The recycling of local discourses in the institutional talk: Naturalization strategies, interactional control, and public local identities

Gabriela Prego Vázquez
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

Área de Lingüística Xeral
Departamento de Literatura Española, Teoría da Literatura e Lingüística Xeral
Facultade de Filoloxía
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Campus Norte, Avda. de Castelao, s/n
E-15782 - Santiago de Compostela
(A Coruña) España
Grupo de investigación koiné: <<http://www.usc.es/koine/>>
gabipv@usc.es

Abstract

In this article we will analyze how institutional and public discourse may be naturalized (Thompson, 1990) through the recycling of elements from daily local discourse. The process of discourse naturalization is one of transformation, making what is local, universal, what is partisan, neutral, and what is arbitrary, natural. Specifically, we will examine, as strategies for the naturalization of institutional discourse: the mobilization of traditional vocatives; the use of local codes or of Galizan/Spanish code-switching; and the reference to local 'discourse domains. Our data comes from a corpus of over twenty-five hours of audio recordings from public and institutional events that come from the area which encompasses the periurban of A Coruña city and the towns belonging to Bergantiños (Galicia). Methodologically, our focus is multidisciplinary. We selectively make use of analytical tools from interactional sociolinguistics, conversational analysis, ethnography of communication, microsociology, and critical discourse analysis.
Key words: naturalization strategies, interactional control, institutional discourse, recycling of daily local talk and identities.

Resumo

Neste artigo analizamos como o discurso institucional e público pode ser naturalizado

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(Thompson, 1990) a través da reciclaxe de elementos procedentes do discurso local cotiá. O proceso da naturalización do discurso consiste nunha transformación do local en universal, do partidista en neutral e do arbitrario en natural. Concretamente, examinaremos como estratexias para a naturalización do discurso institucional: a mobilización dos vocativos tradicionais, o uso dos códigos locais ou da alternancia de códigos galego/español, e mais a referencia ós dominios do discurso local. Os nosos datos proceden dun corpus de arredor de vintecinco horas de gravacións audio en situacións públicas e institucionais na área que abrangue a zona periurbana da cidade da Coruña e as vilas da comarca de Bergantiños (Galicia). Metodoloxicamente, a nosa perspectiva é interdisciplinaria. Facemos un uso selectivo de ferramentas analíticas procedentes da sociolingüística interaccional, da análise da conversa, da etnografía da comunicación, da microsocioloxía e mais da análise crítica do discurso.

Palabras clave: estratexias de naturalización, control interaccional, discurso institucional, reciclaxe da fala e identidades locais cotiás.

1. Introduction[1]

Institutional discourse is undoubtedly a strategic site (Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b) for studying the relationships between talk and social identities, and, as pointed out by Agar (1985), it is a critical tool used by institutions to control individuals. In this article we will analyze how institutional talk may be naturalized (Thompson, 1990) through the recycling of elements from daily local discourse.

The investigation is centred in different public discursive events produced in the geographical area which includes: the periurban region of A Coruña city, specifically Arteixo and the towns belonging to Bergantiños. It is an area which has traditionally been rural and, in the last decades, has experimented an industrial and urbanization process. As a result of this transformation, new urban centres have appeared together with traditional villages and rural networks. This way, the borders between rural and urban become blur: a new social fabric emerges and we have called this rururban space (Prego Vázquez, 2000, 2004).

These social changes are not only reflected in the communicative repertoire of this community but moreover the social agents use the linguistic varieties and resources to represent and index the new values and social groups of the region. Thus, daily language usages in this region include diverse varieties located along a continuum ranging from standard, vernacular, formal and conversational varieties of Galizan, to several Spanish registers, and to emerging intermediate codes commonly known as *castrapo*. These forms of speech function as symbols (Gumperz, 1982a) representing the community's diverse social groups: farmers belonging to traditional rural networks, wage earners, employees, or merchants who participate in new urban and rururban networks and transitional groups composed of individuals who systematically interact in rural and urban networks. Thus, the opening of networks as well as the manifestation of new linguistic codes in daily interactions reflect the modernization which Galiza has been undergoing throughout recent decades and which the periurban region of A Coruña city clearly illustrates.

