr[u], c[u]t[u]via)] (p. 3).

It is noticeable that Corredera Plaza et al. advocate for a spelling that does not reflect the accepted Fala pronunciation. Additionally, Corredera Plaza et al. advocate for the recognition of the linguistic diversity of the three towns in the Valley of Jálama; they claim that whenever possible, Fala must use its own words, especially when there is already a graphic representation of such words, that is, when they are patrimonial words (p. 3). A patrimonial word would be considered a word coming directly from vulgar Latin and that experienced all phonetic and semantic changes throughout time. When these patrimonial words are different in each town, the authors advise that it would be best to follow a common supradialectal word that would make it easier, but that this should never mean that the linguistic forms are not to be used (p. 3). As examples, Corredera et al. propose that the word *esteja*, should be preferable to FL: *esté*, SP: *esté* PT: *esté* (was), and to mark the difference between voiced and voiceless [z], [s] in words such as FL: *presa*/*pressa*, SP: *presa/presa* PT: *presa*/*pressa*, (hurry/prisoner (f), imprisoned) with a double graph <s>. This can seem like a viable solution on the surface however these propositions make Fala resemble Portuguese more than accurately depict the intricacies of Fala.

Moreover, Corredera Plaza et al. address something quite relevant in the linguistic framework of Spain; the feeling of belonging, and more specifically, the feeling of belonging to Extremadura, the autonomous community where Fala exists. Corredera Plaza et al. state that there are traces in the language that attest to the shared past between Galician-Portuguese in the Valley of Jálama in relation to modern Portuguese, and this in turn, relates to the bigger picture, the relationship to the rest of Extremadura (p. 5). An example they offer is final <r> in many words that is pronounced as <l>, a trait that they claim Fala speakers share with other Extremadurans and

thus, it must be promoted in written form and more specifically, when <r> is in final position and in infinitives. For example, FL: *come[l]* SP: *comer* PT: *comer* (to eat). Corredera Plaza et al. also advise that certain words that were introduced to Fala through Spanish words adapted from other languages may compromise the future of Fala and so, expressions such as FL: *chave de fendas* SP: *destornillador* PT: *chave de fenda* (screwdriver) or *computadol/computador* SP: *ordenador* PT: *computador* (computer) are recommended to be introduced from Portuguese when creating glossaries or dictionaries (p. 5). Corredera et al. propose this because they consider the Portuguese forms to be less 'corrupted' by internationalisms than those introduced to Fala through Spanish, that is constantly borrowing and adopting words from other languages like English (p. 5). Once again, not only do Corredera et al. apply problematic terminology such as "corrupt" to describe certain forms of the language, but also, by using this terminology they are indicating a specific kind of linguistic ideology at work. Additionally, Corredera Plaza et al. resort to catastrophic scenarios in order to validate their argument. From a linguistic standpoint however, their argument can be disputed; borrowed words from English and other languages can be found in both Spanish and Portuguese and are an inevitable step in language growth and change. A purist approach to language can disregard language evolution but it cannot stop it from happening.

In regard to the development of an orthography, Corredera Plaza et al. recognize that a language's appearance is the first element that speakers may feel identified with, because it allows them to distinguish themselves or not from other varieties nearby, and it allows speakers to recognize possible historical ties with those varieties nearby (p. 6). That is why they consider that a Portuguese orthography should be used when possible (p. 6). Even though they agree that this is not a solution in the short term, they believe that in the long run this will allow Fala to be projected onto the international spotlight and keep close ties with Portuguese as a language spoken by 200

million people (p. 6). Corredera et al. believe that, since Portuguese is typologically close to Fala, and given the possible historical relationship among Portuguese and Fala, speakers will accept their proposal of Fala as 'almost the same language', and thus, recommend using Portuguese orthography where at all possible (p. 6).

Now, I will focus on the six main features of Corredera Plaza et al.'s orthographic recommendations. I will do so in order to illustrate the differences between their proposal and Valeš et al.'s (2017), and to present the reasonings behind each proposal.

When it comes to intervocalic <d>, Corredera Plaza et al. note that this, along with lateralized <r> at the end of words are part of the traces that the Galician-Portuguese of the Valley (as they name Fala,) has in common with other Extremaduran varieties that are related to Spanish (p.6). As examples they offer the verb FL: *dizel* SP: *decir* PT: *dizer* (to say) that in the varieties present in San Martín de Trevejo and Eljas, drop the initial <d>, and in intervocalic position, the drop of <d> is systematic and sporadic in other contexts that they specify.

For endings 'ado/a(s)', 'edo/a(s)', 'ido/a(s)', 'odo/a(s)', and 'udo/a(s)', Corredera Plaza et al. state that the <d> drop in each word with such endings is systematic for all Fala speakers. While Corredera et al. do not specify if these endings are taken as reference from Spanish or Portuguese, I assume it is both, since the endings are common in both romance languages. Also, this applies to endings 'ade', and 'e –ode' in words such as FL: *metai* SP: *mitad* PT: *metade* (half) and FL: *poi*, SP: *puede* PT: pode (able to, third person singular). Only in San Martín de Trevejo and Eljas there are certain cases that do not meet previous criteria; in words such as 'wood', FL: *maeira* SP: madera, PT: *madeira* (wood) in San Martín de Trevejo, and *meira* in Eljas which in Valverde is *madeira*. Another case would be the word doctor, *doctor/médico* in Spanish (PT: *doutor*) that translates to *meico* in San Martín de Trevejo, *meco* in Eljas (although as a speaker myself I have

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not heard this pronunciation in Eljas before), and *medico* in Valverde del Fresno. According to Corredera et al. some of the contexts across the three dialects in which there is a preservation or systematic drop of <d> are after a diphthong, such as in the word FL: *soide* SP: *salud* PT: *saúde* (health), for ending '-ede' such as in the word FL: *rede* SP: *red* PT: *rede* (net), in verbal conjugations with the exception of third person singular of the verb FL: *poder* SP: *puede* PT: *pode* (be able to) *poi*. And finally, for any other intervocalic <d> that is etymological, especially for patrimonial words, even though in some cases it is not pronounced, such as the words FL: *residencia* SP: residencia PT: *residência* (residence) or *idea* SP: *idea* PT: *idéia* (idea).

While one could argue that [d] dropping would be a matter of speech more than orthography, Corredera et al. state that [d] dropping is a "*traço emblemático da língua dos trés lugares do val de Xálima deve sel tiu em conta na escritura*" [an emblematic trace of the language in the three towns of the Valley of Jálama [that] must be taken into account in writing" (p. 6). Corredera Plaza et al. add that in their opinion, the only context in which the representation of the <d> drop should be mandatory is when writing the Fala equivalents of words with the Portuguese ending '-ade' as for example the words FL: *metai* SP: *mitad* PT: *metade* (half), or FL: *curiosidai/curiosida* SP: *curiosidad* PT: *curiosidade* (curiosity) because it has morphological consequences that distinguish the language from other languages present in Spain including Castilian[18] (p. 7). Corredera Plaza et al. do not consider it notable that <d> drop in Fala also distinguishes Fala from Portuguese. This is because Corredera Plaza et al. assume that Fala speakers have an underlying Portuguese mental representation of the words, although there is no evidence that they do. Other systematic drops should also be considered in written form, but since they are emblematic endings for any Fala speaker they should not be mandatory. In any other

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[18] While Castilian is a dialectal variety of Spanish and not a separate language, the wording was taken directly from Corredera et al. (2015).

context they specify, the 'd' drop would be optional so as to avoid chaos when trying to represent Fala in written form (p. 9). In other words, given the current varieties of Fala, Corredera et al. aim to allow for variability when it comes to [d] dropping in any other context than the ones previously described so as to avoid confusion among speakers who wish to use Fala for writing.

When it comes to the drop of <z> at the end of a word, Corredera Plaza et al. consider that, just as in other dialects present in the Iberian Peninsula, <z> drops in what once again, they consider a Galician-Portuguese variety in the Valley of Jálama. The authors state that the drop of final <z> in written form can be represented without leaving behind the idea of the correct etymological forms (i.e., *capaz*), since in these etymological forms lies the root for the plural forms (*capaz = capazes*). Therefore, while they state the drop of <z> can be represented in written form, it should be considered that the etymological form would not suffer a <z> drop. As example they offer the word FL: *capaz* SP: capaz PT: *capaz* (able to, infinitive), *capa* (third person singular), *capazes* (third person plural) (p. 10).

In regard to <r> and <l> at the end of a syllable, Corredera Plaza et al. consider that the exchange between <r> and <l> can be represented in written form in certain contexts. They distinguish between two different positions, at the end of a syllable in the middle of the word, and at the end of the word (p. 10). In regard to <r> at the end of a syllable in the middle of the word, they propose the usage of "the etymological form since its change to /l/ is not systematic" (p. 10). As examples they offer the words FL: *esque[r]da* SP: *izquierda* PT: *esquerda* (left) is not *esque[l]da,* but FL: *co[ɾ]po* SP: *cuerpo* PT: *corpo* (body) is *co[l]po*). In final position, Corredera Plaza et al. consider that, especially for infinitives, <r> or <l> can be used, for example, FL: *cantal/cantar* SP: *cantar* PT: *cantar* (to sing) (p. 10), but it must always be pronounced [l] with

only one exception: FL: *por* SP: *por* PT: *por* (for) instead of *pol*. This reflects the current usage by most speakers of Fala.

In regard to semivowels before palatal sounds, Corredera Plaza et al. state that before a palatal fricative consonant, speakers of Fala produce the vowel sound [i] or the semivowel [j][19], which Corredera Plaza et al. recommend not to represent in written form; instead, they suggest the following: FL: *[iʒ]ente*, SP: *gente* [xente] PT: *gente* ['ʒẽ͂tʃi] (people). They explain that there are two reasons for this; that it is an unetymological innovation that is not common in the three towns, and because Portuguese also does not represent it in written form. The problem here is that they are deciding what is included in how the language is written and what is not, but the reasoning behind it is not valid from a descriptivist point of view; if a shift occurs naturally in a language, then it should be included. All 3 variants should be represented equally so as to avoid practicing erasure by dismissing variation and trying to create a uniform way of using language in written form.

Lastly, when it comes to representing the vowels <e> or <o> in unstressed position, Corredera Plaza et al. state that the unstressed syllables must be represented with the etymological vowels, just as Portuguese does, preserving them. They claim that the main reason to defend this, is Fala's pronunciation, which they claim coincides with that of modern spoken Portuguese. An example they give is the word FL: *ovelha* SP: *oveja* PT: *ovelha* (sheep) in written form which would be pronounced *[u]velha*, FL: *menino* SP: *niño* PT: *menino* (child) in written form and pronounced *m[ĩ]nin[u]*, or FL: *leite* SP: *leche* PT: *leite* (milk) in written form that would be pronounced *leit[i]*.

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[19] Although Corredera Plaza et al. use here the symbol [i̞], the symbols shown in this chapter have been regularized to follow the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

In sum, it seems that Corredera Plaza et al. resort to the fear of Fala disappearing to support their claim that adopting Portuguese orthography is needed. While Corredera Plaza et al. do not explicitly mention 'fear' in their writing, they do appeal to Fala speakers' fear of the language disappearing due to the aging population of the three towns (see demographics in Chapter 2). Likewise, they state that "*O constante recurso às adaptaciõs que o castelhano fai do inglés ou de outras línguas pode comprometel o futuro desta língua no val de Xálima.*" [the constant appeal to adaptations that Spanish makes with English or other languages can compromise the future of this language in the valley of Jálama] (p. 5). I understand this as a Portuguesist ideology influencing the proposal and its contents; while wanting to preserve older forms of the language could be a somewhat safe idea, considering any evolution such as taking influence from Spanish as a negative thing is neither realistic nor logical. This approach once again seems to appeal to the speakers' fear of Fala disappearing; even though linguists could easily see what is beyond Corredera et al.'s proposal, people without enough knowledge about linguistics could misinterpret the fact that language evolution is natural and expected. By reading Corredera et al.'s proposal, people without linguistic knowledge are set to believe Fala is doomed to disappear if the authors' Portuguesist approach is not endorsed or promoted.

From their ideological perspective, a shift towards maintaining some similar traits with Portuguese makes sense, but from the ideological perspective of preserving Fala speakers' identity and ideology, the idea is not compelling. Once again, we face a case in which erasure is proposed as means of maintaining a living language; more specifically this is done by Corredera Plaza et al. when they advocate for a written representation of the Fala language that does not align with the way speakers perceive the language or use it (see Chapter 5 for the results of the spelling questionnaire). Even though producing an orthography for a mostly oral language at least

traditionally is already a challenge, it can become quite problematic trying to tackle its phonemic and morphological system at the same time. Now, it is true that the morphographic representation of words must be addressed, and that the etymological origin of words and reflection on the phonographic representation of sounds existing in the language can be addressed but as Bradley already warns us, no speech community should ever be forced to adopt or reform an already existing orthography if a consensus has not been achieved (2005, p. 7).

To exemplify my reasoning, I present the case of what Corredera Plaza et al. propose should happen with nasalized vowels <ã> and <õ>. Corredera et al. claim that, since Galician-Portuguese has a long tradition of representing these nasal consonants and Portuguese has the use of the diacritic over tonic vowels such as <ã> and <õ> at the end of a word in word such as FL: *pã* SP: *pan* PT: *pão* (bread) , FL: *irmã* SP: *hermana* PT: *irmã* (sister), FL: *nõ* SP: *no* PT: *não* (no), FL: *canciõ* SP: *cancion* PT: *canção* (song), then they propose Fala should also use this diacritic (p. 11). Corredera Plaza et al. also specify that for these words both pronunciations would be acceptable such as *ir['mãs]/ir['mas]* and *can['θiõs]/can['θios]*. However, as a Fala speaker myself, I have never heard anyone producing the sound that such diacritic would represent over tonic vowels. If Corredera Plaza et al. want to take the etymological forms of the language as the reference forms for their proposed representation, the erasure of the final consonant sound [n] in the word *pan* is in fact, contradicting the etymological form of the word 'bread' from the Latin *panis-panes*. In order to support my claim of the non-existence of nasalized vowels and other elements that Corredera et al. propose as Fala traits that should be represented in writing just as Portuguese, and to show how this poses a problem for the identity of the speakers, I will introduce in Chapter 5 what other native speakers thought about measures proposed in the past such as this one.

Ortografía da Fala **by Miroslav Valeš and Asociación Cultural 'A Nosa Fala' (2017)**

When members of the Cultural Association A Nosa Fala learned about Corredera Plaza's work and the proposal that he helped create, there was a general consensus among members of the Cultural Association A Nosa Fala along with members of the Cultural Association U Lagartu Verdi that this proposal could not possibly take root, because it did not directly align with what most speakers thought about Fala or how they felt about their language. Soon after, the Cultural Association U Lagartu Verdi wrote an official letter, where they explained in detail the reasons why they disagreed with Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal theoretically, ideologically, and ethically (see Chapter 5 for excerpts of this letter).

It was then that Cultural Association A Nosa Fala partnered with the scholar Miroslav Valeš from the Technical University of Liberec in the Czech Republic. Together, they created a proposal in collaboration with people from the three towns, their names being credited on the very first page of the document. This is a very big and important step in reaching an orthographic representation of the language, given the fact that the involvement of native speakers is an essential step of the development of new orthographies (Jones & Mooney, 2020, p. 5). Since they had a clear idea of the exact areas where the proposal by Corredera Plaza et al. had failed, Valeš et al. composed a document that accurately depicted what Fala speakers thought about their language and how it should be represented in written form. Just like *Critérios Para Oriental a Ortografia da Língua do Val de Xálima* this proposal was presented in a small booklet to facilitate its distribution and easy navigation by readers.

In the prologue, Valeš explains that while the (orthographic) 'rules' had been discussed extensively ever since the first version of the booklet appeared in 2015, it was applying them in practice that provided him and the rest of contributors with the experience they needed in

theoretical discussions about the language (p. 3). Valeš explains that this proposal from 2017 is a more polished version of the original rules that were first proposed in 2015, which in some cases, had proven problematic (p. 3). Valeš specifies that the biggest changes in comparison with the 2015 version are the use of <i> and <y>, and the flexibility when it comes to sibilants because of the differences in usage among the three towns (p. 3).

One of the most important things noted in this prologue is the suggestion of 'equivalent graphs' so that all Fala speakers can have a way to identify and portray themselves through their orthographical decisions. Likewise, Fala's oral tradition is acknowledged, while also suggesting that creating an orthographic proposal now and being able to update it as need be, will provide Fala with a stabilized written form that represents all speakers. Valeš et al. recognize that standardization does not always mean death to dialectal diversity and from the linguistic standpoint, their proposal then appears as a more forgiving conceptualization of an orthographic reform in contrast to Corredera Plaza et al.'s (2015). In time, they say, this could become the reason why Fala distinguishes itself from surrounding languages and survives through motivating its speakers to also write it (p. 3).

The text continues by specifying that the rules included in the booklet are 'of the people, for the people, from the people' (p. 5), referring to the inclusion of actual Fala speakers in the creation of the proposal. Valeš states that the booklet was created having in mind the different levels of education that Fala speakers may have, and thus it was made as easy and intuitive as possible. He also states the fact that Fala should be considered a language and not a dialect (p. 5). Furthermore, he stresses the respect of internal variation that the language presents, and respect towards Fala's tradition (p. 5).

The booklet includes an alphabet for Fala, including special graphs used to represent sounds that Fala does not share with Spanish or any neighboring language, the phonemes they represent, and examples for each. This table can be seen in Appendix A.

The next section presented includes orthographical rules, and it begins with some general notes; Valeš et al. state that the three variants are respected and advise speakers/users of the text to be consistent if they decide to apply certain rules (p. 7). Next, specifications about punctuation marks, capital letters, apostrophes, accents, and contractions are included; punctuation marks are to be used as in Spanish and so are capital letters, with the exception of 'A Fala' (the name the Fala language receives in Fala) which is always to be capitalized. Apostrophes are not used at all, and accents are similar to Spanish with the exception of declining diphthongs at the end of a word (p. 7). Valeš et al. do specify that monosyllable words do not have an accent mark with some exceptions. These exceptions are then specified on a list provided (see Appendix B). Furthermore, Valeš specifies that interrogative and exclamative pronouns are also accentuated, and in diphthongs where two vowels are pronounced in the same syllable, they will be accentuated following the general rules previously established as well. Diphthongs (au, ou, eu, ai, oi, ei) that appear at the end of a word are stressed without the need for an accent mark (p. 8). Additionally, hiatus formed by two open vowels will also follow the same general accentuation rules as Spanish, for example, FL: *león* SP: *león* PT: leão (lion), FL: *poeta* SP: *poeta* PT: *poeta* (poet), or FL: *creó* SP: *creó* PT: *criou* (created, third person singular), but those formed with a closed and stressed vowel and an open and unstressed vowel will always have an accent mark, for example, FL: *tíu* SP: *tío* PT: *tio* (uncle), FL: *túa* SP: *tuya* PT: *tua* (your), FL: *síu* SP: *sido* PT: *foi* (has been, third person singular) (p. 8). Moreover, when it comes to adverbs, those that end in '-*menti*' are accentuated if the adjectives from which they are derived are also accentuated, for example, FL:

fácil – fácilmenti SP: *fácil – facilmen*te PT: *fácil – facilmen*te (easy-easily), or FL: *lindu – lindamenti* SP: *lindo – lindamente* PT: lindo – N/A (beautiful-beautifully) (p.8). Valeš concludes however, that FL: *solu* SP: *solo* PT: *só, somente* (only, alone) does not have an accent mark nor do demonstrative pronouns.

In regard to contractions, the preposition *de* SP: *de* PT: *de* (of) plus a definite article can be written together or separate as is *d*e plus an indefinite article. Variation is also allowed with prepositions FL: *in* SP: *en* PT: *em* (in), FL: *a* SP: *la* PT: *a* (the) plus definite article, and they can be written together or separately (p. 9). The authors specify that any other word will always be written separately, such as, FL: *de esti* SP: *de este* PT: *de este* (from this one), FL: *de aquela* SP: *de aquella* PT: *de aquela* (from that one, femenine), FL: *in aquela* SP: *en aquella* PT: *em aquela* (in that one, feminine), FL: *inda agó* SP: *apenas ahora* PT*: apenas agora* (just now) (p. 9), etc.

Exceptions are the word FL: *tolus* SP: *todos los* PT: *tudos* (all of the) which is written altogether as one word; FL: *dambus* SP: *ambos* PT: *ambos* (both of them) which is not a contraction, but a word with lexical meaning; and FL: *de A Fala* SP: *de La Fala* PT: *de A Fala* (from A Fala) which is separate because of capital letters; same rule applies to toponyms (p. 9).

After the general guidance, the proposal moves onto phonology, and specifies rules for vowels, intervocalic <d>, the letter <ñ>, the digraphs <nh> and <ll>, <i> vs <y>, the letter <h>, <x>, <b> and <v>, the variation between <l> and <r>, other variations cases, and lastly, sibilants. It is important that these phonological changes are included in written conventions since they help demonstrate the similarities and differences between Fala and other neighboring languages such as Portuguese and Spanish.

In regard to vowels, pronunciation varies among the three variants and this is acknowledged; Valeš states that in each town, speakers should write them as they are spoken thus,

speakers in San Martín de Trevejo will use the definite article 'o' FL: *o portu* SP: *el puerto* PT: *o porto* (the port), FL: *o ríu* SP: el *río PT: o rio* (the river), while the rest of speakers from Eljas and Valverde del Fresno will use 'u' *u portu*, *u ríu*. Valeš also notes that this rule also applies to diminutives that change the vowel or diphthong in the root of the word such as FL: *cerveza – cirviciña* SP: *cerveza – cervecita* PT: *cerveja - cervejinha* (beer – little beer), FL: *ovu – uviñu* SP: *huevo – huevito* PT: *ovo – ovinho* (egg – little egg), FL: *beixhu – bixhiñu* SP: *beso – besito* PT: *beijo – beijinho* (kiss – little kiss) (p. 9).

As concerns intervocalic <d>, Valeš notes that in most words it is not pronounced and not written either, for example, FL: *falau* SP: *hablado* PT: *falado* (spoken), FL: *chegau* SP: *llegado* PT: *chegado* (arrived), FL: *mollá* SP: *mojada* PT: *molhada* (wet). Variation depending on each individual word is acknowledged. Intervocalic <d> elision can also be accompanied with a drop of the final vowel, for example, FL: *ca* SP: *cada* PT: *cada* (each). If it results in a monosyllable then it will not be accented nor the <d> elision marked, except for the words FL: *tó* SP: *todo* PT: *tudo* (all) and FL: *ná* SP: *nada* PT: *nada* (nothing) (p. 9).

In regard to the phoneme /ɲ/, it is sometimes represented by the letter <ñ> just as in Spanish; examples are FL: *camiñu* SP: *camino* PT: *caminho* (street) and FL: *ispañol* SP: *español* PT: *espanhol* (Spaniard). The phoneme /ŋ/ is represented through the graph <nh> in words such as FL: *unha* SP: *una* (one) and FL: *algunha* SP: *alguna* PT: *alguma* (some). Moreover, the phoneme /ʎ/ is represented in written form by the digraph <ll> just as in Spanish (p. 10). In Fala, words such as FL: *tumillu* SP: *tomillo* PT: *tomilho* (thyme) or FL: *calli* SP: *calle* PT: *rua* (street) serve as example. Valeš also notes that those words that include this phoneme sometimes have a counterpart in Spanish that is pronounced through a voiceless velar fricative /x/ and written with <j>, 'ge' or 'gi', for example, FL: *tellau* SP: *tejado* PT: *telhado* (ceiling), FL: *millol* SP: *mejor* PT:

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melhor (better), FL: *collin* SP: *cogen* PT: *pegam* (pick up, third person plural), FL: *ovella* SP: *oveja* PT: *ovelha* (sheep), FL: *iscollel* SP: *escoger* PT: *escolher* (to pick) (p. 10).

For words that include either <i> or <y>, Valeš et al. state that <y> is used for words in which the first sound is diphthongized, due to the fact that it is a semiconsonant sound [j]; as examples they offer words such as FL: *ya* SP: *ya* PT: *já* (already), FL: *mayu* SP: *mayo* PT: *maio* (May) or FL: *meyu* SP: *medio* PT: *meio* (middle) (p. 10). However, for words including <i>, the second element of the diphthong is represented due to the fact that it is a semivowel sound [j][20], but also in words where the sound [i] is not part of the diphthong but still forms a syllable with a consonant, for example, FL: *mui* SP: *muy* PT: *muito* (very), FL: *hai* SP: *hay* PT: *há* (there is), FL: *críu* SP: *crío* PT: *criança* (child), FL: *limón* SP: *limón* PT: *limão* (lemon) (p. 10).

In words where semiconsonant or semivowel sounds [ji / ij] 'yi / iy', general rules are to be followed, for example, FL: *cunstruyin* SP: *construyen* PT: *constroem* (they build), FL: *poyin* SP: *pueden* PT: *podem* (are able to, third person plural). (p. 10). Moreover, <i> is to be used as a conjunction, for example *Carlos i María* SP: *Carlos y María* (Carlos and María), and in Eljas and San Martín de Trevejo, it is not to be changed even when the following word begins with <i>, just as with the conjunction 'u' that also does not change preceding words that begin with the same vowel sound. The conjunction is changed in Valverde del Fresno, where <i> changes to <e> in order to "avoid cacophony" in certain contexts (p. 10).

In regard to the letter <h> as a voiceless glottal fricative, the authors determine that due to etymological reasons, <h> should be written and used as in Spanish, and offer the words, FL: *hoixhi* SP: *hoy* PT: *hoje* (today) and FL: *hola* SP: *hola* PT: *olá* (hello) as examples. The only

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[20] I would like to remind readers that symbols have been regularized to follow IPA throughout the chapter. Some of the symbols used by Corredera et al. are not phonologically accurate, since they represent an idealized version of Fala that authors are proposing.

exceptions noted are those that do not coincide with Spanish, where the Spanish <h> is not etymological, such as FL: *ovu* SP: *huevo* PT: *ovo* (egg, from lat. *ovum*), FL: *osu* SP: *hueso* PT: *osso* (bone, from lat. *ossum*) and FL: *ocu* SP: *hueco* PT: *oco* (hole, from lat. *occare*) (p. 10).

The letter <x> represents different phonemes depending on its position and the word where it appears. When the words also exist in Spanish then it will also be used in the same way, representing /s/ at the beginning of a word or when clustered with a consonant, like in the words FL: *xilófonu* SP: *xilófono* PT: *xilofone* (xylophone), FL: *ixtranjeiru* SP: *extranjero* PT: *estrangeiro* (foreigner) or FL: *Ixtremadura* SP: *Extremadura* PT: *Extremadura* (p. 11). /s/ is also pronounced between vowels at the end of a word, for example, FL: *ixistil* SP: *existir* PT: *existir* (to exist); but in toponyms such as 'Mexico' or 'Texas' it represents the voiceless velar fricative /x/. Valeš also notes that in the three varieties the voiceless prepalatal fricative /ʃ/ is also used in words such as FL: *dixu* SP: *dijo* (said), FL: *bruixa* SP: *bruja* PT: *bruxa* (witch) and FL: *caixa* SP: *caja* PT: *caixa* (box). (p. 11).

In regard to the letters <b> and <v>, they both are determined to represent the same phoneme /b/, and the phoneme to be used just as in Spanish for words like FL: *abella* SP: *abeja* PT: *abelha* (bee) or *viñu* SP: *vino* PT: *vinho* (wine). When the same term does not exist in Spanish, Valeš et al. advise to consult the Fala dictionary that is currently in progress (p. 11).

Due to the fact that there is some variation when it comes to the use of <l> vs <r>, and the phonemes /l/ and /ɾ/[21], Valeš et al. specify that given the fact that the variation does not affect comprehension, both forms are to be accepted in written form, for example, FL: '*plaza – praza'*

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[21] Word initial /l/ and /ɾ/, are not interchangeable in Fala, for example, the word *lado* (side) in Spanish, does not become *rado**. Additionally, /ɾ/ following /p/ cannot be exchanged for /l/, for example the word *presentar* (present) in Spanish, can be represented in Fala as *presental*, but it does not become *plesental**. Another example would be the context of /ɾ/ preceded by /k/ in words such as *crear* (create) in Spanish; in Fala, the word would translate to *creal*, not *cleal**. Although the word *clase* (class) in Spanish, can indeed translate to *crasi* or *clasi* in Fala. These changes appear to be optional and subject to certain phonological contexts and not systematic as Corredera Plaza et al. claim.

SP: *plaza* PT: *praça* (main square). Authors also recommend the use of <l> for infinitives due to the fact that they appear more often than those ending in <r> (p. 11).

Lastly, Valeš et al. do comment on sibilants, which are one of the most debated parts of speech among Fala speakers due to the fact that each variety has its differences. They explain that while originally the idea was to unify the sound and graph, after discussing it further they decided a more flexible option was needed so that every Fala speaker can identify with its written form (p. 11). That is why the authors propose equivalent graphs for two phonemes /z/: <ṡ> = <sh> = <s> and /ʒ/: <ẋ> = <xh> = <x> (p. 12). Furthermore, the authors note that while in Valverde del Fresno's variety, the phonemes /z, ʒ, dʒ/ do not exist, it is understood that the inhabitants of these towns will not be using all the graphs proposed and will write according to their pronunciation in words such as, FL: *jovis* SP: *jueves* PT: quinta-*feira* (Thursday), FL: *lonji* SP: *lejos* PT: *longe* (far), FL: *genti* SP: *gente* PT: *gente* (people), FL: *ajudal* SP: *ayudar* PT: *ajudar* (to help).

The interdental sibilant /θ/ is written just as in Spanish, 'ci', 'ce', 'za', 'zo', 'zu', and in words where there is variation between /θ/ and /d/, <z>, 'ce' and 'ci' are used instead in Valverde del Fresno, for example, FL: *zagal* SP: *zagal* PT: *menino* (young man), FL: *zorra* SP: *zorra* PT: *raposa* (fox) or FL: *onci* SP: *once* PT: *onze* (eleven) while keeping <d> in San Martín de Trevejo and Eljas, for example, *dagal*, *dorra*, or *ondi* (p. 11). The authors also specify the equivalents for every other sibilant: / s / 's': FL: *nosa* SP: *nuestra* PT: *nossa* (ours), FL: *misa* SP: *misa* PT: *missa* (mass); / z / <ṡ> = <sh> = <s>: FL: *caṡa = casha = casa* SP: *casa* PT: *casa* (house), FL: *camiṡa = camisha = camisa* SP: *camisa* PT: *camisa* (shirt); / ʃ / <x>: FL: *baixu* SP: *bajo* PT: *baixo* (low), FL: *dixu* SP: *dijo* PT: *disse* (said), FL: *bruixa* SP: *bruja* PT: *bruxa* (witch); / ʒ / <ẋ> = <xh> = <x>: FL: *iẋenti = ixhenti = ixenti* SP: *gente* PT: *gente* (people), FL: *cereiẋa = cereixha = cereixa* SP:

cereza PT: *cereja* (cherry); / ʤ / <dx>: FL: *londxi* SP: *lejos* PT: *longe* (far), FL: *narandxa* SP: *naranja* PT: *laranja* (orange), FL: *grandxa* SP: *granja* PT: *fazenda*, *granja* (farm) (p. 12).

Going more in depth into this proposal by the Cultural Association A Nosa Fala and Miroslav Valeš, once again we must have a look at the specific rules they propose in order to perform a more thorough analysis of the text. As concerns diphthongs, they only dictate that an accent mark must be put on them following the general rules (that they have described) (p. 8). Comparing this approach to Corredera Plaza et al.'s, where the authors only focused on the usage of the diphthongs *oue* and *oi*, saying they should be alternated just like in Portuguese, and in the pronunciation of unstressed diphthongs with *e* or *u* as a nucleus, the present approach by Valeš et al. appears more flexible.

Regarding intervocalic <d>, Valeš et al. also recognize that in many words, it is not pronounced. They specify that in the case of participles, it is necessary to observe whether the stressed syllable will need an accent mark if it is a falling diphthong, but that some words will vary depending on the words themselves but also the speakers (p. 9); in other words, they acknowledge internal variation of the language instead of erasing it. On the other hand, they are as detailed as Corredera Plaza et al.'s in this aspect.

Lastly, when it comes to variation pertaining to <l> and <r> the authors recognize that there is plenty of variation when producing the phonemes /l/ and /ɾ/. Valeš et al. do note however, that this variation does not affect understanding and therefore their interchangeability should be accepted in written form just as it is in spoken form (p. 11). Valeš et al. advise that it is preferable to write infinitives with final <l> since they appear more often than the ones ending in <r> (p. 11), but do not impose a rule that would establish usage of one or the other as incorrect. Once again, in contrast with Corredera Plaza et al., Valeš et al. only consider this change acceptable in specific

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cases. To be precise when the <r> is at the end of a syllable in the middle of a word, they establish that the etymological form should be used because the change to /l/ is not systematic except for cases that may be considered emblematic (p. 10). When <r> is at the end of a word and especially for infinitives, Corredera Plaza et al. establish that both <r> or <l> can be written, but it must always be pronounced [l] (p. 10). The authors specify that this will be applicable to verbal infinitives because it is the only case in which the phenomenon appears systematically and they advise against using <r> or <l> interchangeably in words where <l> or <r> would be followed by additional implosive lateral consonants, as for example the words FL: *cultivar* SP: *cultivar* PT: *cultivar* (cultivate) or FL: *qualquer* SP: *cualquiera* PT: *qualquer* (any) (p. 10).

Something I did not observe in the previous text by Corredera et al. was an acceptance of comments and proposed alternatives that *Ortografía da Fala* in contrast does welcome. This is important to note, since Valeš also specifies that their proposal is "*da ixhenti, pur a ixhenti, pa ixhenti*" [from the people, by the people, for the people] (p. 4). Additionally, in this proposal it is acknowledged that most of the audience that the text will reach will be Fala speakers many of whom will not have linguistic knowledge; therefore, C.A A Nosa Fala has made it an easy and intuitive proposal (p. 4) that respects the three variants (p. 4) and that respects tradition. They state that, "*esta proposta intenta respetal, sempris que se poya, as ortografías que se han utilizau hasta agora, pur ejemplu, u únicu periódicu: Anduriña, a rutulación das callis, i iscritus de oitrus lingüistas i non lingüistas.*" [this proposal tries to respect, as much as possible, the orthographies that have been used until now, for example, the only gazette *Anduriña,* the signs on the streets, and texts from other linguists and non-linguists] (p. 7). They also add that the proposal respects the three variants as well as the individual preference of speakers, and that is why a large degree of

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variation in spelling is permitted and preference is given to the forms used by most speakers in each town (p. 7).

Another section worth mentioning in regard to speaker ideology and predisposition to an orthography would be the following:

A iducación in A Fala naturalmenti supón tamén a ixistencia da su forma iscrita. É pur isu que a Asociación Cultural A Nosa Fala istá traballandu u tema da ortografía. Das incuestas realizás intre us falantis risulta que a mayuría (84%) apoya a idea de que A Fala dibiría iscribilsi cun unha norma propia que nun copii ni galegu ni purtugués ni castellanu. Esti risultau nun é sorprendenti ya que a forma iscrita dunha lengua tamén refleja a idintidai dus seis falantis i a ixhenti dus tres lugaris nun se idintifica ni cun u galegu ni cun u purtugués.

[education in Fala naturally also implies the existence of a written form. This is why the Cultural Association A Nosa Fala is working on orthography issues. From surveys done among Fala speakers, the majority (84%) supports the idea that Fala should be written with its own norms that do not copy Galician, Portuguese, or Spanish. These results are not surprising since the written form of a language also reflects the identity of its speakers and the people of the three towns do not identify with Galician or Portuguese] (p. 4)

The data mentioned in the excerpt was collected by Miroslav Valeš in 2015, and while I collected data during 2017-2018, as I will show in Chapter 5 that some sentiment that Fala should be written with its own norms was still prevalent. As Valeš states, "*A Fala é unha lengua, nun é un dialectu.*" [Fala is a language, not a dialect] (p. 5) and therefore, it should be treated as such; educating people about Fala and using Fala are important elements for its maintenance. A written representation of the language must exist if the goal is to start a dialogue about the significance it

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will have on the education of those who want to learn the language. Furthermore, Valeš et al. present their proposal without negative judgement of Spanish, something that Corredera Plaza et al. do not achieve.

Unfortunately, the Cultural Association A Nosa Fala ceased its activities in 2017. Although the Association still exists in legal form, none of its members are active. There are different accounts of why the Association ceased its activities, but it has been speculated by one of the members that other than the creation of this proposal, there was not an intention of continuation from the beginning. The orthographic proposal has been the only project that C.A A Nosa Fala has participated in or created. On the other hand, the Cultural Association U Lagartu Verdi has been and still is active. They are in charge of collecting materials in order to publish the gazette *Anduriña* annually, as well as in charge of other cultural activities and events that take place every year.

When looking at Corredera Plaza et al. and Valeš et al. through Jones and Mooney's lens and the criteria they developed for newly developed orthographies, one cannot help but notice the differences between the two. First, Jones and Mooney state that creating an orthography implies considering many variables such as the socio-political, psychological, and ideological dimensions of the language; while my fieldwork (as shown in Chapter 5,) convinced me that most Fala speakers do not care to politically affiliate themselves with Portugal, Corredera et al. seem not to have taken this into account when developing this orthographic proposal. Instead, they provide an orthography that aligns with a Portuguesist ideology. On the other hand, Valeš et al.'s proposal did consider the ideological dimensions of the proposal and how it would be received by Fala's linguistic community; Valeš et al. provide a more flexible orthographic proposal that allows for

the use of the different variants of words present in each town, and orthographic rules tailored to respect the internal variation of the language, as the examples in this chapter have shown.

Jones and Mooney also state that the linguist should develop a common-core orthography with elements that are common to all dialects involved (p. 9). In the case of Corredera Plaza et al., the proposal does offer a certain degree of common-core orthography, but at the expense of erasure and internal variation among the three variants of Fala being disregarded. While Corredera Plaza et al. do accept Fala to be spoken as speakers have been always doing, they try to establish their orthographic proposal as the standard written form (2015). Most contemporary linguists understand that erasure should never be proposed as means to develop a written code for any language, much less a minority or endangered language. That is why Valeš et al., a team led by a linguist in collaboration with local speakers, did include a common-core orthography for the three Fala variants that allows for certain optionality when it comes to spelling, just as Jones and Mooney declare it should be (p. 11).

Additionally, Jones and Mooney also establish the importance of community involvement when it comes to the development of new orthographies (p. 5). They also state that an orthography creation process is more of a sociocultural event, since the language itself can index social national, cultural, and individual identities (p. 23). Corredera et al.'s proposal was developed strictly by the three authors, without the consultation with native speakers other than Corredera Plaza himself. On the other hand, Valeš et al. includes the participation of a group of native speakers, the members of Cultural Association A Nosa Fala, regardless of Valeš being the linguist in charge of directing the project and not being a native speaker himself.

When creating an orthography, one of the main elements to take into account would be the situation of the language in regard to intelligibility among variants; in the case of Fala, the most

reasonable strategy was to develop a common-core orthography with a writing system that is common to all dialects. As we saw, the only text to truly attempt this was *Ortografía da Fala* (2017). While this approach normally involves a certain degree of historical reconstruction, it is important to note that these kinds of efforts are often motivated by socio-political elements rather than linguistic ones (Jones and Mooney, 2020, p. 9), and that is exactly what happened with Fala in the case of Valeš et al. (2015). Even though this strategy has been criticized and some linguists do not recommend it in cases of language revitalization (Karan, 2014, p. 117; Bradley, 2005, p. 4; Venezky, 1970, p. 264) because this new system can be perceived as inauthentic and cause speakers to reject it, this was not the case with Fala, since the revitalization efforts and the orthography creation process in *Ortografía da Fala* (2017) involved native speakers. In turn, the inclusion of native speakers in the development of Valeš et al.'s proposal influenced Fala speakers in a positive manner, ultimately prompting them to welcome the new proposal. Corredera Plaza et al. (2015) however, failed to communicate to the speech community that the standard created was an additional variety and not one that would erase the others and replace the varieties maintained through oral tradition, with which speakers were already familiar. Thus, as I show in Chapter 5 data analysis shows this predisposed speakers to reject Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal.

All in all, I believe that orthography can reflect language status. Jaffe found that certain Corsican speakers believed that "it is not only important to 'have' an orthography, but it is crucial for that orthography to have prescriptive power - to be standardized and authoritative, like the orthographies of dominant languages" (2000, p. 505-506). However, as Corsican language advocates later illustrated through their embrace of the ideology of *polynomie* (Jaffe 2020), I believe that we should not expect a standardized orthography for a minority language to have the same potentially marginalizing effects as the prescriptivism of certain rules for widely-spoken

languages such as English or Spanish. Rather, minority language orthographic standards can still leave space for a certain amount of dialectal diversity. A degree of prescriptive power is necessary in this case due to Fala's maintenance and the urgency of its implementation; without the prescriptive force and the desire of speakers for the newly developed rules to be enforced, the endangered language will not increase in usage. Of course, it can also be argued that speakers could reach a place of ideological value on inconsistency, and therefore delight in the 'supposed' lack of rules; nonetheless, I believe that all language is created from a set of rules, even when speakers may believe they are not applying any. Purposely and consistently not applying any rules can be considered a rule in itself. So far, Fala had managed to survive with a lack of stable written representation, but given the fact that population is and has been in decline for years, a respectful and stable written representation is needed to ensure the maintenance of the language in written form regardless of its declining population. In addition, one cannot dismiss as well, Karan's advice: "the introduction of writing entails the introduction of ideologies about correctness and about what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' in terms of language use" (2014, p. 109). Nonetheless, this understanding of correctness seems to have its own interpretation as it pertains to endangered languages. If we ignore what the newly developed orthography deems as correct or incorrect, we may as well not apply any orthography at all; in other words, we would be back to square one. In the words of Cahill and Rice, let us not forget: "an effective orthography is not only (a) linguistically sound, but is also crucially (b) acceptable to all stakeholders [native speaker input], and (c) usable" (2014, p. 10).

Applying both *Ortografía da Fala* (2017) and *Ortografia da Língua do Val de Xálima* (2015) to written texts in Fala that appeared almost two decades before the proposals existed helps understanding the ideological dimension of the orthographic proposals hereby presented. In a

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sense, *Ortografía da Fala* (2017) can be considered a reaction to *Ortografia da Língua do Val de Xálima* (2015) in that without the proposal by Corredera Plaza et al., Valeš et al. might have never decided to propose their own. It is interesting to observe as well, that these texts represent an orthography debate happening in real time. In order to understand these texts, however, not only do we need to compare them to native speaker pre-conceptions of orthography, but we also must look at how they tackle the different variables to be considered when creating an orthography system as set by Jones and Mooney (2020). What can be done however, is compare these pre-existing legacy orthographies to the two main texts analyzed in this chapter so as to understand if modern orthographic proposals respect native pre-conceptions of Fala's orthography.

I took two excerpts from *Arreidis: Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus* (2000); one excerpt of a theatre play written by López Fernández, and one excerpt from a poem also included in the same book but written by Frades Gaspar. Then, I translated these excerpts to Corredera Plaza et al.'s version of Fala using the orthographic rules included in their booklet *Critérios Para Oriental a Ortografia da Língua do Val de Xálima* (2015). After that, I translated the excerpts once again, but this time using Valeš et al.'s orthographic rules from their booklet *Ortografía da Fala* (2017). The following is an excerpt of the short theatre play titled *Us Inventus* (The inventions) as it appears in *Arreidis: Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus* (2000):

> Fai ya unha porrá d'anus, n'unha tabelna du lugal, se aishuntorin unha tardi arriol du mostrol unha camá d'homis que, entre meyu y meyu, discurrían y falaban de temas intrascendentis que elis saboriaban millol que us eruditus un disculsu filosóficu. Pero non pulque u homi du campu nun teña cuñucimentus científicus deisa de sintil atracción pul temas de unha certa altura intelectual u trascendental, non. Oitra coisha é si falamus du rigol científicu das cunclusiós que sacan d'algunhas coishas. (p. 176)

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[Already many years ago, in a tavern in town, a bunch of men got together one afternoon around the counter, and between wines, they would reason and talk about trivial topics that they would savor better than scholars would a philosophical discourse. But not because a man of the land lacks scientific knowledge he stops feeling attracted to topics of a certain intellectual and trivial level, no. Another thing is if we speak about the scientific exactitude of the conclusions they reach about some things.][22]

This is what Corredera Plaza et al.'s version would look like:

Fai ya ũa porrá d'anos, n'ũa tabelna do logal, se aijuntorim ũa tarde arriol do mostrol ũa camá d'homes que, entre meyo e meyo, discurríam e falabam de temas intrascendentes que eles saboriabam milhol que os eruditos un disculso filosófico. Pero nõ polque o home do campo nõ teña coñocimentos científicos deissa de sintil atracciõ pol temas de ũa certa altura intelectual o trascendental, nõ. Oitra/Outra[23] coisa/cousa é si falamos do rigol científico das conclosiõs que sacam d'algũas coisas/cousas.[24]

And this is what Valeš et al.'s version would look like:

Fai ya unha porrá de anus, in unha tabelna du lugal, se aishuntorin unha tardi arriol du mostrol unha camá de homis que, entre meyu i meyu, discurrían i falaban de temas intrascendentis que elis saboriaban millol que us eruditus un disculsu filosóficu. Pero non pulque u homi du campu nun teña cuñucimentus científicus deisa de sintil atracción pul temas de unha certa altura intelectual u trascendental, non. Oitra coisha é si falamus du rigol científicu das cunclusiós que sacan de algunhas coishas.