Our goal is to show how institutional and public discourse observed not only presents those discourse tasks which are characteristic of the genre (Drew & Heritage, 1992), but also introduces local linguistic elements which constitute discourse strategies of naturalization. Naturalization strategies, on the one hand, configure affiliative discursive alliances with a diverse audience formed by individuals from the groups mentioned above; on the other, they aid in maintaining discourse control and in designing asymmetrical interactional relationships between institutional representatives and individuals.

Specifically, we will examine, as strategies for the naturalization of institutional discourse: the mobilization of traditional vocatives; the use of local codes or of Galizan/Spanish code-switching; and the reference to local 'discourse domains' (Goodwin, 1986). We will further detail how these mechanisms evoke the community's sociocultural values, beliefs and attitudes, and how they project local public identities.

Our data comes from a corpus of over twenty-five hours of audio recordings from public and institutional events in the area which encompasses the periurban of A Coruña city and the towns belonging to Bergantiños. The corpus includes political meetings, council plenary sessions, radio programs, and neighbourhood association meetings.

Methodologically, our focus is multidisciplinary. We selectively make use of analytical tools from interactional sociolinguistics (Álvarez-Cáccamo, 1996a, 1996b, 1997; Gumperz 1982a, 1982b), conversational analysis (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Drew & Heritage 1992), ethnography of communication (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972), microsociology (Goffman, 1959, 1967, 1974, 1981), linguistic

anthropology (Gal, 1993; Woolard, 1992), and critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1988, 1995, 1997; Fairclough, 1989; Martin Rojo, 1995; Martín Rojo & Whittaker, 1998; Morales López, 1994; Morales López & Pujante Sánchez, 1997). In this sense, our methodological starting point coincides with one of the parts of the investigations which has recently been developed in the social analyses of the discourse. For instance, Heller's investigations (1999, 2001, 2002, 2003), the articles included in Blommaert et alii (2001, 2003), the work of Tusón and Unamuno (1999), Álvarez Cáccamo and Prego Vázquez (2003), Morales López, Prego Vázquez and Domínguez Seco (2005), among others, illustrate this new investigation line that combines the analytical tools of the disciplines previously mentioned. We would be before what Heller has called Critical Sociolinguistics (Heller, 2002) or Critical Ethnography, which allows us to develop a sequential, socio-discursive and critical analyses of the data[2].

2. Discourse naturalization

The process of discourse naturalization is one of transformation, making what is local, universal, what is partisan, neutral, and what is arbitrary, natural. The ways of thinking or behaving proposed to citizens by political representatives are generally, like the ways of thinking of any social group, arbitrary. However, social agents conceal this arbitrariness using discursive strategies to make their ideas seem convincing, and to transform the behaviour of others. Briggs (1992: 389) considers, after Bourdieu (1977: 164), that to exercise power consists of naturalizing the arbitrariness of ways of thinking, and diverse forms of behaviour and social structures:

> The notion that social groups produce arbitrary modes of thinking and acting, social structures, and the like is common anthropological fare. Interested in the Marxism problematic of power and ideology, Bourdieu (1977: 164) goes on to suggest that every established order tends to produce (to very different degrees with very different means) the naturalization of its arbitrariness. (Briggs, 1992: 389)

According to Thompson (1990), 'naturalization' is one of the typical strategies of the *modus operandi* of ideology, or, to be precise, of what is termed 'reification'. Reification consists of presenting relations of domination as though they were natural events. According to Thompson:

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[2] Heller (2001) proposes a "Critical and Sociolinguistic Discourse Analysis". She introduces the union of interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography and critical discourse analysis to study linguistic practices set in social and historical contexts (Heller, 2002).

A fifth *modus operandi* of ideology is reification: relations of domination may be established and sustained by representing a transitory, historical state of affairs as if it were permanent, natural, outside of time.

(Thompson, 1990: 65)

And one of the strategies of this *modus operandi* is the naturalization that is effected by presenting a state of affairs which is the result of a social or historical process as though it were natural, or had natural characteristics:

This mode may be expressed in symbolic forms by means of the strategy of naturalization. A state of affairs which is a social and historical creation may be treated as a natural event or as inevitable out come of natural characteristics. (Thompson, 1990: 66)

Through the process of naturalization, individual opinions become 'common sense' and appear to lose their 'partial' character, reappearing as 'neutral' or 'true' (Gal & Woolard, 1995), or as what Martín Rojo (1995), among others, would call consensus ideology. In this sense, the discursive process serves institutional representatives or any social group as a tool for managing discourse control, which is really what interests us. Fairclough (1989) treats naturalization along the same lines as Thompson (1990), as a strategy designed to legitimize power relations:

Institutional practices which people draw upon without thinking often embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimize existing power relations. Practices which appear to be universal and common-sensical can often be shown to originate in the dominant class or the dominant block, and to have become naturalized. Where types of practice, and in many cases types of discourse, function in this way to sustain unequal power relations, I shall say they are functioning ideologically. (Fairclough, 1989: 33)

For his part, Briggs (1992: 38) considers that studying the naturalization of social relations can be extremely productive and, given that social relations are interwoven through discourse action, the detailed analysis of discourse mechanisms will further us important details of how this process is effected (Bloomaert & Verschueren, 1992). In fact, in the last decade, different research lines have explored the discursive mechanisms of the naturalization of different types of discourses through which the power is exerted: the religious discourse (Briggs, 1992; Staats, 2003), journalistic texts (Luzón, 2000; El Refaie, 2001), institutional interactions like the conversations doctor-patient (Niljhof, 1998), the political speech (Prego Vázquez, 2000) or the discourse used in theories or explanations of sociolinguistic matters (Recalde, 2002 & 2003).

This way, its application to the study of linguistic ideologies has been developed from of the Anthropological Linguistics perspective in the investigation of Briggs (1992), centred in the wailing ritual and the shamanistic song of the Warao, a people of Orinoco delta in Venezuela. After the pioneering work of Briggs (1992), a decade later, Staats (2003) explores how the Areruya leaders naturalize their practise of power through the metacomunicative symbols. His investigation, developed in the ethnography of communication and anthropological linguistics, is centred in the *maiyin*, a genre included in Kapon's religious ceremonies, a native tribe from the Amazon.

Different works, assigned in the critical discourse analysis, have also analysed the discursive methods through which naturalization works. For example, Luzón (2000) concentrates on the naturalization of the types of discourse to explore the role of the structure of the text in the ideological encoding. The author, following Fairclough (1989), points out that one of the most effective ways to legitimize the power relations is the naturalization of certain discursive practices. Luzón shows, with different examples mined from the press, how naturalization and the discursive manipulation are useful to hide the arbitrariness of the dominant discourses. On the other hand, Niljhof (1998) analyses the naming as a linguistic resource of the naturalization in the conversations doctor-patient. Or the work of El Refaie (2001) illustrates how several metaphoric expressions in the Austrian press are recurrently used to refer to the Kurdish asylum seekers in Italy in 1998. Its function is to naturalize or hide the racist discourse and to blur the borders between the literal and non literal.

The analyses that is undergone in the following sections follows the line of the previous works. It tries to unravel how the linguistic and discursive resources can work as naturalization strategies.

3. Footings displayed towards the collective addressee and discourse naturalization using the mobilization of traditional vocatives

The addressee of public discourse is always a collective addressee; that is to say, a large audience which as well as being given information, must also be persuaded and manipulated. Therefore various footings (Goffman, 1981: 128) are established towards the heterogeneous audience, thereby contributing towards the creation of the frame (Goffman, 1974) of institutional discourse of a public nature. Our data contains the typical deictic mechanisms used in public discourse to encode the collective addressee: personal pronouns in the second person plural or the first person plural in which both speaker and addressee are included, verb forms in the aforementioned persons and different vocatives which refer to the public as 'ladies and gentlemen', 'listeners', etc.

Furthermore, we have observed from our data that institutional representatives mobilize traditional vocatives used in daily local discourse in order to position themselves towards the public and form affiliative alliances with the audience.[3] In this way, institutional discourse is naturalized. For example, vocatives such as 'veciños' ("neighbours") appear, these carrying connotations of a local nature. The term 'veciño' is used in the Galizan rural world to refer to those who belong to the same parish and who, therefore, interact within the same social relations networks.

The symbolic introduction of traditional discourse into institutional talk by mobilizing this kind of vocative is a means of discourse naturalization. It implies a clear strategy with the rhetorical aim of getting closer to the audience using this formula which evokes positive politeness and solidarity (Brown & Levinson, 1987). And, considering the traditional connotations of this term, its use establishes an affiliative alliance with the Bergantine farmers, or those whose ancestors were farmers.