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[22] All translations present in this chapter are my own.
[23] Corredera et al. suggest the diphthongs *-oi-*, *-ou-* as alternative and both can be used in the same contexts.
[24] For the translation of *Us Inventus* and *Castelu d'as Ellas* excerpts into Corredera et al.'s orthography proposal I applied the rules available in *Critérios Para Oriental a Ortografia da Língua do Val de Xálima* (2015).

This second example is an excerpt from the poem *Castelu d'as Ellas* (Eljas' Castle) (1976) by

Domingo Frades Gaspar as it appears in *Arreidis: Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus* (2000, p. 192):

FRADES GASPAR	CORREDERA PLAZA ET AL.	VALEŠ ET AL.[25]	ENGLISH
Pena me da verti,	Pena me da verte,	Pena me dá verti,	I am sad to see you,
Castelu d'As Ellas,	Castelo d'As Ellas,	Castelu das Ellas,	Castle of Eljas,
Pedras cheas de historia	Pedras cheas de historia	Pedras cheas de historia	Stones full of history
Y[26] agoo de tristedas,	E ago de tristedas,	i agó de tristedas,	And now of sadness,
Porque hoxi se estima	Porque hoje se estima	Purque hoiẋi se estima	Because nowadays is valued
Mais que a alma a a materia.	Mais que a alma a a materia.	Mais que a alma a a materia.	More than the soul the material.
Cuántu puís contalnus,	Cuánto puís contalnos,	Cuántu púis contalnus,	How much can you tell us,
Pedras d'o castelu,	Pedras d'o castelo,	Pedras do castelu,	Castle stones,
D'os homis romanus,	D'os homes romanos,	Dos homis romanus,	Of the roman men,
Moirus, lagarteirus	Moiros/mouros, lagarteiros	Moirus, lagarteirus	Moorish, lagarteirus
D'a vida que feyan,	D'a vida que feyam,	Da vida que feyan,	Of the lives they made
De cómu bregaban	De cómo bregabam	De cómu bregaban	Of how they struggled
En aquestas terras	En aquestas terras	En aquestas terras	In these lands
Tan duras y bravas.	Tan duras e bravas.	Tan duras i bravas.	So harsh and wild.

Table 8: Contrasting versions of the poem *Castelu d'as Ellas* (1976) by Domingo Frades Gaspar

Jones and Mooney already warn us that developing orthographies for endangered (or

minority) languages can be controversial given the ideological issues that can arise in relation to

linguistic representation (2020, p. 7) and as such, a certain degree of optionality should be

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[25] Since Valeš et al.´s proposal respects internal variation and offers alternatives to each of the variants, for this translation I used words that would appear in *Mañegu*, the variant that the author of the poem, Frades Gaspar, uses in the original poem shown in the farther left column.

[26] While Frades Gaspar writes the conjunction 'y' with the graph <y> in this poem from 1976, it is interesting to note that in his book Vamus a Falal published in 2000, he uses the graph <i> instead. This change can be taken as testimony of the evolution even native speakers have gone through in regard to understanding and representing their language.

permitted in spelling (p. 11). For the linguist in charge of developing a new orthography, Sgall determined three principles of which a new orthography must follow at least one; these are 1) a phonetic principle, reflecting the pronunciation of words (phonographic), 2) an etymological principle, reflecting the origin of words and/or their morphemic structure (that is, morphographic), or 3) a historical principle, reflecting traditional practices in cases where the spelling cannot be justified through the other two principles (1987, p. 2). If we were to look at Corredera Plaza et al.'s translation of the excerpts, an attempt at adopting a phonetic principle may have been adopted given the inclusion of for example, diacritics to mark nasality in vowel sounds. However, this phonetic approach was done by applying Portuguese resembling diacritics and graphs. Corredera Plaza et al.'s translation does not seem to accommodate the etymological principle, although there seems to be an attempt at accommodating the historical principle by creating obvious links between Fala and Portuguese but not by respecting legacy orthographies. Looking at Valeš et al.'s translation of the excerpts I conclude that the three principles stated by Sgall have been considered; first, the translation of the excepts reflects the use of graphs to reflect the sounds not existing in the mainstream language Spanish; second, an etymological principle is applied by considering the influence of the superstrate language; lastly, Valeš et al.'s translation of the excerpt reflects a clear accommodation of legacy orthographies; at the same time, Valeš et al. simplify the use of language so as to encourage its use. Grenoble and Whaley already observed that native speakers may perceive an orthography that uses diacritics as 'looking' difficult to read, so they advise to avoid 'diacritic overload' (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 146). To avoid such situation, Valeš et al. explicitly state that diacritics will not be used except in specific cases: two graphs that require a diacritic (2017, p. 11), in which case an alternative graph is also provided, or in the case of monosyllables that may be accentuated to differentiate in meaning from their unstressed

counterparts (p. 8). On the other hand, Corredera Plaza et al. introduce new diacritics to Fala such as the nasalization marker in [ũ] that in addition, takes the place of other graphs that had been traditionally used to mark nasalization, such as <nh>.

In addition, Grenoble and Whaley note that heritage orthographies ought to be respected and included in a new orthographical representation of a language (2006). By looking at both excerpts, at first glance it is visually obvious that Corredera Plaza et al. did not take into account the pre-existing legacy orthographies used by native speakers for spontaneous writing, something that Karan also advises is essential in any orthography development process (2014, p. 113). Valeš et al. did take this factor into account, as at first glance, both the excerpt and translation look similar.

Visual impressions aside, if the speech community is not literate, it may be advantageous for the new orthography to resemble that of the language of wider communication to facilitate multiple literacies (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Nevertheless, Corredera Plaza et al.'s seem to try distancing Fala from how López Fernández and Frades Gaspar initially represented Fala at all costs. This is done by including a more Portuguese look for Fala. Valeš et al. are the most accurate orthographic representation of how native speakers López Fernández and Frades Gaspar first represented Fala, since they focused on using many of the orthographical rules of Spanish, the other language that Fala speakers are constantly exposed to. That is also why Grenoble and Whaley's suggestion to achieve a consensus for a representation of the language that accounts for internal variation includes the creation of committees composed of representative speakers from all dialects (2006, p. 156).

CHAPTER V: LANGUAGE PLANNING DISCUSSIONS ABOUT FALA LANGUAGE

Given the different orthographic proposals presented in Chapter 4, this chapter will focus on answering the following research questions: (1) What did other Fala speakers think about these proposals? And (2) How did speakers from different towns think inter-town variation should be handled in an orthography?

In chapter 4 I presented legacy orthographies that I compared to current orthographic proposals by Corredera Plaza, Marogoto, and Martín Galindo (2015), and Valeš and C.A. A Nosa Fala (2017). These proposals by Corredera Plaza et al. (2015) and Valeš et al. (2017) reflected different attitudes about how inter-town variation should be handled in an orthography, so they become central pieces in understanding how Fala's written representation may or may not change. In addition, these proposals become relevant when trying to understand Fala speakers' attitudes towards their own language, and how Fala speakers want their language represented by an orthography in the case of many, without erasure of local variants.

In order to assess other native speakers' reactions, I organized two data-collection projects in 2017 and 2018 so as to get a closer look at what some Eljas, San Martín de Trevejo, and Valverde del Fresno's local residents thought of Fala, its orthography, and the proposals by Corredera Plaza, Marogoto, and Martín Galindo (2015), and Valeš and C.A. A Nosa Fala (2017) that were presented in Chapter 4.

Even though languages maintenance and enhancement involve more than the languages' orthography, authors such as Riobó Sanluís and Sartal Lorenzo believe that if a language is not ruled by some orthographic criteria it may be destined to die (2009). I have already problematized the use of this terminology in Chapter 3, where I explained how genetic comparisons and how life/death metaphors are not welcome by some anthropological linguists (Sallabank, 2019, p. 15;

Denison, 1977) because it reifies language as organic beings instead of describing them as the networks of social practices that they are (Perley, 2012). Denison specifically, believes that genetic comparisons between languages can strip their speakers of agency (1997) and in turn may "hinder effective policies in support of linguistic diversity" (Sallabank, 2019, p. 15). This concept has also been explored by Perley, who states that experts are more interested in language as a code than speakers as users of that code (2012, p. 134) thus objectifying the language and relegating speakers to the roles of victims of something greater than themselves (2012, p. 134). Perley's understanding also connects to Jane Hill's "expert' rhetorics", a term she describes as the belief that minority languages are "priceless" and must be handled by "elites" who can "preserve" them (2002). All of this comes together in what Perley calls "zombie linguistics" or the performance of linguists who by trying to 'save' the language, reach conflict with the speakers in the linguistic community who may not necessarily agree with what they do. Perley explains that at the global scale this also becomes problematic; having only experts dominate the discourse and influence the popular imagination, only certain languages qualify to be 'saved' (Perley, 2012, p. 134).

I also argue that languages do not simply cease to be used because of a lack of orthography; languages may cease to be used because speakers cease to transmit it to the next generation, either due to lack of prestige or due to their belief that the language may be rendered useless in everyday life due to colonization and industrialization, or even because of digitality, elements that may render the language potentially 'useless' in popular ideologies. Languages ceasing to be used is not just a natural process, but a process influenced by many potential variables. In addition to this, Fishman advises that a language is symbolically linked to its culture (1991, p. 22); culture is one of the main pillars on which language sustains itself, becoming the language's *raison d'etre* rather than a simple variable capable of affecting its usage. Culture, along with speakers and ideologies

related to language are what ultimately drive the language to usage and popularity among speakers. Although a written code can boost languages' usage and how they are perceived and thus affect its usage indirectly, it is not one of the main essential pillars for a language's continuous existence.

In Chapter 3, we saw how politics can get intertwined with language planning and documentation processes in the case of Fala, to the point that the lines that divide these topics blur and they all seem to be pointing in the same direction; no impartial judgement can be made. Somehow earlier scholarship shows a belief that Fala needs to be described and understood as a sub-dialect belonging to a specific language family, therefore its written code representing that language family it belongs to, while later scholarship recognizes the need for its description and promotion without necessarily having a focus on the political dimension of those changes (see Chapter 3 for reference). Nonetheless, some Fala speakers, as they show in the 2015 official letter declining the proposed orthography by Corredera Plaza et al, also understand that documenting the language in written form is starting to become necessary (Valeš et al., 2017), while at the same time understanding that the written form for their language should not be represented in a way that erases the pre-existing internal variation within the three towns where Fala is spoken. This is why when Corredera Plaza et al. (2015) proposed a Portuguese-resembling orthography for Fala, the C.A. U Lagartu Verdi with its institutional power among the three localities, wrote an official letter (2015) in which the proposal by Corredera Plaza et al. (2015) was kindly rejected. The letter was created soon after Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal saw the light, and within the letter, the C.A. U Lagartu Verdi included bullet points with the exact points in which they disagreed. Here is an excerpt with its translation:

> *[…] Istá in contra da su idea de unificación de as tres variantis de A Fala in u que cunsideramus unha proposta unilateral i non consensuá.*

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Rechaza aplical a ortografía purtuguesha in A Fala, pulque cunsideramus que e unha proposta simplista i que nun recolli ni a realidai histórica ni u bagaji cultural du LAGARTEIRU.

Tamén rechaza que u LAGARTEIRU isté incluíu dentru du que él divulga cumu "xalimego", ni que deba iscribilsi cun a grafía lusa que defendi.

A A.C. U Lagartu Verdi-Fala lagarteiru istá traballandu, ixuntu cun a A.C. A Nosa Fala i varius lingüistas i filólugus in unha proposta ortográfica consensuá pus tres lugaris que respeti as tres variantis i as piculiaridais de ca un de elis.

The members of C.A. U Lagartu Verdi are against the proposal and unification of the three variants of Fala which they considered unilateral and non-agreed upon.

They reject using the Portuguese orthography for Fala because they consider it does not address the historical and cultural inheritance[27] of *Lagarteiru*.

They also reject Fala to be included in what Corredera Plaza names *xalimego*[28] or that it should be written with the Portuguese orthography he defends.

They also inform that C. A. U Lagartu Verdi along with C.A. A Nosa Fala and other linguists and philologists are working on a new orthographic proposal agreed upon by the three localities and that respects the linguistic differences between them.

(U Lagartu Verdi, 2015)

The letter became a turning point in the discussion of Fala's written representation and led the C.A. A Nosa Fala to the aforementioned partnership with Czech scholar Miroslav Valeš, which, as discussed in Chapter 4, led to an alternative attempt at orthographic representation

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[27] While the letter does not explicitly elaborate on the meaning of 'inheritance' in the context of Fala's usage, it could be interpreted as the inheritance of legacy language use.

[28] Name that Corredera Plaza et al. give Fala in their proposal (2015). Compound of Xálima + Gallego, meaning Galician from the Valley of Xálima.

seeking to respect all three Fala variants, first published in October 2015. As of March 2017, the proposal was accepted by most speakers who were asked by Miroslav Valeš and members of the C.A. A Nosa Fala about its existence and usefulness, printed in small booklets in Fala, and distributed freely among the inhabitants of the three localities. In this new proposal, C.A. A Nosa Fala claims the following:

> *A ortografía nun intenta acintual u sei paricíu cun algunha das oitras lenguas románicas da pinínsula, sea castellanu, asturianu, galegu u portugués. Sin embargu, us falantis istán alfabetizaus in castellanu, pur u que propoñemus utilizal as grafías du castellanu pa us suníus que tenin a misma correspondencia in A Fala. Se trata de unha cuestión práctica i non de acentual u parentescu nin castellanizala.*

> [the orthography does not try to stress its similarities with any of the other Romance languages in the peninsula, either Castilian, Asturian, Galician or Portuguese. However, Fala speakers are taught to read and write in Castilian, and therefore we propose to use letters/symbols belonging to Castilian for the sounds that have the same correspondence with Fala. It's a practical approach not intended to stress its similarities nor to 'castilianize' it.] (Valeš et al., 2017)

> *A proposta respeta que ca un dus tres lugaris ten a sua variedái vernácula i pur tantu a ixenti ten u dereitu de ixpresalsi, tamén pur iscritu, in a sua variedái vernácula.*

> [the proposal respects that the three localities have their own vernacular variation and therefore, the people have the right to express themselves, also in written form, in their own vernacular variation] (Valeš et al., 2017).

This proposal seems to have been met with more widespread approval among linguists and lay speakers alike, and it seems to have thought through the needs of the community, both

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practically and ideologically, in a more sensitive manner. It respects the three varieties of the language while at the same time, proposes the use of Spanish orthography in order to normalize Fala's written form. Nevertheless, it would not be surprising if some Fala speakers would continue to use their own orthographic rules and their own version of Fala to express themselves in written form. For any orthographic proposal to take root in this case, it would have to reach a certain level of recognition so that it would be taught in school; that way, younger generations would learn a fixed orthography to later on be taught how to apply it in writing so that they can continue to use it for the rest of their lives. While that is something that future research should consider, this chapter will focus on the reaction that Fala speakers had to these proposals two to three years after they were talked about for the first time. In order to address the research questions above, I consulted other native speakers of Fala through a survey I designed and administered as discussed below.

Method

Given the value of empirical data collection in sociolinguistic studies, data collection procedures become critical for "capturing the multiple ways in which people position themselves and experience, manage and negotiate conflicting and competing discourses, ideologies and representations" (Jaffe, 2020, p. 82). That is why during the months of June, July, and August of 2017 and 2018 I set myself to collect data about Fala in the three towns. The data was collected through questionnaires fully written and presented to participants in Fala. The questionnaires had two parts; the first part asked participants for orthographic preferences while the second part involved questions about personal opinions on Fala usage and its inclusion in education (see Appendix C, D, and E). Fala has always been of oral tradition, with parents talking in Fala to their

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children at home, while children are exposed to Spanish once they reach schooling ages. Fala has never been taught in school nor it is currently being taught in school, so I thought it would be worthwhile investigating speakers' attitudes towards Fala inclusion in education. In Appendix C I have included Eljas' questionnaire with an English translation for accessibility purposes, while in Appendixes D and E I have preserved the questionnaire just as participants in San Martín de Trevejo and Valverde del Fresno received them.

Each of these questionnaires was created using the Fala variety endemic to each town; the questionnaire for Eljas was created using the spelling described in Valeš et al.'s proposal (2017[29]) which in turn, respects the legacy orthographies presented in Severino López Fernández *Arreidis, Palabras y Ditus Lagarteirus* (1999) and Domingo Frades Gaspar's *Vamus a Falal: Notas pa conhocel a nosa fala* (2000). I decided not to use the same base for Valverde del Fresno and San Martín de Trevejo's questionnaires, because myself not being a native speaker of the varieties, I could commit mistakes and mistranslate the sample sentences. That is why questionnaires were tailored for each town, since the variety of Fala existent in each of them varies substantially; although questionnaires followed the same format, the language within was changed so as to adapt to each town's variety. The questionnaires for Valverde del Fresno and San Martín de Trevejo were transcribed by two different anonymous volunteer participants that I recruited personally, one from each town; the volunteers were informed of the general purpose of the document, but no further details were disclosed in order to avoid those from biasing volunteers when translating the questionnaires. I asked the volunteers to transcribe the document to the best of their ability in whichever way they thought would be most recognizable by other Fala speakers from their towns when participating in the study. Some of the lexical items that had to be considered for variation

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[29] Even though the proposal did not become public and printed to be distributed among Fala speakers until 2017, the proposal had been in the works since 2015.

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were *genti* / *ishenti* (people), *ensinal* / *insinal* (to teach), *crius* / *dagalitus* (children), among others. Moreover, in order to avoid tainting results, I made sure volunteers did not know about existing orthographic proposals and also informed the volunteers they would not be allowed to participate in the study.

These legacy orthographies were then presented in part 1 of the questionnaire with a contrasting translation using Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal (2015). In each of the 4 sentences presented in part 1 of the questionnaire, one option resembled the legacy orthographies and Valeš et al.'s proposal (2017) while another option resembled Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal (2015) but the order in which these two options were presented varied in each of the four sentences to prevent participants' bias and to prevent them from finding a pattern within the options presented. In addition, the sentences presented in part 1 of the questionnaire were partially aimed at researching whether participants aligned more with the Portuguese-resembling spelling that Corredera Plaza et al. offer in their proposal, or with the legacy-resembling spelling offered in the other sentences created by me using Valeš et al.'s proposal, while also allowing for volunteers to provide their own legacy spellings. Moreover, the sentences were also aimed at distinguishing between minimal pairs and homophones in some cases, in order to discover patterns in participants' spelling choices and in the use of emblematic sounds.

In the data analysis below, options have been marked with either (L) for the legacy option in the case of Eljas' questionnaire and anonymous volunteers' transcription in the case of the other two towns, or (C) for the Corredera Plaza et al.'s Portuguese-resembling option in order to facilitate the current readers' understanding of data. This was not marked in the questionnaires as presented to the participants to avoid any bias towards one option or another.

The data for this research project was collected in Eljas during the months of July and August of 2017 and in San Martín de Trevejo and Valverde del Fresno during the months of June and July of 2018. Questionnaires consisted of pen-and-paper versions that participants could even take home and return to me once completed. Participants were recruited informally, meaning I took an informal sample of participants among the general population by relying on my pre-existing social network. Once I had 30 questionnaires completed in each town, I proceeded to aggregate and categorize responses in order to analyze the results. Participants included individuals between 18 and 70 years of age, both males and females, with different educational backgrounds: no formal education, some basic schooling, high school, and college. Some participants worked as independent contractors, and some were unemployed. Sampling of participants did not focus on any specific demographic information for data collection purposes. Moreover, I looked at the responses closely so as to be able to determine if there were any patterns repeated in the data collected among the two towns aside from Eljas that could resemble to an extent what was observed in the data collected in Eljas during 2017.

Once all data was completed, responses for part 1 and part 2 were aggregated separately. Responses for part 1 were first organized according to participants' preference for provided options 1 or 2 and then, according to the alternative spelling they gave (if any) for each of the questions. The categorization for part 2 was slightly different; since responses for part 2 involved participants agreeing or disagreeing and explaining why, first responses were classified under the categories of positive or negative reaction. Once responses were categorized that way, the numbers of tokens of each was included in the analysis, along with some of the elaborations that participants gave to justify their response.

In regard to discussion focus groups, data was collected only in Eljas, during the months of July and August of 2017. For discussion focus groups, I aimed to include three to four participants who, after completing the questionnaire, had indicated a willingness to share more, and in them, Fala speakers would be asked to discuss a series of questions posed by me. Discussion focus groups were not considered during data collection in San Martín de Trevejo or Valverde del Fresno because of the possible self-censor participants could practice when expressing certain views about their language in front of other speakers. When having small discussion groups such as these, if a participant expresses opposing or controversial views about the language in front of other speakers, they risk being judged by not only the discussion group participants, but also by the linguistic community.

In the discussion focus group meetings that took place in 2017 in Eljas a few days after the initial individual questionnaire data collection, the participants willing to contribute to group meetings were asked to notify me of their desire to do so by indicating it when they finished the questionnaire. To that purpose, I collected names along with phone numbers. Once I had a list of the participants willing to contribute to discussion focus groups, I convened the groups based on the participants' availability. Discussion focus groups ideally would have had three to four participants but since the number of participants was smaller than I originally anticipated, there were only two discussion focus groups; one discussion group had three participants, and another group had only two participants. Despite the low number of groups and participants, the sample size was large enough to allow for participants to express an interesting range of ideologies. After the total sample of data collected in the three towns, it became clear that a certain level of saturation had been reached through data collection, given that responses tended to overlap in some cases as I will show in the analysis.

Data Analysis

As mentioned in the Methods section, the data was collected through a pen-and-paper questionnaire which had two different parts. Out of the data collection activities in Eljas during 2017, 30 questionnaires were returned, but one was rejected due to participant error, leaving 29 retained for analysis. With regards to the data collection in San Martín de Trevejo and Valverde del Fresno in 2018, there were a total number of 30 responses for both Part 1 and 2 of the questionnaires, but as in Eljas' data collection, some of the responses had to be left out of the data analysis for incompleteness or because responses were unrelated to questions and therefore did not contribute to the aggregation of data and the observation of responses.

Part 1: Orthography Preferences.

Part 1 included four questions about orthography preferences and each question included two options that participants could mark as their preference. Participants could also write their own spelling of the same message on a blank space provided underneath the two options available. Results for this part of the data collection have not been translated in order to be able to observe the spelling differences and to preserve the original participant's preferences, but one sample sentence for each of the offered options has been translated for accessibility. Furthermore, the questionnaires have been included as Appendix C, D and E at the end of this document for reference. The results for each town will be presented separately, that is, first, results for Part 1 of the questionnaire for each town and then Part 2. Results for one question in Part 2 will be discussed in Chapter 6; this is done so as to facilitate the understanding of the large amount of data presented.

Eljas.

The results for each question in Part 1 in the questionnaire for Eljas (2017) are as follows:

OPTIONS	*As pesoas du pisu d'abaixu falan de corazós (L)*	23
OFFERED[30]	*As pessoas de o piso d' abaixo falan de coraços (C)*	0
ALTERNATIVE	*As pesoas dabaixu falan de corazós*	1
SPELLINGS	*As pesoas du pishu de abaixu falan de corazós*	2
	As pesoas du pishu d'abaixu falan de corazós	1
	As pesoas d'abaixo falan de corazós	1
	As pesoas du pisu de abaixu falan de corazós	1

Table 9: Chart of results for Q1 Eljas.

Question 1 had a total number of responses of 23 for the option *As pesoas du pisu d'abaixu falan de corazós* ('the people from downstairs talk about hearts') while the second option *As pessoas d' abaixo falan de coraços* was chosen zero times. Some participants also provided their own spelling or preference for the same message; some of the alternative options provided were *As pesoas dabaixu falan de corazós* (1), *As pesoas du pishu de abaixu falan de corazós* (2), *As pesoas du pishu d'abaixu falan de corazós* (1), *As pesoas d'abaixo falan de corazós* (1), and *As pesoas du pisu de abaixu falan de corazós* (1).

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[30] Phonetic transcription of options offered:
- [as pe 'so az ðu 'pi su da βa 'jk su 'fa lan de ko ra 'θos] (L)
- [as pes 'so az ðe o 'pi so d a βa 'j so 'fa lan de ko 'ra sos] (C)

OPTIONS	*Á mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo (C)*	2
OFFERED[31]	*Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras in u campu (L)*	25
ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS	*Hay mutus calvallus, madroñeiras y pedras in u campu*	2

Table 10: Chart of results for Q2 Eljas.

Question 2 had a total number of responses of two for the option *Á mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo* (There are a lot of oak trees, strawberry trees [arbustus unedo] (also known as cane apple) and stones in the fields) while the second option *Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras in u campu* was preferred 25 times; the other option provided by participants was *Hay mutus calvallus, madroñeiras y pedras in u campu* (2).

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[31] Phonetic transcription of options offered:
- [a 'mu tus kar 'βa los ma ðro 'nej ras e 'pe ðraz no 'kam po] (C)
- ['a i 'mu tus kar βa 'ʎw s ma ðro 'ɲej ras i 'pe ðras in u 'kam pu] (L)

OPTIONS	*O menino [33]come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo (C)*	1
OFFERED[32]	*U mininu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu (L)*	23
ALTERNATIVE	*U mininu comi queishu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu*	1
SPELLINGS	*U mininu comi queishu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu*	2
	U mininu comi queishu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queishu	1
	U mininu comi queihxu de leiti de ovella y ey nun me queisu	1

Table 11: Chart of results for Q3 Eljas.

Question 3 had a total number of responses of one for the option *O menino come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo* (The child eats cheese made of sheep milk and I do not complain) while the second option *U mininu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu* was chosen 23 times. Some alternative options provided by participants included *U mininu comi queishu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu* (1), *U mininu comi queishu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu* (2), *U mininu comi queishu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queishu* (1), and lastly *U mininu comi queihxu de leiti de ovella y ey nun me queisu* (1).

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[32] Phonetic transcription of options offered:
- [o me 'ni no 'ko me 'kej ʒu ðe 'lej te ðe o 'βe ʎa e ej ˈnẽw me ke 'j so] (C)
- [u mi 'ni nu 'ko mi 'kej su ðe 'lej ti ðe o 'βe ʎa i ej num me 'kej su] (L)

[33] It may be noticeable how in Eljas' questionnaire the legacy option reads *mininu*, while in Valverde del Fresno it reads *criu* and in San Martín de Trevejo reads *dagalitu*; these terms are used interchangeably among Fala speakers to refer to a child, *dagalitu* being more common in San Martín de Trevejo, and *mininu* and *criu* more widespread used among Valverde del Fresno and Eljas' Fala speakers.

OPTIONS	*Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda presa (L)*	21
OFFERED[34]	*Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa (C)*	2
ALTERNATIVE	*Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda presa*	2
SPELLINGS	*Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda prexa*	1
	Vo cun presha a buscal a hilmana María purque anda presa	1
	Vo cun presa a buscal a hilmana María pulque anda presa	1
	Vo cun presa a buscal a irmana María purque anda presa	1

Table 12: Chart of results for Q4 Eljas.

Question 4 had a total number of responses of 21 for the first option *Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda presa* (I'm in a hurry going to look for sister María because she's imprisoned) and a total of two for the second option *Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa*. Alternative options provided by participants included *Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda presa* (2), *Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda prexa* (1), *Vo cun presha a buscal a hilmana María purque anda presa* (1), *Vo cun presa a buscal a hilmana María pulque anda presa* (1), and *Vo cun presa a buscal a irmana María purque anda presa* (1).

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[34] Phonetic transcription of options offered:
- [bo kum 'pre sa a βus 'kal a il 'ma na ma 'ri a 'pur ke 'an da 'pre sa] (L)
- [bo kom 'pres sa a βus 'kar a 'ir ma ma 'ri a 'pur ke 'an da 'pre sa] (C)

San Martín De Trevejo.

OPTIONS OFFERED[35]	*As pesoas du pisu de abaixu falan de corazós (L)*	15
	As pessoas de o piso d' abaixo falan de coraços (C)	0
ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS	*As persoas do pisu de abaixu falan de corazós*	4
	As perxoas do pixu de abaixu falan de corazos	1
	As pesoas do pisu de abaixu falan de corazos	2

Table 13: Chart of results for Q1 San Martín de Trevejo.

Question 1 had a total number of responses of 15 for the option *As pesoas du pisu de abaixu falan de corazós* while the second option *As pessoas d' abaixo falan de coraços* was chosen 0 times. However, there was a high number of alternative spellings offered by participants (15); some of the alternatives provided were *As persoas do pisu de abaixu falan de corazós* (4), *As perxoas do pixu de abaixu falan de corazos* (1), and *As pesoas do pisu de abaixu falan de corazos* (2) among others.

It is important to note that diacritics such as (´) were present in six of the alternatives and did not appear in others, but they were not taken into consideration for the aggregation and analysis of responses since the focus is more on the spelling in general rather than the use of diacritics.

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[35] Since the Corredera Plaza et al. option offered remained the same across questionnaires for the three towns, its phonetic transcription will not be reproduced from now on in these footnotes. Phonetic transcription of option offered: [as pe 'so az ðu 'pi su ðe a βa 'j su 'fa lan de ko ra 'θos] (L)

OPTIONS	*Á mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo (C)*	1
OFFERED[36]	*Hay mutus roblis, madroñus y pedras en o campu (L)*	25
ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS	*Hai mutus roblis, mairoñus i peiras en o campu*	2

Table 14: Chart of results for Q2 San Martín de Trevejo.

Question 2 had 1 participant choosing the first option *Á mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo* while the second option *Hay mutus roblis, madroñus y pedras en o campu* was preferred 25 times. The most popular alternative spelling given by participants was that of *Hai mutus roblis, mairoñus i peiras en o campu* with a total of two appearances.

OPTIONS	*O menino come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo (C)*	0
OFFERED[37]	*O dagalitu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu (L)*	26
ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS	*O dagalitu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu*	2
	O dagalitu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu	1
	O dagalitu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu	1

Table 15: Chart of results for Q3 San Martín de Trevejo.

Question 3 had no participants choosing the option *O menino come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo* while the second option *O dagalitu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu* was chosen 26 times. The alternative spellings provided include *O dagalitu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu* (2), *O dagalitu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu* (1) and *O dagalitu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu* (1).

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[36] Phonetic transcription of option offered: ['a i 'mu tus 'ř̥o βlis ma 'ðro ɲus i 'pe ðras en o 'kam pu] (L)
[37] Phonetic transcription of option offered: [o ða ɣa 'li tu 'ko mi 'kej su ðe 'lej ti ðe o 'βe ʎa i ej num me 'kej su] (L)

OPTIONS	Vo cun presa a buscal a hermana María purque anda presa (L)	16
OFFERED[38]	Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa (C)	2
ALTERNATIVE	Voy con presa a buscal a hermana María porque anda prexa	2
SPELLINGS	Voy con presa a buscar a hermana María porque anda presa	3
	Voy con presa a buscar a hermana María porque anda presa	4

Table 16: Chart of results for Q4 San Martín de Trevejo.

Question 4 had a total of 16 participants choosing V*o cun presa a buscal a hermana María purque anda presa,* and a total of two participants choosing the second option *Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa*. Alternative spellings provided by participants included *Voy con presa a buscal a hermana María porque anda prexa* (2), *Voy con presa a buscar a hermana María porque anda presa* (3), and *Voy con presa a buscar a hermana María porque anda presa* (4).

Valverde del Fresno.

OPTIONS	*As pesoas du pisu de abaju falan de corazons (L)*	*23*
OFFERED[39]	*As pessoas de o piso d' abaixo falan de coraços (C)*	*0*
ALTERNATIVE	*As pessoas du pisu de abaju falan de corazons*	*2*
SPELLINGS	*As pesoas du pisu d'abaju falan de corazons*	*2*

Table 17: Chart of results for Q1 Valverde del Fresno.

For Question 1 there was total of 23 responses for the option *As pesoas du pisu de abaju falan de corazons*, but option two *As pessoas d'abaixo falan de coraços* was chosen 0 times.

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[38] Phonetic transcription of option offered: [bo kum 'pre sa a βus 'kal a er 'ma na ma 'ri a 'pur ke 'an da 'pre sa] (L)
[39] Phonetic transcription of option offered: [as pe 'so az ðu 'pi su ðe a 'βa xu 'fa lan de ko 'raθ ons] (L)

Alternative spellings by participants included *As pessoas du pisu de abaju falan de corazons* (2) and *As pesoas du pisu d'abaju falan de corazons* (2).

OPTIONS OFFERED[40]	A mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo (C)	4
	Hay mutus roblis, madroñus y pedras nu campu (L)	13
ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS	Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras en u campu	3
	Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras nu campu	5
	Hay mutus carvalhos, madronheiras y pedras nu campu	2

Table 18: Chart of results for Q2 Valverde del Fresno.

Question 2 presents a total of four participants choosing *A mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo*, while the majority of participants chose *Hay mutus roblis, madroñus y pedras nu campu* with a total of 13 responses. The alternatives provided by participants include *Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras en u campu* (3), *Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras nu campu* (5) and *Hay mutus carvalhos, madronheiras y pedras nu campu* (2).

OPTIONS OFFERED[41]	O menino come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo (C)	1
	U criu comi queisu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queju (L)	17
ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS	U criu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y leiti y ei nun me queishu	1
	U criu comi queisu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queixu	2
	U mininu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei non me queisu	2

Table 19: Chart of results for Q3 Valverde del Fresno.

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[40] Phonetic transcription of option offered: ['a i 'mu tus 'ř o βlis ma 'ðro ɲus i 'pe ðraz nu 'kam pu] (L)
[41] Phonetic transcription of option offered: [u krju 'ko mi 'kej su ðe 'lej ti ðe o 'βe ya i ej num me 'ke xu] (L)

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Question 3 had one participant choosing the option *O menino come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo,* while the second option *U criu comi queisu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queju* was chosen 17 times. The alternative spellings include *U criu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y leiti y ei nun me queishu* (1), *U criu comi queisu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queixu* (2), and *U mininu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei non me queisu* (2) among others.

OPTIONS OFFERED[42]	*Voy cun presa a buscar a hermana María purque anda presa (L)*	20
	Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa (C)	2
ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS	*Voy con presa a buscar a hermana María porque anda presa*	1
	Voy cun presa a buscal a hermana María porque anda presa	3

Table 20: Chart of results for Q4 Valverde del Fresno.

For Question 4, there was a total of 20 participants who chose the option *Voy cun presa a buscar a hermana María purque anda presa,* while the second option *Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa* had only a total of two responses. Some of the alternative spellings include *Voy con presa a buscar a hermana María porque anda presa* (1) and *Voy cun presa a buscal a hermana María porque anda presa* (3).

Part 1: Analysis of Responses.

This part of the analysis will be divided in sections, each pertaining one of the three towns. First, data from part 1 will be analyzed and second, data from part 2.

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[42] Phonetic transcription of option offered: ['bo i kum 'pre sa a βus 'kar a er 'ma na ma 'ri a 'pur ke 'an da 'pre sa] (L)

Eljas.

There are a few observations made to the data collected in Eljas that deserve to be commented upon in Part 1 of the questionnaire. For question 1, all of the alternative spellings offered by participants resembled Valeš et al.'s proposal (2017) and the legacy orthographies with which it shares core features. Some of the alternative answers as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *As pesoas du pisu d'abaixu falan de corazós* (L) (23), were as follows:

As pesoas dabaixu falan de corazós. (1)

As pesoas du pishu de abaixu falan de corazós. (2)

As pesoas du pishu d'abaixu falan de corazós. (1)

As pesoas d'abaixo falan de corazós. (1)

As pesoas du pisu de abaixu falan de corazós. (1)

While most of the words in the sentence were left the same as the most popular selection of Valeš et al.'s proposal (2017), there is one specific section in which variation was condensed: *d'abaisu* (of downstairs); participants kept the contraction *dabaixu*, producing a new spelling with an open vowel [a] instead of a mid-vowel [e] between *de* and *abaixu* without indicating that it was a contraction. Other participants may have also intended to produce this same shortening but substituted the open vowel [a] for the diacritic <'>, marking that way the shortening formed by casual speech when producing the words *de* and *abaixu* next to each other. While we could assume the participants decided to use the diacritic <'> mimicking what was suggested to them in the questionnaire as one of the options, the apostrophe use is not approved in Valeš et al.'s orthography proposal; however, the rest of the words in the alternative spellings provided do follow the orthography proposal. We can observe in these alternative options that participants tried the best they could to produce a phonographic spelling, assigning a sound to each graph; it is also

interesting to note that although most alternative spellings contain roughly the same characters, it is the same sections and sounds that keep being reinterpreted and attempted to be represented. Moreover, some participants omitted the section *du pisu* but no theoretical observation has been made about this since the addition or lack thereof of the section *du pisu* does not change the overall meaning of the sentence; I hypothesize this could simply have been due to participants being focused on interpreting and re-interpreting the spelling of the rest of the sentence. Another section that deserves attention is the word *pisu* (apartment). Some participants provided the alternative spelling *pishu*, representing through <sh> Fala's emblematic sound [ʒ]. This alternative as provided by participants also helps shed some light on participants' orthographic attitudes and preferences that seem to be present in the other two towns as well. Nonetheless, question 1 in Eljas shows overall preference for the (L) option.

For question 2 in Eljas, the only alternative spelling given by participants as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras in u campu* (L) (25), was as follows:

Hay mutus calvallus, madroñeiras y pedras in u campu. (2)

This interpretation resembles a Spanish phonographic representation as well as Spanish orthography; at the same time, this interpretation includes the lateralization of the word *calvallus* (oak trees) in contrast to the Spanish word *roble*. Lateralization and rhotacization of certain words is common in certain areas of the Autonomous Community of Extremadura however, the reasons behind these phonetical processes have not been investigated. The processes of lateralization and rhotacization in spelling and speech should be considered in future research.

For question 3 in Eljas, some of the alternative options given by participants as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *U mininu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu* (L) (23), were as follows:

U mininu comi queishu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu. (1)

U mininu comi queishu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu. (2)

U mininu comi queishu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queishu. (1)

U mininu comi queihxu de leiti de ovella y ey nun me queisu. (1)

These alternative spellings do not differ in most characters; the sections that seem to be inconsistent across are the words *queisu* (cheese), *ovella* (sheep), and *queisu* (complain). Only one participant differed in spelling for the word 'sheep' and interpreted it as *oveya*. The two spellings possible were either *ovella* or *oveya*. On the one hand, while both graphs <ll> and <y> in Spanish used to differentiate between the sounds [ʎ] and [j] respectively, nowadays peninsular Spanish is considered *yeista*, in that both graphs are used to produce the same sound [j]. On the other hand, the Portuguese spelling includes <lh> to produce the sound [ʎ]. While no participant chose the Portuguese-resembling spelling that was proposed as one of the two initial options available, they seem to have been debating between using <ll> or <y>. We could attribute these doubts in regard to graphs and sounds to represent the same word through the two spellings to the continuous contact between Fala and Spanish. The other section that differed in spelling was that of *queisu* (cheese); while some participants decided to keep it as *queisu*, some other participants felt the need to mark sonorization of the <s> as [ʒ] by using different consonants. One participant used the grapheme <x> which, interestingly enough was used on another occasion in question 4 to represent the same sound [ʒ]. Another participant decided to represent this sonorization using the cluster <sh> which also appeared in question 4 to represent the word *presa* (hurry) by one of the

alternative spellings. The orthographical proposal by Valeš et al. respecting legacy notions of the language states that the graphs <sh>, <s>, <x> and <xh> can be used interchangeably since they represent the same sound [ʒ] and so, all participants that offered alternative spellings may have been aware of it since they offered examples with graphs <sh>, <s>, <x> and <xh>; the only exception would be the last alternative spelling *U mininu comi queihxu de leiti de ovella y ey nun me queisu* in which the word 'cheese' is spelled as *queihxu*, something that could be also looked at as a personal understanding and representation of the sounds of Fala by the speaker. It is worth noting that the sound [ʒ] does not exist in Spanish, it being one of the emblematic sounds of Fala. So, while Eljas respondents were not entirely uneasy with some Spanish-resembling spellings, they clearly rejected the Portuguese-resembling option.

For question 4 in Eljas, some of the alternative spellings as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda presa* (L) (21), were as follows:

Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda presa. (2)

Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda prexa. (1)

Vo cun presha a buscal a hilmana María purque anda presa. (1)

Vo cun presa a buscal a hilmana María pulque anda presa. (1)

Vo cun presa a buscal a irmana María purque anda presa. (1)

All the alternative options given for this question differed very little in spelling; the changes included adding <sh> to the word *presa* (hurry) in order to show the sonorization of <s> as [ʒ] in the second syllable of the word; an addition of muted <h> or lack thereof at the beginning of the word *ilmana* (sister); lateralization of the word *purque* (because) in two occasions and lastly, the use of <x> in the word *presa* (imprisoned) probably to show sonorization of <s> to differentiate it

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from the word *presa* (hurry). Interestingly enough, only the word 'imprisoned' has [s] sound in its second syllable, the word 'hurry' does not. The fact that the participant who gave the third alternate interpreted sounds differently for the words 'imprisoned' and 'hurry' could be indicative of two things; either the participant who chose to represent sonorization in the word 'hurry' tried to represent sounds differently and misplaced the representation of both <s> and <sh> sounds or simply, the participant was not aware of the differences in interpretation that the cluster <sh> versus <s> would have and how they could modify the word's meaning, and wanted to mark the difference in pronunciation between 'hurry' and 'imprisoned' nevertheless. However, the orthographic proposal by Valeš et al. (2017) as we have seen before, states that graphs <sh>, <s>, <x>, and <xh> are equivalent and could be used indistinctively so participants could have been doing this consciously as well.

San Martín de Trevejo.

For Question 1 in the case of San Martín de Trevejo, almost all alternative spellings offered resembled the legacy orthography, and thus the Valeš et al. (2017) orthography inspired by legacy notions. Here are some examples as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *As pesoas du pisu de abaixu falan de corazós* (L) (15):

As persoas do pisu de abaixu falan de corazós. (4)

As perxoas do pixu de abaixu falan de corazos. (1)

As pesoas do pisu de abaixu falan de corazós. (2)

As persoas de o pixu de abaisu falan de corazos. (1)

As we can see, out of those 15 instances, 14 alternative spellings included the word *persoas* (people) instead of the *pesoas* that was provided. Because in Spanish, the word for 'people' is *personas*, it is likely that Spanish, the superstrate language, influenced Fala when including the

consonant <r> in the first syllable of the word *persoas*. However, this has not been confirmed; it could also be a possibility that the variety of Fala present in San Martín de Trevejo has higher variation levels in the spellings of certain words reflecting phonological variation, since some participants still recognized the word *pesoas* as the correct one between the two that they were provided. This high variation rates in spelling and phonology are to be understood as natural and inevitable, given that the language has not historically been written. I will comment on this finding later on in the analysis when comparing the three ways of speaking in each town and the internal variation they present. When it comes to the word *pisu* (apartment) we can see that the alternative spellings offer some insight into participants' preferences as well; while in Eljas some participants represented Fala's emblematic sound [z] through the use of <sh> it seems that in San Martín de Trevejo, the use of the grapheme <x> is more widespread for this purpose.

Moreover, in the spelling of the word *pesoas/persoas* (people) we also find variation in the spelling of the consonant sound [s], with some participants providing the grapheme <s>, and one providing <x>. This phenomenon occurs in the words *pisu/pixu* (apartment) and *abaisu/abaixu* (downstairs) as well. While the use of one grapheme such as <x> seems consistent in the example *As perxoas do pixu de abaixu falan de corazos* to represent the sound [s], the other alternatives provided by participants only present the grapheme <x> in one or two of the three words that could include it (see 'people', 'apartment', and 'downstairs'). We could conclude that the use of different graphs to represent the same sound in these examples could be either an effort to provide a stability in the use of one grapheme for representing one sound (hence, *As perxoas do pixu de abaixu falan de corazos*) or a sense of insecurity about when to use each grapheme and what they represent, since each alternative spelling provided by participants (a total of 15) had similar variation. In addition, variation could be interpreted as trying to make Fala look as different as possible from

Spanish, since the Spanish equivalents would be *perxoas – personas*, *pixu – piso*, and *abaixu – abajo*.