In this way, 'a local public image' is put across; in fact, the inclusion of elements and strategies of traditional discourse is a regular feature of institutional discourse in Bergantiños, as we shall show in this study. Take as an example the following extract from a political meeting held in Carballo during the 1997 regional elections. The example, from a speech given by Evencio Ferrero, the Bergantine representative of the *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* (BNG), the left-wing Galizan nationalist party, shows the mobilization of the traditional vocatives 'veciños' and 'veciñas'.

Case 1: "Castigo electoral"	Case 1:"Electoral Punishment"
EF: ningún solo xesto	not one single gesture
ningún solo movimento	not one single movement
ningunha sola liña escrita	not one single line written
sobre a autovía Coruña-Carballo	about the Coruña/Carballo motorway
hasta cando	until when
pois	well
hasta que os **veciños**	until the parishioners[4]
e **veciñas**	and parishioners
os castiguedes electoralmente	punish them electorally

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[3] Traditional presentation formulae are also used strategically. In Prego Vázquez (2002 & 2003) we have analysed how these formulae move from the traditional discourse to the institutional and political speech.

[4] The masculine plural 'veciños' and its female counterpart, 'veciñas' have the literal meaning neighbours, but the connotations in this community are closer to those of the word 'parishioner'.

In this episode Evencio Ferrero refers to the limited measures taken by the *Partido Popular* (right-wing party active throughout the whole of Spain) to ensure that the Coruña-Carballo motorway would be free of tolls and, therefore, to that party deserving electoral punishment from the people of Bergantiños. How ever, in the nineties, Partido Popular triumphed by a majority in Bergantiños. In spite of the fact that the different political management carried out by this party damaged the region, the results were always favourable to them.

Evencio Ferrero, representative of BNG, a party which in that moment (1997 regional elections) was the opposition BNG[5], uses different discourse strategies to make the statement appear natural and logical, and to defend the interests of all present. One of the discourse mechanisms used to this end is the inclusion of deictic and vocative formulas which evoke positive politeness and solidarity, such as 'castigades' ("punish")[6], 'veciños' or 'veciñas'. In that sense, the formulae of camaraderie evoke the ground shared by the speaker and the audience and, therefore, their use in this context aids in setting what has been transmitted within the frame of the common ground shared by them: people problem.

To be precise, the mobilization of traditional vocatives such as *veciños* or *veciñas* in an institutional and political context is used to seek identification with the audience, and the esteem and solidarity of that audience in order to facilitate persuasion. In the same way, as well as serving to establish affiliative alliances with the public, positive politeness formulae represent a weapon of control discourse and persuasion.

4. Code switching and/or language alternation directed at a heterogeneous audience and discourse naturalization

Goodwin (1986) defends the position that the audience is not a collection of passive listeners but that it articulates itself dynamically and plays an active part in the construction of conversation. According to Goodwin (1986), the listening participants occupy different footings; in fact, the audience is internally diversified and this diversification reformulates as the interaction progresses. The speakers design a certain hierarchy in the audience by means of verbal and gesturing procedures and this, in its turn, also has a dynamic role.

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[5] Currently, 10 years later, Evencio Ferrero is the mayor of Carballo.

[6] In both Spanish and Galizan there are two possible verb forms used to address a person or group of people; the second or third persons. The second person (singular or plural) corresponds to an informal or colloquial usage, and the third person (singular or plural) is of a more formal nature.

Taking this methodological frame as a starting point, we will make a sequential analysis of a communicative episode taken from *Radio Voz Bergantiños* (one of a number of local branches of a Galizan radio station) for the purpose of investigating the connections between code-switching and/or language alternation, the footings of the participants and the projection of identities. We shall investigate how the various roles of the speakers and listeners in an interactive process are negotiated through language alternation and other mechanisms, and at the same time, interactional control and the territoriality of the discourse action are determined, and local identities evoked by institutional discourse.[7]

Likewise language alternation and code-switching is a local and conversational resource used as a naturalization strategy in political and institutional talk. The polyphony of different voices, codes and linguistic varieties in institutional discourse, as well as being a mechanism which aligns the different members of the audience, serves to create a "natural" discourse that connects with all of the community's social groups. In fact, use is made of different linguistic varieties which make up the communicative repertoire of the community, and are indexical of its social continuum.

According to Pujolar (1997: 206), based on Fairclough's proposals, the polyphony of discourse suggests the existence of a dispersed and ambivalent identity. In the same sense, *linguistic crossing* (Rampton, 1995, 2001) is directly connected to the projection of multidimensional identities. It could therefore be said that the strategic use of code-switching in institutional discourse serves to project a public image which connects with the different social groups.