The next observable variation worth noting appears in the use of the preposition *de* (of) along with the article *u/o* (the). The preposition when followed by the article u/o, tends to be shortened in casual speech to *du/do* (*de + u/o*). Participants wrote *do* instead of *du* in four occasions while also *de o* was provided in only one instance. While all of them mean the same (of/ of the), it is interesting to observe how some participants decided to shorten the preposition and article *de o* to *du/do* as it would be in casual speech and some decided to inverse that shortening and kept it as *de o*. This could be interpreted as a spelling or syntactical preference, but no further observations have been made about this phenomenon. However, with regards to the natural shortening of certain expressions, there was only one instance in which a participant provided the expression *d'abaixu* (of downstairs) instead of *de abaixu*. Going back to the analysis of Eljas' responses, this was a very common phenomenon in the data collected there and I previously mentioned that the use of apostrophe is not recognized in Valeš et al. (2017). Furthermore, the word *abaixu* also had some variation; the word was spelled *abaisu* in three occasions while spelled *abaixu* in 12 occasions. This could be interpreted in the following manner: either 1) participants spelled *abaixu* resembling what they were given in the two initial options or, 2) they decided to spell it as *abaisu* as means of resistance to the provided/proposed spelling in their questionnaire.

Finally, it was observed that diacritics such as (´) were present in six of the alternatives, however variation on diacritics would extend the chapter too greatly and thus they are left for future analysis.

Question 2 in San Martín de Trevejo had very little variation as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *Hay mutus roblis[43], madroñus y pedras en o campu* (L) (25). Two noticeable changes worth mentioning were that there was a lot of variation in the use of *carvallus* (oak trees); some participants used the same word that was provided in the initial two sentences they could choose from (*roblis*), while others wrote *carballus* and even *carvalhos*. While the word *robli* resembles more that of the Spanish *roble* and we could assume once again this could be superstrate influence of Spanish over *Mañegu*, further investigation would be needed to confirm this.

Another change in spelling worth noting is that all alternative spellings provided the word *peiras* for 'stones' instead of the provided *pedras*. I have also observed this variation in other words while talking to participants, but there is no written proof of it. Again, this could be a case for future research in the matters of lexical variation and/or historical variation of lexicon within Fala. Lastly, three participants provided the alternative spelling *Ai mutus carvalhos, madronheiras i peiras en o campu* which presents two interesting spelling changes; first, the participants used the Portuguese cluster <lh> to represent the sound [ʎ], something that appears in Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal (2015). Second, the participants also chose to use the grapheme <i> for the conjunction 'and' instead of <y>, while also spelling 'there is/are' as *ai* instead of *Hai*. While this spelling is unique in that no other participant has suggested it out of 30 participants in the body of data analyzed for San Martín de Trevejo, this could also be interpreted as resistance to the Spanish spelling influencing Fala. Bucholtz and Hall point out that "code choice serves to separate and differentiate the self from a negatively evaluated other" (2008, p. 159) and thus, participants from not only San Martín de Trevejo but the three towns, may have consciously created distinction in their provided alternatives in order to emphasize their identities and suppress the similarities with

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[43] Please note this was provided by the anonymous volunteer that translated the questionnaire to San Martín de Trevejo's variety, hence the difference in lexical items among the two options offered.

the superstrate language that would prevent them from constructing difference. In this specific case, participants created difference through spelling, even though both words are pronounced identically in both languages. Bucholtz and Hall take the term distinction from the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984) whose conceptualization was concerned with understanding social class differences of the bourgeoisie (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008), and broaden it in order to understand processes of social differentiation. Distinction becomes of relevance in the work hereby explored in that it helps understanding the sociocultural implications of participants' responses. Bucholtz and Hall claim that differentiation is a highly visible process (2010, p. 24), which becomes evident through the multiple alternative spelling representations of Fala that participants provided. The process of differentiation in this case is brought forward subconsciously in those questionnaire responses that provided alternative spellings that greatly differed visually from those resembling Portuguese. Allowing for similarities between Fala, or in other words the language that represents participants' identity, and Portuguese, or the language that participants seem to be trying to distance from, could be interpreted as willingness to embrace a Portuguese-resembling spelling, something participants seemed to be avoiding in most cases.

Furthermore, as we will see in the analysis of Part 2 of the questionnaire, there have been instances in which participants mentioned "it is a shame that parents speak Castilian to their kids" and so, both instances could be taken as signs of resistance in the participants' perception of language dominance and usage. On the other hand, participants who chose the spelling including <i> may have been aware of Valeš et al.'s orthography proposal, in which authors specify that <i> is to be used as conjunction in Eljas and San Martín de Trevejo, while <e> is used in Valverde del Fresno (2017, p. 10).

For question 3 in San Martín de Trevejo, these are the alternative spellings that participants provided as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *O dagalitu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu* (L) (26):

O dagalitu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu. (2)

O dagalitu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu. (1)

O dagalitu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu. (1)

There was a prominent use of the grapheme <x> in the word *queisu* (cheese) in the alternative spellings; the grapheme appeared in three out of the total of four times in which participants provided alternative spellings. Furthermore, two participants used the grapheme <x> for the words *queisu* (cheese) and *queisu* (complain), but the other two participants used them in only one of the words. We could conclude that this may have been done in order to distinguish between both words. The words 'cheese' and 'complain' in Fala could indeed be considered a minimal pair, since they only differ in one phoneme; 'cheese' is pronounced [kejzu] while 'complain' is pronounced [kejsu]. This difference in pronunciation is what most likely made participants try to use a different grapheme in each of the words, so as to compensate for the differences in the pronunciation. In the least popular option provided that resembled Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal (2015), both words 'complain', and 'cheese' are spelled differently according to the rules specified in the proposal. On the most popular option provided however, resembling legacy notions and the guidelines in Valeš et al.'s proposal (2017), both words are spelled in the same way, because both words are a minimal pair. In Valeš et al.'s proposal, the grapheme <s> represents the phoneme [s], while the graphemes ṡ / sh / s can represent the phoneme [z]. Given that participants may not have been aware of Valeš et al.'s proposal but recognized the Portuguese-resembling spelling of the option representing Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal, they

may have consciously chosen the option that best represented their individual understanding of what those Fala lexical items should look like in written form. In addition, the words 'imprisoned' and 'hurry' are *presa* and *prisa* respectively in Spanish, so the superstrate language could have been, once more, of influence in participants' choices.

Lastly, with regards to question 4 in San Martín de Trevejo, these are some of the significant alternative spellings provided by participants as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *Vo cun presa a buscal a hermana María purque anda presa* (L) (16):

Voy con presa a buscar a hermana María porque anda presa. (4)

Voy con presa a buscal a hermana María porque anda presa. (3)

Voy con presa a buscal a hermana María porque anda prexa. (2)

Voy cun presa a buscal a hermana María purque anda presa. (1)

Voi cum prexa a buscar a ermana María purque anda prexa. (1)

There are several observable changes in these alternative spellings. First, we can look at how the word *con* (with) is spelled. This word was spelled with the grapheme <o> most times, and it seems to be a prevalent form among the alternative spellings, with 10 instances out of 12. Some other forms such as *cun*, like the originally provided or *cum* in one instance, were not as widely used among participants. A similar change can be observed in the word *porque* (because). This word also included a change of the graphemes <o> for <u> which may reflect the phonetic variation between [o] and [u]. Participants used *porque* in 10 instances out of 12, while 16 participants chose *purque* as it appeared in one of the original sentences provided in the questionnaire. The similarity in the number of participants that chose each of these can be interpreted in two different ways; either participants chose either because it resembles the way they use language at the phonological level, or they chose either as a form of resistance to

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Portuguesization, or conversely accommodation to Spanish, given that the equivalent word in Portuguese and in Spanish is *porque*, spelled the same but pronounced differently. On that same line, the word *cun* in Spanish is *con*, and in Portuguese *com*, leading me to believe that participants that chose either *con* or *cun*, may have had Spanish as an influence in their choice, while the only participant who decided to represent 'with' through the use of *cum*, may have been trying to represent a Portuguese influence over Fala. No further conclusions have been made with regards to this since additional samples would be needed in order to prove either of those claims.

Furthermore, the word *buscar* (to look for) also seemed to be one of the words with the highest percentage of variation at the sentence level. This word reflected lateralization (i.e., *buscal*) in seven out of the total 12 alternative spellings provided by participants. Once again, this phenomenon seems to be present in both San Martín de Trevejo and Eljas for some local residents' speech (as I have impressionistically noted) and for participants' written representation of the language (as obtained in this survey). This indicates that future research should focus on the matter as to discover the reasons why this is part of their speech and written representation of the language. However, this phenomenon can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, the phenomenon does not necessarily mean it is related to language ideologies; it could simply reflect what participants were given as the original spellings in the two options provided, which obtained a total of 16 of the 30 responses. On the other hand, the phenomenon could be related to language ideologies if participants perceive lateralization as emblematic of Fala speakers and a characteristic of a 'purer' version of the language not affected by the superstrate effect of Spanish.

Valverde del Fresno.

In the case of Valverde del Fresno, once again the alternative spellings offered by participants resembled Valeš et al.'s orthography (2017) as well as legacy understandings. Here

are all the alternative spellings provided for question 1 as opposed to the most popular prewritten

choice of *As pesoas du pisu de abaju falan de corazons* (L) (23):

As pessoas du pisu de abaju falan de corazons (2)

As pesoas du pisu d'abaju falan de corazons. (2)

As pesoas d'abaju falan de corazós. (1)

As pesoas dabaju falan de corazons. (1)

It is interesting to note how in two occasions, the word *pesoas* (persons) appeared with a

double <s>. This could be interpreted in two different ways; participants were provided the word

pesoas spelled with <s> in the first option and <ss> in the second option. It could be the case that

some of the participants, being unsure about the spelling, decided to go with the spelling that they

thought was more accurate. On the other hand, participants could have simply decided to use <ss>

to differ from the Spanish resembling spelling, but not necessarily advocating for a Portuguese

resembling spelling. Nonetheless this cannot be proved and are simply interpretations of the data

collected.

Another important aspect of the alternative spellings worth noting is the fact that

participants shortened *de abaju* to *d'abaju* (from downstairs). As we can see, some of the

alternative spellings provided were *de abaju* separated and *d'abaju* shortened, perhaps using the

latter trying to resemble spoken language. In addition, no variation has been observed in the

representation of the word *pisu* (apartment) among the alternative spellings from Valverde del

Fresno since the sound [z] is not applicable to the word *pisu* in Valverde del Fresno's Fala variant.

Lastly, some participants differed in the use of diacritics on the word *corazons* (hearts), but

no further observations have been made with regards to this.

In Valverde del Fresno, question 2 presented a higher number of alternative responses, with a total of 13. The most popular alternatives as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *Hay mutus roblis, madroñus y pedras nu campu* (L) (13) were as follows:

Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras en u campu. (3)

Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras nu campu. (5)

Hay mutus carvalhos, madronheiras y pedras nu campu. (2)

With regards to these responses, there were three important spelling differences to note. First, participants chose *carvallus* or the variation *carvalhos* (oak tree) in most of the alternative spellings (12 out of 13) and even though the spelling *carvalhos* resembles that of Portuguese with its use of <lh> to represent the sound [ʎ], it is hypothesized that participants used the mid-vowel [o] in order to concord with the use of the Portuguese grapheme <lh>. This could have also been done to give Fala a Portuguese appearance visually. Participants could have used [u] instead, since the pronunciation of the lexical item in Fala is [kar ˈβa ʎw] and not [karˈβa ʎo] in all three variants. Secondly, while this would not affect the meaning of the overall sentence, there was inconsistency with regards to the use of shortened form *nu* for the conjunction *en u* (in the). Lastly, participants also showed inconsistency in the use of the word *madroñeiras* (strawberry trees) versus *madroñus* (fruit from strawberry tree); to refer to the shrub or tree, the word *madroñeiras* is traditionally used, while *madroñus* is used in place of strawberries. In contrast with Spanish, the strawberry tree and its fruit are translated as *madroño*, a masculine noun, just as in Portuguese *medronho*. It is interesting to note the change in gender for the lexical item equivalent of strawberry trees in Fala, where a feminine plural noun *madroñeiras* is used by some participants.

For question 3 in Valverde del Fresno, the number of alternative spellings provided by participants was also noticeably high; there was a total of 12 alternative responses as opposed to

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the most popular prewritten choice of *U criu comi queisu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queju* (L) (17), in which variation was focused on the words *criu/mininu* (child) and *queixu* (complain). In these responses, there seemed to be variation in the use of the word 'child'; while some people decided to use the provided term *criu*, there were three instances in which participants used the word *mininu*. Both terms are common to refer to 'child' in all three variants of Fala, so differences are not of much importance. However, it is noteworthy to say that, even though some participants used the term *mininu*, they avoided the Portuguese resembling spelling provided *menino*. It could be concluded that participants may have avoided the spelling *menino* for being too Portuguese resembling, or even that participants avoided the word *mininu* completely, so as to steer away from the similar Portuguese term *menino*. Furthermore, the word *mininu* [mi 'ni nu] is an accurate phonetic representation of how the word is pronounced by any Fala speaker, which differs greatly from the preferred term in Spanish *niño*.

On a second note, it was interesting to observe the fact that most alternative responses offered the word 'complain' as *queixu* with some degree of variation from the offered spellings. Even though the word provided was *queixo* for the Portuguese spelling, eight of the alternative responses used the word *queixu* mixing both original lexical items suggested. This phenomenon also appeared in the other two towns as we have seen, so the influence for participants to offer such spelling may have some common ground in the notion of Fala's visual appearance that speakers of the three towns share. Some of the alternative spellings provided by participants were as follows:

U criu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queixu. (1)

U criu comi queixu de leiti de ovella y leiti y ei nun me queishu. (1)

U criu comi queixu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queixu. (1)

U criu comi queisu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queisu. (1)

Lastly, for question 4 in Valverde del Fresno, participants provided only eight alternative spellings as opposed to the most popular prewritten choice of *Voy cun presa a buscar a hermana María purque anda presa* (L) (20), which compared to previous questions, was a relatively small number. Just as in the results obtained from San Martín de Trevejo, variation focused on *cun* instead of *con* (with) in three of the eight occasions and lateralization in the word *buscal* instead of *buscar* (search, look for), and the use or lack thereof of <i> in the word *voy* (to go). Here are all of the alternative spellings provided:

Voy con presa a buscar a hermana María porque anda presa. (1)

Voy con presa a buscal a hermana María porque esta presa. (2)

Voy cun presa a buscal a hermana María porque anda presa. (3)

Voi con presa a buscal a hermana María porque anda presa. (1)

Vo liseira a por miña hermana questa presa. (1)

I would like to note that most of these alternative spellings provided by participants are very close to the provided *Voy cun presa a buscar a hermana María purque anda presa* in the original sample sentences of the questionnaire which was picked 20 times over *Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa* picked only two times, making it clear that, once again, participants did not prefer the Portuguese resembling spelling.

Part 2: Questionnaire Responses.

The second part of the questionnaire included four questions in which participants had to agree or disagree and explain why. Questions involved issues related to orthographic preferences, the inclusion of Fala in education, preferences of usage of Fala in their daily lives and recommendations to learn Fala for someone interested in it. The results of this part of data

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collection have been translated as well as the questions in order to provide the non-Fala-speaking reader with an understandable version of the participant's preferences.

The results for each of these questions across the three towns are as follows:

Question 1 read "Should Fala have a unified spelling system? In other words, do you think *Valverdeiru*, *Lagarteiru* and *Mañegu* should be written in the same way?"[44]. In Eljas, out of 29 participants, eight agreed with having a unified spelling system. Explanation for this included[45] "it should be unified but be written differently" (3)[46], and "I think so, because that way it won't be lost" (1). On the other hand, 19 participants disagreed, claiming in some cases that "[it] shouldn't be unified, we speak differently" (4), "Unifying it would be a utopia, we have differences among the three variants that we shouldn't give up to unify Fala" (1), and in some cases participants even went as far as to say "Not unified, to each their own" (4), or "No, they have different words" (4). One of the responses was left blank and therefore, counted as N/A.

In the case of San Martín de Trevejo, out of 30 participants, 14 agreed with having a unified spelling system. Some of the reasons participants gave were "but it would be difficult because each town has its own vocabulary" (1), which in itself shows doubt that a unified spelling could be the answer. Other participants responded with statements such as "we should all write the same way" (1), and "yes, but respecting the differences" (8). The remaining 16 responses disagreed, and some participants claimed that it should not be done "because it is spoken differently" (8), and "because they are different, and they should stay different" (1).

For Valverde del Fresno, out of 30 responses, four agreed in that there should be a unified spelling system, while 26 disagreed. Those who agreed did not provide specific reasons on which

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[44] All translations present in this chapter are my own.
[45] These responses represent free-response statements by participants.
[46] Responses were grouped when almost identical.

to base their opinion. However, there was a strong feeling of general disagreement with this question; some of the participants who disagreed claimed that "it should never happen; each is very different with regards to phonemes and words so it would be ridiculous" (1) that "no, they're not the same" (5) and that "no, because each town has its own ways of saying things" (3).

Question 2 read "Should schools teach children to write in Fala?". In the case of Eljas, out of 29 responses, the clear majority agreed, with a total of 27 positive responses. Some of the reasons participants gave included "Yes, just like its done with Catalan, Galician, etc." (1), "Yes, speaking and writing" (1), "Yes, that way it won't be lost" (3), and "Yes, that would be a better option than Portuguese" (1). This response also becomes relevant given the fact that Portuguese has been taught as a second language at primary schools near the border with Portugal for a few years now. The participant may have been expressing discontent in this regard, but no definite conclusion can be reached given the lack of elaboration by the participant following this response. Disagreement was also found in the responses of two participants. The reasons they gave included "It's better that they teach English, Fala is only useful at a local level" (1), and "First the older ones have to learn it properly to be able to teach it" (1).

For San Martín de Trevejo, out of 30 responses, 26 agreed in that it should be taught in school. Participants claimed that "Fala wouldn't be lost" (6) that way, and that they should teach how to "write and speak it since a lot of kids already speak Castilian,[47]" (2) even going on to say that "it is a shame that even parents who are natives of this town are talking to their kids in Castilian" (1). On the other hand, there were four negative responses among which participants

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[47] Participants used the word 'Castilian' to refer to peninsular Spanish; the reason why they mention Castilian Spanish instead of any other variant, or instead of referring to it as simply Spanish, is due to the great influence of Castilian Spanish in media as it is received among the three towns. Additionally, the three towns have had good relationships with neighboring towns on the other side of the border with Castilla y León for decades, prompting this the influence of Castilian Spanish specifically over Fala speakers.

stated that it would not be a good idea since "teachers would have to be the ones who learn it first" (1); teachers in the primary school and secondary school in the area most times come from outside and are Spanish speakers; it is only during prolonged stay in one of the three towns that these teachers start learning and understanding Fala, by being immersed in its usage. One participant also stated, "not in Fala, in *Valverdeiru*, *Lagarteiru* and *Mañegu*". Another participant claimed that "even though we don't want Fala to be lost, we must recognize that outside of here it won't be useful for their studies, [Fala] won't be necessary, regardless if we like it or not" (1). Lastly, another participant claimed that "I don't think it's necessary since it's always been transmitted from parents to kids".

Valverde del Fresno had a total of 30 responses as well; out of these, 27 agreed that implementing Fala in schools should be an option, while three participants disagreed. Some of the reasons by those who agreed included "it would be nice, but [make it] optional" (1), "of course, exchange one hour of art or music for one hour of Fala, since we learn it from the very beginning" (1), and "yes, that way it won't be lost" (8). On the other hand, those who disagreed claimed that "I don't think it's necessary, they already learn at home" (1), and "no, it's a 'mother' tongue, you only speak it" (1). The ambiguous nature of this last statement deserves attention; the participant may have meant that people could simply speak Fala without explicit instruction, because of its oral tradition, however, the participant may have also meant that people only speak it and do not write it, at least not traditionally. The original statement does not provide further insight, as the translation is literal, and the participant did not elaborate on their response.

Question 3 was "Do you text or use any social media by means of Fala? Do you write to the people you know from your town in Fala?". For this question in Eljas, there was a total of 23 affirmative responses, although one of those responses counted as affirmative was slightly

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ambiguous. The reason being that the respondent explained "Yes, but sometimes it's complicated because I have the feeling people just write as they want" (1). The total of negative responses was five. One of the participants explained that "No, we don't have enough linguistic knowledge about it so as to write it" (1). Lastly, one of the responses was not included either in the affirmative or negative category because the participant responded with "Depends" (1).

For San Martín de Trevejo, there was a total of 25 affirmative responses, with only five negative responses. These affirmative responses did not include reasoning but rather emphatic affirmation such as "yes, always" in eight cases. Furthermore, the only reason provided for a negative response was because the participant "did not use social media" (1).

In the case of Valverde del Fresno, the affirmative responses added to a total of 26, with only four negative responses. Some of the participants who agreed, explained that "only with people from my town" (1) or that they do it "on Facebook in the pages created for the people of Valverde" (1), and "because they like it and it's a good way to preserve it" (1). Those who disagreed did not give any explanation or reasoning for their response.

Question 4 was "What can you recommend for people who want to read something in Fala?". The results in Eljas showed a total of 10 responses that recommended reading the gazette *Anduriña*, which is published every six months in the town of Eljas. Another eight responses recommended reading in general but did not specify any texts. Two participants recommended listening carefully when hearing someone else speak as a method to learn vocabulary. Five participants claimed that anybody who wanted to learn to read it (Fala) had to learn how to speak it first. Two participants recommended visiting the town of Eljas. One participant wrote "With a little bit of effort they'll be able to do whatever they want" and lastly, a response was left out of categorization because the respondent wrote "I don't know".

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The results for San Martín de Trevejo also showed a total of three recommendations for reading the gazette *Anduriña* from Eljas. Another three participants recommended reading the New Testament, which has also been translated to Fala recently. Moreover, six participants recommended reading books that had been translated to Fala in general. Two of the most interesting responses given by participants were those of "Listen to old stories and anecdotes from elders" and "talk to native people from the town" which appeared in four occasions. These responses are of an interesting nature because they show participants' belief in oral transmission, the value of elder traditions and stories, and their pedagogical value.

Finally, the results for Valverde del Fresno also showed two recommendations for reading the gazette *Anduriña*, with two additional recommendations for reading texts in general that had been written in Fala. Five participants also recommended reading the translated version of *The Little Prince*[48] as well as reading a text called *Bosadega* (2). The latter could not be identified as an actual textual source and so, further investigation is needed.

Part 2: Analysis of Responses.

Secondly, Part 2 also compiled responses from participants that deserve consideration.

For question 1 "Should Fala have a unified spelling system? In other words, do you think *Valverdeiru*, *Lagarteiru* and *Mañegu* should be written in the same way?", while this question could be somewhat interpreted in two ways (one written lexical form for the three varieties regardless of local differences in pronunciation, or one phoneme interpreted the same way for the three varieties, even if this led to different lexical spellings where pronunciation varied) my intention was to make the question as simple as possible for participants without the inclusion of

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[48] Original text by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. No information of the translated version has been found.

linguistic terminology. Some of the responses in Eljas agreed in that a unification of Fala is necessary for the enhancement of the language however, while some participants said Fala's written code in the three towns should be unified, they said that spelling should be different. This shows that a general desire for preserving the language exists, but that speakers are not willing to disregard internal variation or to sacrifice it by any means.

In the case of San Martín de Trevejo, results for these questions were balanced; out of the 30 participants, 14 agreed to a unified spelling system by giving reasons such as "but it would be difficult because each town has its own vocabulary" (1), "yes, but respecting the differences" (8), which can lead us to believe San Martín de Trevejo residents are aware that unifying a spelling system could be beneficial, as long as their linguistic identities are respected. It seems that participants from both Eljas and San Martín de Trevejo are more alike than different in that they want uniformity in regard to language conventions that still allow for local differences to be preserved. Jaffe calls this phenomenon *polynomie* following Corsican linguist Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi (1989). Plural ideologies about the same language call for a respect of differences while sharing a common ground, but *polynomie* is to be understood as a linguistic ideological position that "calls into question dominant ideological perspectives on standardization and normalization (Jaffe, 2020, p. 67). In this case, participants' responses reflect a wish for internal variation to be respected; rather than imposing a single norm, there could be shared conventions to represent the three varieties. This would be what Jaffe calls a polynomic orthography (Jaffe, 2020).

The remaining 16 responses disagreed, and some participants claimed that it should not be done "because it is spoken differently" (8), and "because they are different, and they should stay different" (1). Once again, the ambiguity of the question may have been the reason why these responses were contradictory. In the end, they are proof that both positive and negative responses

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along with their elaborations show a desire to preserve the language and find means through which this can be achieved, so as long as the three variants of the language are preserved.

For Valverde del Fresno, responses were mostly negative (26) with only four positives. However, those who responded positively did not provide an elaboration to their response. The strong negative response to this question was backed by statements such as "it should never happen; each is very different with regards to phonemes and words so it would be ridiculous" (1) that "no, they're not the same" (5) and that "no, because each town has its own ways of saying things [differently]" (3), which leads me to conclude they are against a system that would erase internal variation of the language and understandably so, since this would erase their own individual identities as speakers of the language.

The ambiguity of responses present in each town could be a result of the question in itself; however, they should not be taken lightly. These responses are of special importance for those in process of developing an orthography that adapts to Fala in the three towns. If Fala was to be unified in its spelling this would imply that the way certain words that are read/pronounced differently in each Fala variant would be disregarded and one of the variants would have to take the place of reference for the other two. This would create a hierarchy among the language variants that could potentially create conflict between their speakers, and the standardization of the language may be perceived as privileging some speakers of a dialect over others (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 102). An example of internal variation would be the word 'skin'; in *Valverdeiru* it translates to *pillica* [pi.ˈji.ka], in *Lagarteiru* to *peleixha* [pe.ˈlej.ʒa], and in *Mañegu* to *peleixa* [pe.ˈlej.ʒa]. While these differences are acknowledged and so far, addressed in Valeš et al.'s proposal (2017), any proposed orthographical reform for Fala and its written code should not pose a threat to the language and its successful maintenance.

The survey established that Corredera Plaza et al's variants were preferred in only a total of 15 times accumulated among the three towns, or 4.3% of all 344 possible cases. In Eljas, there were a total of 116 times when participants could have chosen Corredera Plaza's orthography as written (29 respondents x 4 survey items = 116 choices). They did so in only 5 of them, representing 4.3% of all possible cases. In contrast, the legacy orthography (which Valeš's proposed orthography more closely resembles) was chosen 92 times in Eljas or in 79.3% of all possible cases. In the remaining 19 cases, 16.4% participants chose to write an alternative option.

In San Martín de Trevejo, there were a total of 120 times when participants could have chosen Corredera Plaza's orthography as written (30 respondents x 4 survey items = 120 choices[49]). They did so in only 3 of them, representing 2.5% of all possible cases. The legacy orthography was chosen 82 times in San Martín de Trevejo, or in 68.3% of all possible cases. In the remaining 35 cases, 29.1% participants chose to write an alternative option.

Lastly, in Valverde del Fresno, there were a total of 108 times when participants could have chosen Corredera Plaza's orthography as written (28 respondents x 4 survey items = 108 choices). They did so in only 7 of them, representing 6.4% of all possible cases. In this case, the legacy orthography was chosen 73 times in Valverde del Fresno, or in 67.5% of all possible cases. In the remaining 28 cases, 25.9% participants chose to write an alternative option.

What is proposed by Corredera Plaza et al. (2015) does not respect internal variation or legacy pre-conceptions of the language in written form and therefore, seems to be disapproved by most native speakers from all three towns. Evidence of this can be found in participant responses. In fact, one of Corredera Plaza et al.'s main focuses is to demonstrate the relationship between Fala and Portuguese. However, González Salgado already advises that, "El empecinamiento en

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[49] Please note that 6 of these responses were not taken into consideration only in Q1 for analytical purposes. See page 135 for more details.

seguir intentando demostrar un origen u otro no supone un avance en la investigación, sino un estancamiento." [The stubbornness in keep trying to prove one origin or another does not suppose any advances in research, but a stagnation] (González Salgado, 2009a, p. 68).[50]

For question 3 "Do you text or use any social media in Fala? Do you text or write people you know from your hometown using Fala?" Eljas had a total of 23 affirmative responses, although one of those responses considered affirmative was slightly ambiguous. The respondent explained "Yes, but sometimes it's complicated because I have the feeling people just write in whichever way they want" (1). This could imply the participant would like to have a regularized code through which to use Fala, not necessarily meaning that the three varieties should be spelled in the same way. One could also hypothesize that the participant would rather have a unified spelling for the three towns and that would justify their response. Other participants did not provide an elaboration for their response so we can only conclude, despite the lack of orthographic rules until recent years and the oral tradition of the language, speakers still made an effort to use Fala in emerging new social media contexts. Moreover, there were only five negative responses that also deserve attention; a participant claimed that "No, we don't have enough linguistic knowledge about it so as to write it" (1) which could mean that they were not aware of the orthographical reform and the efforts that the Cultural Associations had been making in order to provide such reform. I also hypothesize that the belief voiced here, that speakers are somehow inferior in knowledge about the language in comparison with scholars and other individuals in the education sphere, is one problem that revitalization efforts have to consider; Jane Hill explains that the "expert' rhetorics" used by some linguists, such as the belief that minority languages are "priceless" and must be handled by "elites" who can "preserve" them, can have negative consequences, so that speakers become

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[50] Refer to Chapter 6 for responses to Question 2 in Part 2 of the questionnaire for each town.

protective of their language and they refuse for research to be published (2002). As an example, Hill talks about what happened when the publication of a Hopi Dictionary by the University of Arizona Press in 1998 was imminent; officers of the Hopi Tribe expressed their concern about the publication, and about how this publication could put Hopi in the public domain hence, reducing the tribe's control over the language (Hill, 2002, p. 122)

On that same line, I hypothesize that this "expert' rhetorics" can influence speakers to believe they do not 'own' the language anymore, given the fact that other individuals with greater knowledge and higher levels of education are setting themselves to be the ones to study and take ownership of the language's documentation. On the other hand, the high number of alternate spellings proposed does suggest that a lot of participants do relate to the form of their language with agency and power. They are willing to propose alternatives to forms sanctioned by official institutions. I have already problematized and expanded on this issue on Chapter 2, but responses in data collection led me to believe that the "expert' rhetorics" that Hill mentions may be having an effect on speakers' conception of self as speaker of the language. More specifically, those participants who may have been aware of Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal, may have found some statements resembling the "expert' rhetorics" that Hill talks about. For example, Corredera Plaza et al. mention that, even though they are aware that not all Fala speakers support unifying regulations for the three variants, they aim to create some criteria for those who aim to write in Fala (2015, p. 2) in a sense overthrowing Fala speakers' view and understanding of their own language. On another instance, Corredera Plaza et al. also override Fala speakers' opinions, by omitting to ask for those and simply claiming that, in their opinion, Portuguese should be introduced in the area as a Foreign Language to be taught mandatorily so that Fala speakers can

understand their relationship to the neighboring language and the 'linguistic reinforcement' that having Portuguese as a reference would imply (2015, p. 2).

In the case of San Martín de Trevejo there was also a high number of affirmative responses (25) for question 3 that included several instances of emphatic affirmation such as "yes, always" appearing up to eight times. With no elaboration provided by participants, there is not much to be concluded other than a high number of participants with positive attitudes towards Fala are making efforts to find new contexts in which to use their language. The only five negative responses elaborated by saying that they did not use social media, so it is clear that positive attitudes towards revitalization efforts are generalized in San Martín de Trevejo.

Valverde del Fresno also had a high number of affirmative responses (26) to the question, and some of the participants who gave positive responses explained that either they only used it with people from their hometown or from the area (referring to the three towns where Fala is spoken). In addition, some participants said they do it "on Facebook, in the pages created for the people of Valverde" (1), and "because they like it and it's a good way to preserve it" (1). As I previously mentioned, there are some Facebook pages that Fala speakers use to interact with one another and share recipes and news pertaining to the three localities. Moreover, according to the data, these Facebook pages are being used often enough to become a possible response in the questionnaire. Speakers once more are aware of the value that Fala has when they say "because they like it and it's a good way to preserve it" (1) and are using social media as means of preserving it, along with their culture and identities. Those who disagreed did not elaborate on their responses, so no conclusions have been drawn from their responses.

For question 4 "What would you recommend someone who wants to read in Fala?", Eljas showed 10 responses that recommended reading the gazette *Anduriña* which is published every

six months in the town of Eljas and is well known among the residents of the three towns. Eight more participants recommended reading in general, so there seems to be a generalized idea that either there are enough reading materials to improve someone's understanding and learning of Fala, or that keeping up with written pieces should suffice. Alternatively, responses could indicate that while participants may be aware of reading materials available, they may not be able to recall those materials by name. Some of the responses that also deserve attention were those who recommended listening to others speak first (5); these responses are testimony to the strong oral tradition of the language, and of a belief that some Fala speakers have: one does not need a written code or reading support to be able to learn Fala. This belief in itself manifests as a challenge to the claim that uniforming the spelling of Fala could aid in its documentation, a claim that speakers disagree with, since it could imply a dialectal loss, or the creation of a hierarchy among the three varieties.

In San Martín de Trevejo, interestingly enough, another three participants recommended reading the gazette *Anduriña,* and another six recommended reading books that were in Fala or had been translated into Fala. These results correlate with the findings in Eljas, where a similar number of participants recommended reading in general and specifically referenced the gazette. Additionally, there were also four instances in which participants recommended talking to native speakers from the town in order to learn Fala; this is an expression of hospitality of Fala speakers in the area: they are willing to help others learn their language, to pass it on. However, the most interesting response was "Listen to old stories and anecdotes from elders" (1). This was especially interesting because of the great value elders' stories have in the Fala community. There is a strong tradition of passing on not only the language, but also the stories from the past, generation to generation. Anecdotes and past experiences of elders are valued within the family context but also

in the linguistic community as a whole. Because the three towns are such small towns, one usually finds that they are close knit communities where everyone has shared experiences with one another, so memories and anecdotes from the past are distinctively cherished.

Lastly, Valverde del Fresno also showed two recommendations for reading the gazette *Anduriña*, with two additional recommendations for reading magazines and books in general written in Fala. More specifically five other participants recommended reading the translated version of *The Little Prince*, which is one of the very few books that have so far been translated into Fala for the enjoyment of the general public. These results align and support findings in the other two towns as well, in that there is a general belief that either there are enough written materials to read in Fala or that reading should suffice in order to learn the language.

Discussion Focus Groups and Other Public Expressions About Fala

After the detailed analysis of individual questionnaires from each town, it is important that we pay close attention as well to the focus group discussions that took place in Eljas in 2017. As I previously mentioned, given the low number of participants that volunteered to take part in the initial discussion focus groups and the pressure some participants may have felt to conform to the expressed majority opinion, these did not take place during data collection in San Martín de Trevejo and Valverde del Fresno in 2018.

One of the most striking opinions shared among participants in discussion groups was that of their opposition to Corredera Plaza et al., the work they have developed, and their representation of Fala and its speakers at a national level. More specifically, one of the two participants who expressed this view mentioned that he knew Corredera Plaza directly, and that he had expressed to him disagreement with his views. The participant claimed that Corredera Plaza did not account

for the participant's opinion and claimed that Corredera Plaza stated he would voluntarily not address his concerns. The participant affirmed "I'm completely against something that does not identify us" and continued by saying, "Like I said to him [Corredera Plaza], if you want to go on your own, go ahead, but do not go around saying you represent all of us" (August 14th, 2017). Statements like these clearly show the discomfort of some Fala speakers with Corredera Plaza et al.'s work, but more specifically Corredera Plaza and the ways in which he has claimed to represent Fala and its speakers at a national level; participants mentioned the fact that Corredera Plaza had been instructing and participating in Fala courses in different institutions claiming that the orthography he was using was the Fala's legitimate orthography, the only way to write Fala. Upon further research, I confirmed the information; I found that not only had he published this work in places far from the three towns where it did not obtain approval, but also in higher education institutions such as the Official Languages School in the city of Cáceres (Extremadura) and the Philology Department at the University of Barcelona (Catalonia). This becomes quite problematic given the delicate situation of Fala, but especially when speakers of the language itself are complaining about its misrepresentation.

However, the reputation of Corredera Plaza et al. can be discredited further; another one of the authors of the proposal, Jose Luis Martín Galindo, has been faced with disagreement and outcry from the Fala community. While specific comments on Jose Luis Martín Galindo did not surface in the discussion focus groups, I stumbled upon information about the author when I researched Corredera Plaza et al.; it seems that Martín Galindo has published five books about Fala to date. In 2018, he published his latest book titled *Taita*; this book contained short stories, idioms, expressions, and songs in Fala. To promote the book, Martín Galindo gave an interview with the Spanish newspaper HOY in which he introduces his book under the premise that Fala is not spoken

in Valverde del Fresno anymore (Lorenzo, 2018). Coincidentally I found this article in the online version of the newspaper, and this being far from unproblematic, Martín Galindo had to face the outcry from the Fala community when Fala speakers from Valverde del Fresno filled the comment section of the article with messages of discontent about Martín Galindo's statements. Some of these comments read as follows:

a. *Dicer que en Valverdi ya nun se fala, nun e verdai. Se falará menus que nas Ellas o en San Martín, pero inda se fala[51].*

To say that in Valverde we don't use Fala anymore, is not true. We may use Fala less than in Eljas or San Martín, but we still use it.

b. *Señor Jose Luis, me temu que to istu se trata de un error! Me gustaría, de corazón que se informasi, fora a Valverdi y se relacionasi cun us habitantis du lugal,y sobre to ,por favor ,un-a disculpa anti semejanti titular, diría mutu de vos.[52]*

Mr. Jose Luis, I am afraid that all this is a mistake! I would like, from the bottom of my heart that you inform yourself, [I would like that you] would go to Valverde [del Fresno] and that you would interact with the residents in town, and above all, please, an apology for such a headline, it would say plenty about you.

c. *Estoy alucinando con la noticia, en Valverde del Fresno se habla Chapurrau o Valverdeiru como mejor guste decirlo...más del 90% de la gente lo habla...tengo 42 años desde los 13 que marche a estudiar no vivo en Valverde, mi familia sigue viviendo allí y a diario lo sigo hablando por teléfono...vivo en Madrid, tengo un hijo de cinco meses y le hablo indistintamente en castellano, Chapurrau y pretendo que cuando vaya a Valverde lo sepa*

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[51] Since the people who wrote these comments did not provide consent to be in the present study, their statements here will not be disclosed under usernames that may help identify the real identities of local residents.

[52] It is worth noting that both comments (a) and (b) were initially posted in Fala. This is a rhetorically powerful move through which Fala speakers are using the language in order to prove Martín Galindo wrong.

hablar...mañana me voy a poner en contacto con el periódico porque esta noticia no es cierta y me imagino que rectificarán en cuanto se hable con ellos...sino tomaré otras medidas porque es indignante.

I am freaking out about the news, in Valverde del Fresno Chapurrau or Valverdeiru is spoken whichever way you want to call it…more than 90% of people speak it…I am 42 years old and since I was 13 years old when I left town to study I haven't lived there, [but] my family still does and we continue speaking [Fala] daily on the phone…I live in Madrid, but I have a 5-month old son and I speak to him in Castilian, Chapurrau and I intend that when he goes to Valverde he will be able to speak it…tomorrow I will get in touch with the newspaper because this is not true and I imagine they will rectify as soon as someone tells them…if not, I will adopt other measures because this is outrageous.

d. *Ahora el señor éste[53] reconoce por redes sociales que es el periódico el que ha malinterpretado sus palabras, pero ya está causando daño la publicación.*

Now this guy is recognizing in social media that it was the newspaper that misinterpreted his words, but the damage of the publication is already done.

e. *No entiendo cómo se puede dar publicidad a este tipo de personajes que hablan desde el más absoluto desconocimiento y que solo les mueve el interés económico.*

I don't understand how this kind of 'character' can get publicity out of this when they speak from absolute ignorance and they are only moved by economic interest.

f. *Hola José Luis, te invito a que vengas a Valverde a ver todos los niños que hablan fala, yo como miembro de la Asociación Deportiva te digo que entrenamos a más de 60 niños 2 días a la semana y el entrenamiento se hace en fala, ya que más del 90% de los niños es*

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[53] "el señor éste" has a pejorative connotation in Spanish. Even though it translates to 'this gentleman' the phrase is used to denote disrespect and dislike.

hablante de en su casa. Antes de publicar estas falsedades estaría bien que te documentaras, simplemente con este comentario yo ya no comprare tu libro.

Hi Jose Luis, I invite you to come to Valverde to see all the kids that speak Fala, me as a member of the Sporting Association can tell you that we train more than 60 kids 2 days a week and the training is done in Fala, since more than 90% of the kids are speakers [of Fala] in their home. Before publishing these lies, it would be nice if you would inform yourself, simply because of this I will not be buying your book.

Martín Galindo may have been misinterpreted by the newspaper, or maybe he simply thought no one from the three towns would be interested enough to read his interview in the newspaper. Either way, we can only speculate. In any case, this is the second instance in which we could observe the author has attempted to promote a version of Fala of his own with no theoretical founding, and bypassing Fala's community approval.

Another topic that arose during discussion focus groups was the fact that there seems to be a consensus that Fala needs to be preserved by different means; some participants claimed that "we have to continue doing things in Fala to preserve it, like theatre plays and other public texts" (August 14th, 2017). Most Fala-speaking residents of Eljas are involved in some sort of activity that implicates preserving the town's language, culture, and customs. From festivities involving traditional dances, theatre plays organized by cultural associations and performed in Fala, there is a strong desire to keep using the language and communicating through it. Even some members of the youngest generation still participate in these events because there is a widespread public awareness of how important it is to preserve these events for the sake of the language and the increase of its usage in other domains.

Another participant also mentioned that "It would be interesting if they would translate historical books to Fala to preserve important information in our language too." (August 9th, 2017). It is statements like this and the different ways in which the speech community has fought in the past in order to keep their language and identity intact, that show how speakers are looking for other ways to allow the language to survive. They are used to needing to think of different means of documenting their language and still fear an orthography will not be enough. A participant also mentioned that their fear is that since there is a declining population in the three towns (see Chapter 1), there will not be enough births to maintain a population that speaks the language and so that they think having more texts in the language at least would guarantee the language will survive its people. (August 14th, 2017).

In addition, one of the discussion groups brought up the topic of the 'purest' variant; even though this is a delicate topic and allows the participants to believe that there is a kind of hierarchy that differentiates the three variants, I allowed the conversation to develop so as to figure out exactly what the speakers thought about it and/or were willing to say about it. Jaffe mentions that "we all exercise moral and political judgements about the desirability of some…discourses…any framework we choose…is embedded in systems of power that confer and withhold privilege, because value is always articulated through the differentiation of linguistic goods" (2020, p. 82). Therefore, I wanted participants to elaborate on the topic of 'purest' variant so as to understand what the possible frameworks of value participants were speaking from.

On one occasion, a participant mentioned that "the most Castilian-sounding are *Valverdeirus* and I think the best preserved is [our] *Lagarteiru* not because it's us, but because back in the day the Civil Guards arrived and other outsiders like doctors and teachers [arrived] to Valverde [del Fresno] and that's why they sound more Castilian-like" (August 9th, 2017). Despite

this being a reasoning supported by historical knowledge, it does not make the issue less controversial and delicate, especially considering the fact that some speakers have expressed to me their concern with their variety being erased due to orthographic proposals that would not respect the differences among the varieties. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see the result if the discussion group had been formed by speakers of *Valverdeiru* or *Mañegu* instead, whether they would have stated something similar with regards to the other variants of Fala.

An important observation is that speakers have expressed their concerns towards Fala not being as recognized by the autonomous community's government and the national government as it should be; the following opinion exchange took place during one of the discussion groups meetings (only the initials of the participants' name are used so as to differentiate their speech while avoiding personal identity to be disclosed):

J: "They took Fala out of Spain's minority languages list.

Claudia: And how does that make you feel?

J: Completely ignored.

A: [at the same time as J,] abandoned.

A: I'm pissed at politicians in general because well, I'm proud of my language and what they can't do is devalue it, [because] there are many things that are declared patrimony and they have less value, and you tell me there's no political interest here? So, this is not declared or given attention. The day Fala has political interest, there they'll be, declaring it [patrimony] and giving it all the importance." (August 14th, 2017).