This discourse is naturalized and neutralized, since by using this strategy the speaker does not identify him/herself with any particular social group, but rather evokes a multidimensional identity connected with all groups within the community; it is therefore related to the designing of a common space by means of discourse and discourse naturalization. For example, in the following case, we can observe the connection between discourse naturalization, language alternation and designed discourse alliances. The episode is taken from a programme transmitted by *Radio Voz Bergantiños*, dedicated to *Feiraber*, an agricultural/stockbreeding exhibition which is of great importance in the region:

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[7] In fact, code-switching between Galizan/Spanish/formal Galizan is one of the most frequent linguistic mechanisms of the Bergantine region.

Case No.2: Feiraber[8]

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 1  CA:    ... nas zonas axardinadas do recinto
 2  imos coñecer agora
 3  como marchan outros preparativos
 4  volvemos
 5  ao polígono industrial de Bertoa
 6  e a unidade móbil de Radio Voz Bergantiños
 7  Jorge Campos
 8  JC:    buenas tardes
 9  Cristina
10  y buenas tardes a todos
11  bueno pues
12  la la verdad es que
13  estamos ahora en pleno en pleno sol
14  estamos mismo
15  donde se está construyendo
16  lo que va a ser la granja
17  digamos así
18  en feiraber
19  y están
20  bueno
21  pues
22  trabajando al mil por mil
23  porque
24  el jueves
25  e
26  bueno
27  pues
28  está al caer
29  y la verdad
30  que los preparativos
31  que este año
32  son bastante bonitos
33  por una parte
34  bastante trabajosos
35  por otra
36  porque hay algunas novedades
37  como podemos
38  como hemos mencionado ya antes
39  novedades que son
40  por ejemplo
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[8] Cursive is used to Spanish.

Case nº2: Feiraber

CA: in the garden areas of the site
we're now going to find out
how some other preparations are going
let's return
to the industrial estate in Bertoa
and to the Radio Voz Bergantiños mobile unit
Jorge Campos
JC: good afternoon
Cristina
and good afternoon to everyone
well
the the truth is that
we are in the in the sun
we are right
where they are building
what is going to be the farm
let's say
in Feiraber
and they're
well
err
working nineteen to the dozen
because
Thursday
and
um
well
err
is almost here
and the truth is
that the preparations
that this year
are rather nice
on the one hand
fairly laborious
on the other
because there are some innovations
as we can
as we have already mentioned before
innovations which are
for example

41 *esos jardines*
42 *dentro da la sensación*
43 *de que estamos en un vergel*
44 *porque va a haber*
45 *alrededor de todos los stands*
46 *pues una especie de jardín*
47 *con hierba que están montando*
48 *están una máquina ahora trabajando*
49 *y también*
50 *bueno pues va a haber una especie de monumento*
51 *yo que sé*
52 *algunos expositores*
53 *han traído cosas magníficas*
54 *magníficas*
55 *y precisamente*
56 *también*
57 *en estos momentos*
58 *están colocando una especie de*
59 *digamos oasis*
60 *en el centro de la nave*
61 *que son unos árboles*
62 *y luego*
63 *encima llevan*
64 *la clásica*
65 a clásica xesta de aquí
66 de da zona
67 *bueno*
68 *de todas las zonas*
69 *pero bueno*
70 que vai a ser
71 a que faga un pouquiño de tellado
72 y
73 aí van a ir
74 creo creo que
75 tamén algún tipo de exposición
76 pero pra que nos conte un pouquiño mas
77 que nos
78 que nos
79 introduzca un pouquiño en feiraber
80 Luís Barca Añón
81 ademais
82 á parte de ser responsable de protección civil
83 está na comisión de feiraber
84 boas tardes

those gardens
inside you get the feeling
of being inside an orchard
because there's going to be
around all the stands
err, a kind of garden
with grass that they're setting up
there's a machine working now
and also
well err there's going to be a sort of monument
I don't know
some exhibitors
have brought magnificent things
magnificent
and exactly
also
at this moment
they're putting a kind of
let's say oasis
in the centre of the grounds
which is some trees
and then
on the top they've got
the classic
the classic bracken from here
from the area
well
from all areas
but anyway
what else
would we use to make a small roof
and
there there's going to be
I think I think that
also some type of exhibition
but to tell us a little bit more
to
to
give us an introduction to Feiraber
Luis Barca Añón
furthermore
apart from being the civil defense organization supervisor
he is on the Feiraber commission
good afternoon

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85 EO: ola
86 boas tardes
87 (...)