I believe this last statement is of vital importance for the sake of the argument present in this chapter; the reader can almost feel Participant A's resentment against the government's decision to remove Fala from Spain's minority languages list. Keeping the language in that list

would mean more economic help and support from the central government and consequently, more attention from the autonomous community's government as well. Just like participants have previously expressed, Fala does not have a speech community as big as those of other languages present in the country such as Galician, Basque, or Catalan and therefore, Fala speakers feel as if their language is being rejected and devalued by the government. As I already covered in Chapter 3, the debate over whether Fala should be recognized as part of the linguistic landscape of Spain and most specifically Extremadura, has become politicized, with blurry lines and mixed objectives. Ultimately, we could hypothesize that these feelings of displacement could either prompt speakers to use the language more avidly, or to not use the language at all.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on exploring the beliefs of Fala's speech community and on analyzing how these beliefs may influence Fala speakers' spelling habits, as well as their views of two major orthographic proposals for Fala.

This chapter concludes that there is indeed a majority of positive attitude toward the legacy orthographies, and that that positive attitude is likely to be transferred to the orthography proposed by C.A. A Nosa Fala and Miroslav Valeš (2017) since that orthographic proposal respects and resembles the legacy systems. In addition, this chapter concludes that Fala speakers prefer a phonemic orthography where graphs represent sounds, more like Spanish and not so much like Portuguese. This chapter also concludes that attitudes toward language have a big impact on language perception, the perception of the speech community, and the perception of the individual within the community; that Fala speakers have a generalized desire to preserve their language, and that they would like to be included in the decisions that imply a reform of their language. As it was

shown, Corredera Plaza et al. attempted to bring Fala anonymity[54] through the use of a Portuguese-resembling orthography that participants did not agree with in most cases. Corredera Plaza et al.'s suggestion destroys Fala's identity, and pushes speakers out of their region, and even their country, in search for a linguistic reference point that they do not agree with in the first place. When participants expressed their desire for Fala having a written code while respecting inter-town variation, they are hinting a desire for authenticity, that is, for the recognition of internal variation as the reflection of the indexical value that Fala carries for its speakers. On that same line, when participants expressed their opposition to have Fala taught in schools, I hypothesize that they may be also opposing the anonymity that the language would be given by going from oral tradition to formally taught in schools.

Future Research

Future research could also consider the development of a questionnaire for data collection but this time applying Valeš et al.'s orthography in the multiple-choice questions so as to observe if the orthography is being applied by speakers a few years after it being proposed. These questionnaires would consist of five to eight sentences presented in the orthography proposed by Valeš et al. Participants then, would have to say what, if anything, they would suggest changing about each sentence. Results would show whether the orthographic proposal by Valeš et al. has gained widespread acceptance, but also give researchers further insight into participants' perceptions and ideologies about Fala.

Moreover, despite the possible repercussions of discussion focus groups, extending these to Valverde del Fresno and San Martín de Trevejo could provide additional perspectives to the

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[54] Anonymity and authenticity as opposed terms in Gal and Woolard´s conceptualization (2001, as cited in Woolard, (2016).

present work. This time, discussion groups would include family units or groups of friends, since individuals may be more comfortable disagreeing kindly with friends or family than disagreeing with strangers who are also part of the language community. Further work could also be done to develop a questionnaire tailored to individuals who do not know how to write or read very well or are illiterate, which is the case of the majority of people from their late 60s onwards.

In sum, we can say that Fala speakers feel Extremaduran, part of that Autonomous Community of Extremadura and do not see themselves as an isolated community belonging to Galicia, Asturias, or Portugal. They see themselves as an isolated community, but they see that as a prestigious characteristic that has the power to contribute to preserving their language.

CHAPTER VI: TOWARDS A FALA PEDAGOGY

In this last and final chapter, the main questions I will answer are (1) What does language pedagogy mean for a language with the status that Fala has of declining demographics, no universally accepted writing system, and non-widespread literary practices? And (2) How can we promote the use of the language in written form for younger generations through the use of literature? My argument is that if we have 1) a dictionary that is revised periodically to reflect speakers' use of the language and, 2) a corpus that reflects the ethnolinguistic vitality of Fala to a broader audience, these will be steps worth trying towards language maintenance. While I will not be developing a corpus for the language, I will explore the idea of corpus development as an effort to increase the number of texts that are written in the language, and how this corpus could be developed with the aim of a pedagogical approach.

When thinking of the pedagogical applications that can be put in place in order to implement a minority language in an academic setting where it did not exist before, first there needs to be an understanding of the importance of learning writing in the target language, not only by academics but by the speakers too. Issues come when even the speakers of the language do not consider Fala to be useful for purposes other than to communicate within their hometown. In data I collected during 2017 and 2018, there are positive attitudes, but also negative ones; a speaker went as far as to say that Fala is not important enough for life outside their town, and therefore children would not need to learn it in school. These negative attitudes are also well documented and held not only by majority language speakers, but sometimes also by the minority language speakers as a result of language shift (Sallabank, 2019, p. 66), something Fishman anticipated in 1991 when he stated, "such self-views are reflections of the destruction of Xish self-steem, due to decades of negative comparisons with Yish political power, economic advantage and modern

sophistication" (1991, p. 40). All in all, minority languages are particularly vulnerable to the effects of misrepresentation through ideological discourse. Therefore, researchers, documenters, and revivalers need to be both humble and transparent in their communications with speakers. Nevertheless, pedagogy for Fala is a giant task that likely will result in an outgrowth of work that has not really been begun yet. I believe there needs to be a collective effort in order to achieve a pedagogical plan involving Fala. This effort should start with speakers from all three towns in general, but specifically the parents of children attending school. In addition, the teachers contributing to education in primary schools and secondary school in the three towns should also be included, and of course, so should be the cultural associations currently involved in the promotion of Fala, along with the documenting linguists. All of these individuals will have to be involved doing the necessary community work to understand what the possible goals of Fala's pedagogy are, and what are some shared goals among speakers of the three towns. This community work must include a collection of ideas and opinions of a sample population in each town, and the outcomes of this research must respect each town's desire in each case; for example, having a common core pedagogical approach among the three towns, or on the contrary, each town's having their own individual strategy if they believe that it is in their best interest to do it alone. These kinds of efforts are necessary to try and reach a consensus towards a common goal so that a plan of what a pedagogical approach for Fala would look like within these educational institutions can be achieved. Moreover, these efforts will not only provide a community approved pedagogical plan for the language, but also will have the potential to help applying for governmental funding in order to achieve these goals. It is important to understand that these pedagogical strategies will require combined efforts at the local level among the three towns, but also with both local and autonomous governments for the sake of the efforts themselves.

In order to shine some light onto how this effort would be received by speakers in the chapter, I would like to revisit the responses for question 2 in part 2 of the questionnaires I distributed among the three towns in 2017 and 2018 and presented in Chapter 5, to talk about possible future pedagogical decisions that could be made in regard to Fala with the data that was collected from a sample population so far. In addition, I will offer a possible course of action that could be taken in the future when trying to understand Fala from a pedagogical perspective. However, once again, I would like to stress the fact that the aforementioned collaboration must take place before any pedagogy can safely be applied to Fala so as to ensure that all voices are heard, and that the paths taken are in all of Fala's speakers' best interest.

In question 2 speakers were asked, "Should schools teach children to write in Fala?", a question aimed at understanding what Fala speakers believed about their language, the inherent value it may carry among generations of speakers, and to investigate participants' beliefs about Fala as a formal mode of communication in written form at the local schools. Out of a total of 89 responses among the three towns, 80 of those responses were positive, while the remaining 9 were negative. That is an 89.88% of positive responses agreeing that Fala's writing should be taught in schools versus the 10.12% of negative responses in disagreement. Breaking down these percentages further, we find that in Eljas, the positive response rate is of 93.10% versus a negative response rate of 6.9%, in San Martín de Trevejo, 86.66% versus 13.34%, and in Valverde del Fresno of 90% versus 10%. However, we must look at some of the elaboration on the responses that participants gave in order to interpret these results even further.

The elaborations that participants gave in Eljas as clarification for their responses seem to be ambiguous; while some participants admitted that Fala should be taught in school so it is not lost in time and it is sustained for new generations to come, some other participants even compared

Fala to be at the level of some other national languages such as Galician or Catalan and therefore responded "Yes, just like its done with Catalan, Galician, etc." Bucholtz and Hall talk about what in this case could be considered adequation between Fala and Catalan as regional languages. In order to accrue greater symbolic or perhaps political rights, the participant considers Fala and Catalan as languages with the same value. Through adequation, Bucholtz and Hall claim that it is usually languages that are not necessarily identical but understood as similar that get compared. Differences between both will be downplayed while similarities will be put forward (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 24). In this case, the participant is proposing Fala and Catalan as similar in that both are regional languages while not mentioning their differences (i.e., other sociolinguistic variables to consider).

However, other participants claimed that "It's better that they teach English, Fala is only useful at a local level". This type of response is worth analyzing because even though there seems to be a generalized opinion that Fala should be sustained, taught, and recognized at a local, regional, and national level, there is still part of the population that shows resistance to the idea. Alexandra Jaffe mentions that diglossia or in this case, the existence of a dominant language taught in school such as English that symbolizes communication with the outside world, and English being valued more than the minority (Fala), could be an indicator of political ideology; a system containing two linguistic codes understood as opposed in nature and value (Jaffe, 2020, p. 74). Jaffe states that this diglossia "was seen as acting on practice by causing speakers to internalize minority language stigma and thereby, to "choose" to speak or transmit the dominant language to the detriment of the minority one" (p. 74).

At the same time, this type of response could be due to the nature of individual questionnaires; none of these resisting opinions came up in the discussion focus groups. The fact

that the resisting opinions did not come up in discussion focus groups could be interpreted as follows: in an individual interview/questionnaire the participant can express their opinion freely, without fear of being reprimanded or judged, and no one aside from the researchers will see their responses. Nonetheless in a discussion focus group of three to four participants, opinions are expressed out loud and there exists a risk of being judged by other discussion focus group members who may or not be strangers, but who belong to the same linguistic community. Ultimately, this situation can lead to participants who express different opinions to face negative judgments due to expressing this type of differing thoughts. This is the reason why focus group discussions were avoided during data collection in 2018. However, some of these opposing comments deserve to be acknowledged and analyzed as well since they contribute to answering the initial research question: what did other Fala speakers think about these proposals? Ultimately, these comments contribute to understanding Fala speakers' ideologies about Fala, and about its maintenance.

In the case of San Martín de Trevejo, most participants surveyed agreed that it should be taught in school so that it would not be lost. A participant even said, "it is a shame that even parents native to the town are talking to their kids in Castilian" (1) which could be interpreted as an indicator of desire to sustain the language, as well as an indicator of monolingual language ideology. The participant may hold the belief that parents can only talk to kids in a single language for the kids to acquire that language. In this town, negatives to the question were also scarce but interesting nonetheless; two responses that deserve special attention are, "even though we don't want Fala to be lost, we must recognize that outside of here it won't be useful for their studies, [Fala] won't be necessary, regardless of if we like it or not" (1), and "I don't think it's necessary since it's always been transmitted from parents to kids". It appears that in San Martín de Trevejo too, there are speakers who, despite general consensus to enhance the vitality of the language, are

resistant to the idea and see no use for the language in the immediate future. Of course, at this point it is relevant to also hypothesize that some of the older speakers may have been stigmatized from using the language during Franco's dictatorship; this in turn, could have been a motivation of fear and trauma, thus being the reason why participants expressed this view.

Valverde del Fresno also had mostly positives for the question with a total of 27 out of 30, while also recording three negatives; out of these negatives, the following statements indicate some participants believe Fala should be strictly of oral tradition by stating "I don't think it's necessary, they already learn at home" (1), once again, showing resistance to the idea of Fala having any use outside of their immediate environment. Regardless of the documentation efforts already in place, finding these answers is a testament to the complications that the maintenance of minority languages can present. However, they also serve as proof of how speakers' opinions on their language remain relevant and should be considered.

The views and attitudes expressed in those results are essential when formulating or implementing language education policies because they are the attitudes of those who will be affected (Baker, 1992; Kauffmann, 2011). Therefore, after looking at participants' responses in regard to the inclusion of Fala's writing in education, we must think of what a successful pedagogical effort for the inclusion of Fala in the classrooms would look like, which, at the same time, also respects the majority of these views. There are several elements to take into consideration when thinking of what a pedagogical model for Fala could look like; there is a kindergarten (ages 0-6) and primary school (ages 6-12) in each town, there is one high school (ages 12-16) for the three towns located in Valverde del Fresno, and there is a Fala dictionary for children

that has recently been published[55], and a dictionary for adults with over 50,000 items written by Miroslav Valeš is on the latest editing stages before printing[56].

As of the time of writing this dissertation chapter in February 2021, the teacher in Eljas' kindergarten is from a nearby town called Villamiel, therefore she does not speak Fala with the children. In Eljas' primary school, only two of the teachers are Fala speakers, but one of them never speaks Fala with students and the other only sometimes; I could not find additional information on the other teachers. In San Martín de Trevejo, the kindergarten teacher is from Valverde del Fresno, but I could not find out if she uses Fala with the children or not. In San Martín de Trevejo's primary school, the principal is from Valverde del Fresno and sometimes speaks the language with children, but I could not find information on the other teachers. Having this information present, I wanted to further research what presence Fala has so far in kindergarten, primary, and secondary schools in the three towns, so I spoke to Miroslav Valeš, Fala researcher and non-native speaker of Fala resident of Eljas, about the presence of the language in school; he mentions that the language is rarely present, and its usage seems to be unusual in the classroom setting. He mentioned that schools sometimes have interesting projects involving Fala for children, but that in general these are scattered and very few. Having this information, I decided to reach out to Professor María Elsa González Sánchez, the principal, and a professor at the secondary education school in Valverde del Fresno. Prof. González Sánchez informed me that in Valverde del Fresno, the kindergarten teacher is a Fala speaker from Valverde, but I could not find further information on the languages she speaks to the children. The principal of the primary school is a non-native speaker of Fala; but once again, I could not find information of other professors'

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[55] Only a newspaper article mentioning the printing of the dictionary was found. No other information about the dictionary or author is known at the time of writing this dissertation.
[56] At the time of writing this dissertation.

behavior in the same institution. In regard to the secondary school in Valverde del Fresno, the principal, Professor María Elsa González Sánchez, is a non-native speaker of Fala, and she actively and purposely tries to use the language whenever possible including when addressing students. Through personal communication with Prof. González Sánchez, I found that there is an initiative in place to promote the language among students at the secondary education school; there has been an attempt at linguistic immersion for the past 3 years through a course organized by Prof. González Sánchez and the *Centro de Profesores y Recursos* [Center of Professors and Resources] in Hoyos, that is taught by two local philologists. After Corredera Plaza presented his Fala courses at the Languages School in the city of Cáceres, Prof. González Sánchez along with other professors at the secondary education school did not agree with Corredera Plaza's approach, so they decided to propose language courses in the area where Fala speakers live that reflected the speakers' beliefs about their language (González Sánchez, 2021). Given Corredera Plaza's long-standing belief of Fala being of Portuguese descent and his disregard of Fala speaker community beliefs' when representing the language, Prof. González Sánchez and her colleagues decided not to include him in conversations involving pedagogical approaches to Fala (González Sánchez, 2021).

The secondary education school has also attempted to apply Fala in several projects, including public speeches, social events, radio shows, theatre plays, etc. The radio show titled Radio Xálima, for example, is produced and created by both students and professors at the school. In them, they cover news and events of interest for the Fala community. In addition, the school participates in the program titled eTwinning. This program is organized by the European Union, and more specifically, it is co-founded by the Erasmus+ initiative, the European program for Education, Training, Youth and Sport. In their website, eTwinning is described as,

A platform for staff (teachers, head teachers, librarians, etc.), working in a school in one of the European countries involved, to communicate, collaborate, develop projects, share and, in short, feel and be part of the most exciting learning community in Europe. (European Comission)

Through eTwinning, Prof. González Sánchez tells me that they have involved students in a European-wide project where, once a year, they send post cards during Christmas with messages in Fala to students at other secondary education schools in different parts of Europe. Moreover, I have already mentioned the existence of a dictionary for children however, I did not have further information about this project. Prof. González Sánchez informed me that the group in charge of coordinating this project was composed of Ms. Anastasia Bellanco, part of the library coordination group, and Ms. Rosa María Piñero, coordinator of the primary school curriculum. In addition, Prof. González Sánchez mentioned that the children's dictionary project was co-financed and promoted by the Parque Cultural de la Sierra de Gata, and that students from the three primary schools have contributed to its realization. It consists of a semantic dictionary that includes illustrations for easier identification of lexical items by children.

All in all, Prof. González Sánchez is very enthusiastic about Fala, and this enthusiasm has led her to participate in submitting a statement titled *Nos Falamus* (a word play consisting of the word Fala as language (verb) meaning to speak; translates to 'we speak') to be published as an article titled *Reivindicando 'A Fala'* (Reclaiming Fala) published in the newspaper Hoy (Cáceres regional version) in November of 2018. In this article the young-adult students of IES Val de Xálima, all aged between 12 and 16 years old, wanted to have their voices heard after Jose Luis Martín Galindo's statement questioning the vitality of Fala in Valverde del Fresno (for details see Chapter 5).

In addition, through the IES Val de Xálima, Prof. González Sánchez along with other professors, managed to bring the theatre play *U Fogu da Hereji* [The Herectic's Fire] to the theater in Cáceres for the first time in April 2019 through the program for the promotion of theatre in schools IES-CENA. The Herectic's Fire is a novel about the Inquisition period that takes place in Cáceres's old quarters, and it is written by Beatriz Maestro Mateos, a historian and chronicler from San Martín de Trevejo. Despite all this, the thing that Prof. González Sánchez insisted on making known the most was that the professor collective's most sought-after goal is the recognition of Fala in the Statute of Autonomy as a language of Extremadura; governmental recognition could bring much help and motivation to these Fala promotion projects, and Prof. González Sánchez's declarations confirm my initial belief that this kind of recognition could help Fala be included in the educational curriculum in an official manner. From there on, a set pedagogical plan with three phases (1) Kindergarten, (2) Primary school, and (3) Secondary school, could be implemented, including the creation of the role of language coordinator in each institution, and specific hours of instruction in Fala every week for each school, among other measures.

Given this preliminary information I cannot reach a conclusion per se, but from my conversations with Prof. González Sánchez I can confirm that while there is a clear attempt taking place by professors at the secondary education school to promote the use of Fala by the students involving the speaker community, there is also a need for a planned pedagogical approach involving kindergarten and primary education institutions so as to reinforce the presence of the language in the educational setting while at the same time, promoting Fala outside the limits of the three towns.

Hinton advises that small communities with little control over their education system may not be able to implement programs such as immersion schools where the language of instruction

is the endangered language (2011, p. 307). And while the efforts of theoretical or linguistic anthropologists can help documenting and describing the structure of languages or even in the development of reference materials such as dictionaries and grammars like Valeš has done so far with Fala, Hinton believes that there is also a need for the guidance of experts in language teaching that could provide insight into valuable methods to assist in language revitalization efforts (Hinton, 2011, p. 317) because so far, the methods currently in use to teach languages in the classroom do not apply to contexts of language revitalization (Penfield & Tucker, 2011), and pedagogically useful materials are rarely fostered (Nathan & Fang, 2019, p. 52) such as is the case of Fala.

Additionally, Hinton claims that although there are courses focused on the learning of endangered indigenous languages, these courses rarely lead to second language fluency because either the endangered indigenous community have few fluent speakers at an age that they could teach, or because speakers are not trained in pedagogy (Hinton, 2011, p. 308). This relates to the case I presented in earlier chapters, when I spoke about how Corredera Plaza as a Fala speaker himself, had taken the liberty of coordinating and teaching Fala courses at certain institutions; in this case, Corredera Plaza's agenda interfered with the teaching of the language, since he was predicating a written version of the language that the Fala speaking community had not approved of. In addition, Corredera Plaza did not have the pedagogical training that scholars such as Hinton (2011) or Penfield and Tucker (2011) believe is needed in order to tackle pedagogical decisions involving a minority or endangered language. That is why I agree with Hinton in believing that language teaching and learning as it applies to endangered or minority languages involves the development of new models of language teaching (2011, p. 308). These models of teaching require interdisciplinary collaboration and cannot be efforts taken by the language documenter alone; the interdisciplinary nature of this collaboration also has the ability of providing feedback to the

documentary linguist about the effectiveness of their materials, while also benefiting communities (Nathan & Fang, 2019, p. 48).

Despite the efforts by Cultural Associations and Miroslav Valeš in order to promote activities involving the language, as for example the annual gazette *Anduriña*, or the development of an orthography proposal and dictionary for adults, researchers, and promoters of Fala face an additional hurdle: an underdeveloped corpus. There are no corpus development strategies being developed or applied other than the dictionary for adults, and very few books exist in Fala, written in each author's own version of Fala. More specifically, no books have been written so far using the community accepted orthography proposal by Valeš given its short life (5 years). The challenge is that a revitalization effort involving the use of the minority language in an educational setting must rely to a certain extent on an existing corpus, that is, written materials, to complement the language instruction.

At the same time, in order to teach Fala and its writing, a native speaker or someone who has gone through Fala learning courses both in writing and speaking and has the experience using the language in real life is needed. This is why I can conclude that, before any true pedagogical implementation of Fala in the classroom can take place, first we need to train those who would be in charge of the classrooms so that they are qualified to teach Fala's writing. In these cases, Shaw et al. recommend documenters help potential teachers to receive a certification by formalizing locally provided linguistic training (2012, as cited in Jones & Ogilvie, 2019). The collaboration between documenters and pedagogically trained scholars is in this way, necessary, but even more so because "assuming that documenters need no pedagogical training is as erroneous as proposing that they need no training in syntax, typology, or ethics" (Nathan & Fang, 2019, p. 53). Nathan and Fang explain that language documentation and language teaching do not necessarily have to

be conceived as two separate entities, but that these can be mutually informing, building in this way on each other for a more effective outcome of research (2019, p. 53). Therefore, an adult language program becomes an increasingly necessary part of teacher training and preparation (Hinton, 2011, p. 313).

Another reason why this collaboration is also necessary is that, in the case of endangered or minority languages, there is less support available for language teaching because research on this aspect is just beginning (Hinton, 2011, p. 312); other than dictionaries, there are not culturally responsible pedagogical materials, and Fala-speaking teachers are few, as I previously explained. Solely documenting a language in hopes of preserving it, what is called 'salvage linguistics' is not the solution; however, I agree with Spolsky in that these documenting efforts are a part of the solution when trying to enhance the vitality of any language (2014, p. 412) even if they cannot be considered the sole effort necessary, in part also because the linguist/documenter's goals are different from those of the language community with whom they are working (Grenoble & Whitecloud, 2014).

Moreover, I believe that community members' voices could be used to frame and contextualize these materials, both documentary and pedagogical, given that "such voices are, paradoxically, largely silent in much of today's documentary practice" (Nathan & Fang, p. 54). It is my understanding that this is precisely what Miroslav Valeš has been doing when collecting lexical items for the adults' dictionary; he asks a sample of community members from the three towns what a given lexical item means and has them elaborate on their responses so as to reflect the most accurate and common understanding of the item in the dictionary. This kind of practice is the beginning of a more inclusive approach to the documentation of Fala, and something that I

believe could be used in a pedagogical context as well in order to acknowledge those so often forgotten native voices.

Nevertheless, I agree with Hinton in that when it comes to language revitalization programs within schools, there may be "genres…that may never have existed before, such as essay writing and tests" (2011, p. 311), especially if the inclusion of technology in the classroom is considered. Examples of this are the activities that Prof. González Sánchez elaborates with her students, such as audiovisual media with the radio show Radio Xálima, and eTwinning activities such as the Christmas postcard exchange. Nathan and Fang also agree that the productions of learners in the form of texts created during language classes provide ongoing motivation for young people's involvement in revitalization (2019, p. 50). A successful example they offer is that of their work with the Karaim community in Lithuania where summer school's creation of drama pieces was represented in front of elders and became an annual event, and some performances were even filmed and distributed among the community (Fang, 2011, as cited in Nathan & Fang, 2019, p. 50) something similar to what Prof González Sánchez has been doing with the student population at the IES Val de Xálima with the creation, production, and representation of the theatre play *U Fogu da Hereji* in 2019.

To this end, introducing both the children's and adults' dictionaries allows for hypothesizing about what are some of the strategies that could be adopted inside and outside classrooms so as to promote Fala learning further. The first step towards a more inclusive and organized pedagogy would be the distribution of dictionary copies for both students and teachers. Children in primary school would receive the children's version of the dictionary, but once they move onto secondary school, they would receive a copy of the adults' version. In addition, all teachers regardless of education level should have an adults' dictionary at their disposal at all

times. These dictionaries could either be distributed by class, or by individual, as long as the goal is to make sure that all students and staff have reference material whenever doubts of orthographic representation arise.

In addition to the dictionaries and their distribution, collaboration projects among the educational institutions in the area of the three towns are needed, such as the creation of texts by students using Valeš et al.'s orthography in order to develop a growing corpus of materials written in Fala. It is in this way that corpus development could be done as pedagogy thus, bringing together documentary practices and pedagogical ones. The absence of a standard, or in this case, of a consistent orthographical representation in a pedagogical setting, can generate unease on the part of the teacher, because they may find themselves "assigning specific stances and linguistic behaviors to her pupils" or even "relying on [their] own inexplicit assumptions" regarding students (Costa, 2015, p. 38-39). Having referential material such as the dictionaries in class could help in that regard by providing both students and teachers with the necessary explanations for their linguistic choices at the lexical and orthographical level, while at the same time, provide a more uniform code for everyone to use.

Before being able to continue to move forward with pedagogical efforts involving Fala, it is evident that governmental help at the local, regional, or even European level would be required for the production and distribution of these dictionaries. Though, once the dictionary is widely available at these institutions, the next logical step would be to set in motion a project that encompasses kindergarten, primary school, and secondary school students, all of them brought together for the creation of texts and materials that would contribute to the existence of a Fala corpus using a uniform referential material, the dictionaries, and the orthography by Valeš et al. (2017).

As I mentioned earlier, this corpus creation requires a joint effort of community members, documentary linguists, educators, and many more; these collaborative efforts have the potential for an inclusive pedagogy that will help in the documentation, enhancement, and promotion of Fala usage. Promotion of usage and corpus creation could come together in the form of a gazette, a common means of expression among the three towns with the already existent *Anduriña*. In this case, the *Anduriña* gazette could be taken as a template or model through which students at each institution could create their own written works to be published once every academic year. Kindergarten students could provide drawings as means of artistic expression, while primary and secondary school students would be required to submit different kinds of texts tailored to their educational level such as poems, reflective pieces, or short fiction stories. Once again it is clear how governmental economic support would be required for the successful application of these measures.

If there is a considerable amount of corpus data in the future, metadata on the teaching status of materials could be collected so as to facilitate the navigation of this content by teachers and students. Nathan and Fang claim that linking documentary materials with teaching notes would expand the corpus both for language teaching and future research (2019, p. 48). In addition, once the corpus has been developed even further, interactive media could begin to be created in the form of automatic translation software for Fala from other languages, the adaptation of cell phone keyboard predictability features so that Fala users can have an interactive keyboard to use in texting or social media, etc., because interactive media can provide language learners with accessible intertextuality and can make positive contributions to language revitalization (Nathan & Fang, 2019, p. 52).

Lastly, after taking into consideration the proposed pedagogical plan, there are two challenges to conventional documentation theory as proposed by Nathan and Fang (2019) that I believe would be addressed:

(1) A holistic documentation will embrace revitalization outputs (such as learner-created texts, teachers' plans, methods, evaluations) part of the documentation, and

(2) documentation and description are not two sides of the same (single) coin. Documentation and revitalization are equally interdependent. Description, typology, and theory ought not to have priority over documentation's methods and outputs.

(p. 55)

With this chapter and the dissertation as a whole, I contribute to the understanding of language planning projects because as it is the case with dictionaries and other documenting artifacts, "minority language dictionaries have meanings that extend beyond the referential. First, as material objects, dictionaries can become iconized indexes of a variety's existence, richness, and complementarity with modern life. Second, as components of cultural activities, they can have the performative effect of producing, encouraging, and/or legitimating speakerhood" (Keller, 2016, p. 12). Along with these dictionaries, I plan to offer students a glimpse of the language ideologies shared by the Fala community, and how these attitudes and ideologies can have an effect on the enhancement and documentation efforts that have taken part so far.

Conclusions: Thinking Forward

This dissertation focused on exploring native speakers' and past academics' views of Fala, along with the sociolinguistic and ideological dimensions of those views. This dissertation also focused on Fala's orthographic reform, Fala's recognition as a language at the regional and

national level, and the repercussions this recognition has had on research involving Fala. In essence, in this dissertation I studied the linguistic ideologies surrounding Fala, and the consequences of these ideologies. At the beginning of this dissertation, I also mentioned that I wanted to offer the case of Fala as an example of the effects that language ideologies can have on minority languages unrecognized by governmental linguistic policy efforts. I have done so by examining speaker attitudes across data from different perspectives: from orthographical surveys to discussion groups, and even public displays of linguistic attitudes by Fala speakers (see Chapter 5). This has enabled me to offer additional insights that would not have been possible from looking at one source of data in isolation. For example, these minority language speakers did not only say they wanted the language to be taught in schools because they wanted to agree with me as a researcher; they also showed that the language was important to their local identities by reacting indignantly in a public forum when a commentator said the language was no longer spoken. This shows the extent to which this language really does define local ways of being in the community, and that regional and national authorities may wish to invest more resources to ensure the community is supported in its revitalization efforts. Scholars of other minority languages may likewise wish to seek out how ideologies expressed on surveys are also instantiated in daily acts of resistance.

As I have showed, the creation of a community-accepted orthography can be possible for a minority group, but a central element of the approach needed to make this happen is the involvement of native speakers in the creation of the orthography in question. The creation of an orthographic proposal for Fala including native speakers may promote its usage among speakers who may see themselves reflected in the proposal thus, possibly feeling more inclined to use it. However, the creation of a community-accepted orthography also serves other purposes; as I have

previously mentioned, the creation of a community-approved code to represent a language in written form does carry a certain amount of prescriptivism since there will always be 'rules' to be followed. Nonetheless, these 'rules' included in a proposal can guide speakers representing their language in a more regularized manner so as to facilitate its preservation and documentation. In addition, a community-accepted orthography can help revendicate a separate identity from the dominant community without necessarily splintering from the larger society politically or economically. For example, the orthography by Valeš et al. does not try to stress the similarities between Fala and other languages in the peninsula because that is not the goal of a newly stablished orthography, even if the proposal by Valeš et al. follows the use of letters/symbols of Castilian given that it is the language that Fala speakers are most familiar with. At the same time, the proposal by Valeš et al. respects the variation among the three localities because "people have the right to express themselves, also in written form, in their own vernacular variation" (Valeš et al., 2017).

A central issue in the public opinions about Fala's written representation that emerged during the data analysis were the notions of authenticity and anonymity, and the signaling of specific identities. Earlier on I explored the framework of authenticity and anonymity by Gal and Woolard (2006, as cited in Woolard, 2016). Woolard explains that in an ideology of authenticity, a language variety directly expresses 'the essential nature of a community or a speaker', and in an ideology of anonymity, a given language is a neutral vehicle of communication, belonging to no one in particular and thus equally available to all (Woolard, 2016). According to these ideologies, for a language variety to possess authenticity, or be conceived as authentic, it must be perceived as belonging to a particular geographical location to have value. In an ideology of anonymity, however public languages can represent anyone simply because they are not linked to a specific

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geographical location (Woolard, 2016). These two concepts of authenticity and anonymity are applicable to the case of Fala. First, speakers of Fala take pride in the uniqueness of their language and understand that the language is tied to its geographical location, that is, the Valley of Jálama. This in itself appeals to the concept of authenticity described by Woolard, in that Fala expresses the essential nature of the community and belongs to a specific geographical location. This is a relevant element for language documenters to consider because, out of the two orthographical reforms to appear in the last decade for Fala (Corredera Plaza et al.'s and Valeš et al.'s) only one of them respects the authenticity of the language. Corredera Plaza et al. promises anonymity as the solution to all of Fala's problems, while Valeš et al. is more concerned with respecting legacy notions of the language and the authenticity that these notions carry.

The problematic with Corredera Plaza et al.'s proposal is also that they promise Fala to enter the world stage via its connection with Portuguese at the cost of erasing the dialectal differences. Data presented in Chapter 5 show that Fala speakers did not agree with this; speakers' questionnaire responses showed that an existent (or otherwise non-existent,) connection with Portuguese was not necessarily an essential element to include in the written representation of their language. This ties back to the concepts of anonymity and authenticity that I mentioned earlier; Fala speakers do not want anonymity by means of the language's supposed connection with Portuguese, they want to preserve the authenticity of the language, something that Valeš et al.'s proposal respects by not erasing internal variation. Corredera Plaza et al's orthography is not appealing to native speakers precisely because of its erasure of internal variation and the consequent loss of authenticity. There are numerous examples of speakers' disagreement with Corredera Plaza et al. proposal given the potential erasure it represents; for example, when asked

if Fala should have a unified written system, participants responded in disagreement, defending each local variety and what they represented for the speakers (see Chapter 5).

In this dissertation, I have also highlighted the importance for language documenters to work with the community in order to recognize their concerns and address them accordingly. To exemplify this, I contrasted the orthography proposals by Corredera Plaza et al. and Valeš et al and showed that another significant reason for their rejection or embrace by the Fala community lies on this dimension. The case hereby presented then can be taken as an example of what can possibly be done in other minority language communities in Europe, given the similar European framework for the recognition and preservation of minority languages. But Fala's example following practices such as the ones displayed by Valeš et al. and indigenous linguists such as Perley can also be explored to understand what can be achieved with minority language communities that may be misrecognized (or misrepresented) by their governmental institutions anywhere else in the word. The central elements of such approaches of course should include the general consensus of the community in the creation of any new orthography, but also the observation of speakers' linguistic attitudes and beliefs so that these can be represented through the newly proposed written code. In addition, as I have showed within Chapter 6, an approach such as this one cannot forget the important role that education plays in the implementation of any regularizing code for a minority language; the inclusion of activities with students of all ages using the community-accepted orthography for the creation of new texts and modes of communication (i.e. radio shows, holiday post cards, poetry, reflection essays, etc.), and if possible, the implementation of class instruction using the language.

As I reference throughout this dissertation, the study of minority language speakers' attitudes and their inclusion in the orthography creation process can bring new perspectives onto

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the study of such languages and help prevent experts' rhetoric (Hill, 2002) taking the spotlight. Hill explains that when researchers speak of the language as a resource that belongs to the world at large, instead of treating it as part of its' speakers' identity and a flexible tool for them to control their own lives, researchers can distress and alienate speakers, amplifying their distrust of linguists. That is another reason why the collaboration between members of the community and the linguists is essential so as to make sense of the speakers' concerns. The disembodiment of language reifies language as an object of value, and places speakers in the role of victims of processes greater than themselves (Perley, 2012), processes that supposedly, they would not be able to grasp. It is understandable then how speakers may feel alienated, possibly even misrepresented (as some participants showed in the public expressions about Fala included in Chapter 5), as if they could not possibly grasp deeper understandings of their language even though it is part of who they are. In sum, there is much work left to do recognizing the value of native speaker input in language documentation and revitalization efforts not only with Fala, but with other minority language communities around the world. Making sure the speakers' voices are heard and acknowledged will contribute immensely to a more balanced study of language documentation and revitalization projects.

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APPENDIX A: FALA'S ALPHABET AS IT APPEARS IN VALEŠ ET AL. (2017)

grafía(s)	fonema(s)	ejemplus
A	a	abella, airi
B	b	barrocu, bancu, beixhu
C	k, θ	caracol, ciai, Cáciris, cen
Ch	ʧ	chu, chamal
D	d	dorra, dagal, dois
DX	ʤ	londxi, grandxa
E	e	elefanti, ejemplu
F	f	folla, figu
G	g, x	grandi, general, gitanu
H		homi, huspital
I	i	idel, istal, ilmanu
J	x	jovis, jabalí, jamón
K	k	kilo
L	l	leiti, leval
LL	ʎ	consellu, calli, llanu
M	m	ma, mullel
N	n	nomi, narandxa
NH	ŋ	unha, algunha
Ñ	ɲ	camiñu, ispañol
O	o	osu, ovu
P	p	pedra, peitu
Q	k	que, quenti, quindi
R	ɾ, r	lagartu, verdi, ríu
RR	r	carreira, corriol
S	s	soñu, sel
Ṡ = SH = S	z	caṡa = casha = casa, camiṡa = camisha = camisa
T	t	taita, tella
U	u	uva, unha
V	b	vaca, vellu
X	ʃ, s, x	caixa, baixu, ixtranjeiru, ixamin, México
Ẋ = XH = X	ʒ	queiẋu = queixhu = queixu, hoiẋi = hoixhi = hoixi
Y	j	reyis, viyúa, proyectu
Z	θ	zorra, zagal, cazal

APPENDIX B: MONOSYLLABLES (WITH AND WITHOUT ACCENT MARKS) AS THEY

APPEAR IN VALEŠ ET AL. (2017)

SIN TILDI
e (conj.) Juan e Inés (val.)
da (*de + a*) chegamus da serra as oitu
das (*de + as*) as portas das casas
de (prep.) vimus de andal
do (*de + o*) a porta do cementeriu (mañ.)
le (pron.) nun le digas que u sabis
to (pron. *te lo*) to digu en seriu (mañ.)
tu (pron. + *te lo*) a tu mairi, tu digu tó (lag.)
mu (pron. *me lo*) mu dixu José
mo (pron. *me lo*) mo dixu José (mañ.)
lu (pron. *se lo*) lu digu agora (lag.)
na (*in + a*) istá na mesha
pa (prep.) istu é pa ti
se (pron.) se chama Carmen
si (conj.) si chegas a horas, chámami
mais (conj. *pero*) u chamí mais nun pudu vil

CUN TILDI
é (verbu sel) el é u mei ilmanu
dá (verbu *dal*) me dá meu a oscuriai
dás (verbu *dal*) nun me dás ni as gracias
dé (v. *dal* + num.) que nun te dé velgoña;
dó (verbu *dal*) me dó mutus recordus pa ti
lé (verbu *lel*) sempris lé u periódicu (lag.)
tó (adv. *todo*) tó é intereshanti
tú (pron.) tú eris grandi
mú (sust.) mú é u machu de a mua
mó (sust.) me doi unha mó
lú (sust.) oscureci, hai poica lú
ná (sust. *nada*) nun te debu ná
pá (sust.) lévati u picu i a pá / in tempus de pá
sé (verbu *sabel*) nun sé a qué hora acabaremus
sí (adv. afirmativu) sí, dispois vo
máis (adv. cant.) me gustaría comel máis

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ELJAS WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

U siguienti cuestionariu é parti de un traballu de invistigación da Fala y istá feitu isclusivamenti pa falantis de a varianti de Fala, Lagarteiru. U cuestionariu ten dois partis: Parti 1 ten varias frasis; tu tes que iligil a que tu prefieris sobre a oitra. Parti 2 ten varias preguntas sobre a Fala. Pur favol, lee tó in detalli e intenta respondel as priguntas u mais detallamenti pusibli.

The following survey is part of a research project of the Fala language and its intended for native speakers of Fala only. The survey has two parts: Part 1 includes several sentences; you will have to choose the one that you prefer over the other. Part 2 includes several questions about Fala. Please, read everything carefully and try to answer as truly for yourself as possible.

PARTI 1: PREFERENCIAS D'ORTOGRAFÍA

PART 1: SPELLING PREFERENCES

In esta parti, marca sólu a frasi que tú prefieris. Si das dúas opciós niñunha te pareci ben, utiliza a parti en blancu pa iscribil comu tú iscribirías u mismu mensaji.

In this section, mark the sentence that you prefer. If of both options none seems of your preference, use the blank space to write down the same message as you would spell it.

1. As pesoas du pisu d'abaixu falan de corazós.

2. As pessoas de o piso d' abaixo falan de coraços.

   _____

   The people downstairs talk about hearts.

3. Á mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo.

   Hay mutus carvallus, madroñeiras y pedras in u campu.

   _____

   There are a lot of oak trees, strawberry trees and stones in the fields.

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4. O menino come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo.

   U mininu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu.

   _____

   The child eats cheese made of sheep milk and I don't complain.

5. Vo cun presa a buscal a ilmana María purque anda presa.

   Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa.

   _____

   I'm in a hurry going to look for sister María because she's imprisoned.

PARTI 2: PRIGUNTAS GENERÁIS

PART 2: GENERAL QUESTIONS

¿Dibiría a Fala tel un Sistema de iscritura unificau? In oitras palabras, crees que u Valverdeiru, Lagarteiru y Mañegu divirían iscribilsi da misma maneira?

Should Fala have an unified spelling system? In other words, do you think Valverdeiru, Lagarteiru and Mañegu should be written in the same way?

¿Dibirían as escuelas primarias insinal a us pequenus a iscribil in Fala?

Should schools teach children to write in Fala?

¿Mandas mensajis o utilizas algúnha red social in Fala? Iscribis à ixenti que coñocis du tei lugal in Fala?

Do you text or use any social media by means of Fala? Do you write to the people you know from your town in Fala?

¿Qué pois recomendali á ishenti que quel leel algu in Fala?

What can you recommend for people who want to read something in Fala

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SAN MARTIN DE TREVEJO

O siguienti cuestionariu é parti de un traballu de investigación da Fala y esta feitu exclusivamenti pa falantis da varianti da Fala, **Mañegu**. O cuestionariu ten duas partis. Parti 1 ten varias frasis: tú tes que eligil a que prefieris sobre a otra, Parti 2 ten cuestiós sobre a Fala. Por favol lee to en detalli e intenta respondel as preguntas o mais detallamenti pusibli.

PARTI 1: PREFERENCIAS DE ORTOGRAFÍA

En esta parti marca sólu a frasi que tu prefieris. Si de as duas opciós ninhuna te pareci ben, utiliza a parti en blancu pa escribil comu escribirías tú o mismu mensaji.

1. As pesoas du pisu de abaixu falan de corazós.

   As pessoas de o piso d' abaixo falan de coraços.

   _____

2. Á mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo.

   Hay mutus roblis, madroñus y peiras en o campu.

   _____

3. O menino come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo.

   O dagalitu comi queisu de leiti de ovella y ei nun me queisu.

   _____

4. Voy cun presa a buscal a hermana María purque anda presa.

   Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa.

   _____

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PARTI 2: PRIGUNTAS GENERÁIS

Dibiría a Fala tel un sistema de escritura unificau? En otras palabras crees que u valverdeiru, lagarteiru y mañegu dibirían escribilsi da misma maneira?

Dibirían as escuelas primarias ensinal a os dagalitus a escribil en Fala?

Mandas mensajis o utilizas algúnha re social en Fala? Escribis a ishenti que coñocis do lugal en Fala?

Que le pois recomendal a ishenti que quel leel algu en Fala?

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VALVERDE DEL FRESNO

U siguienti cuestionariu e parti de un traballu de investigación da Fala y está feitu exclusivamenti pa falantis da varianti da Fala, **Valverdeiru**. U cuestionariu ten duas partis. Parti 1 ten varias frasis; Tú tes que escoller a que tú prefieras sobre a otra. Parti 2 ten preguntas sobre a Fala. Por favor, lee to en detalli e intenta responder as preguntas u mais detallamenti posibli.

PARTI 1: PREFERENCIAS DE ORTOGRAFÍA

En esta parti marca solu a frasi que tú prefieras. Si de as duas opcions niñunha te pareci ben, utiliza a parti en blancu pa escribir cumu tú escribirías u mismu mensaji.

1. As pesoas du pisu de abaju falan de corazons.

   As pessoas de o piso d' abaixo falan de coraços.

   _____

2. Á mutus carvalhos, madronheiras e pedras no campo.

   Hay mutus roblis, madroñus y pedras nu campu.

   _____

3. O menino come queijo de leite de ovelha e ei nõ me queixo.

   U criu comi queisu de leiti de oveya y ei nun me queju.

   _____

4. Voy cun presa a buscar a hermana María purque anda presa.

   Vo com pressa a buscar a irma María purque anda presa.

   _____

PARTI 2: PRIGUNTAS GENERÁIS

¿Debería a Fala tel un sistema de escritura unificau? En otras palabras, crees que u Valverdeiru, Lagarteiru y Mañegu deberían escribirsi da misma maneira?

¿Deberían as escuelas primarias ensinal a us crius a escribir en Fala?

¿Mandas mensajis o utilizas algunha red social en Fala? ¿Escribis a genti que coñocis du tei pueblu en Fala?

¿Qué le pois recomendar a genti que quel leer algu en Fala?