88 ER: Luís Barca Añón
89 gracias por estar con nós
90 hoxe nesta tarde soleada
91 e caendo o sol a plomo
92 que
93 eu calculo que entre vinte
94 vinte e dous grados
95 teremos
96 encima das nosas cabezas
97 pero
98 soportámolo ben
99 gracias
100 EO: moi ben
101 gracias a vós
102 ER(JC):bueno Cristina
103 pues desde feiraber
104 este es
105 esto es todo de momento
106 como los preparativos que van viento en popa
107  y
108 vuelvo a repetir
109 con esas novedades
110 que yo creo que la gente
111 va a disfrutar este año
112 de feiraber noventa y siete
113 claro que sí
114 CA: pois seguramente
115 como tódolos anos
116 feiraber é unha boa oportunidade para disfrutar
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EO: hello
good afternoon
(...) (we have omitted the rest of the interview and the
fragment reproduced below is from the end of that interview)
ER: Luis Barca Añón
thank you for being with us
today on this sunny afternoon
the sun beating down on us
that
I would say around twenty
twenty two degrees
we've got here
over our heads
but
we're coping well
thank you
EO:  very well
thanks to you
ER: well Cristina
(JC) err from Feiraber
this is
that is all for the moment
as the preparations are going like a dream
and
I repeat
with these novelties
that I think that people
are going to enjoy this year
Feiraber 97
of course
CA: well then for sure
just as every year
Feiraber is a good opportunity for enjoyment
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This episode is a kind of multi-party interaction, with the participation of two presenters; Cristina Abelleira and Jorge Campos, a guest who is interviewed; Luis Barca Añón and, of course, all of the listeners. In the extract we can distinguish two kinds of participants; those who can participate verbally in the episode, and those who can only listen −the listeners.

The former are included in what Goffman (1959) would call staging space and the latter in spectator space; in this case, the programme's listeners. Goffman (1959) makes the distinction between these two spaces in social encounters as he considers

that such encounters are like theatrical performances. In this analysis we will focus on the space which we have labelled staging space, in which Cristina Abelleira, Jorge Campos and Luis Barca Añón participate. The presenter, Cristina Abelleira, connects with the mobile unit of which her colleague, Jorge Campos, is in charge (lines 1-7).

She (line 2) uses the first person plural to indicate her role as spokesperson for those following the radio-programme. Through the phrase: "imos coñecer agora" ("we're now going to find out"), she makes it appear that her communicative intention is not to seek information for herself, but for all listeners. Thus a discourse alliance is outlined between Cristina and the radio audience that functions as a team, in the sense described by Goffman (1959), of which she is the spokesperson.

In the first section (1-7), Cristina controls the interaction and chooses Jorge Campos as the next speaker using a method frequently used in radio programmes; the emission of the name of the next speaker (line 7). Cristina, in giving him the floor, consequently invites him to form part of the discourse alliance which she has formulated right from the beginning of the interaction. Her intervention, which consists predominantly of short intonation groups and rising cadences, identifies with the informative code, and the formal variety of Galizan.

Immediately afterwards, Jorge Campos takes the floor, thus becoming part of the discourse alliance that Cristina established at the beginning of the interaction. In fact, he begins his intervention using a ritual greeting formula directed at Cristina (the spokesperson) and the rest of the listeners (8-10). The linguistic variety used by Jorge Campos is basically a formal register of Spanish. In this case, the use of a different linguistic variety from the one used by his colleague activates a new frame and coincides with the creation of a new discourse alliance. Nevertheless, the Spanish used by Jorge identifies with the same code his colleague used in the previous episode, the informative code. Therefore, if we follow the Álvarez Cáccamo's (1998) innovative classification, we recognize a change of linguistic variety but without changing code, in this case the informative code.

The presenter gives information about the preparations for the exhibition, allowing us to observe how, in the section which runs from line 64 to line 84, a language alternation from Spanish to Galizan is produced progressively, through the use of varied discourse mechanisms. In the first instance, in line 65 we observe a change into Galizan using the conversational mechanism of repair, and later a change to Spanish using the same mechanism in line 68.

The process of repair has been widely studied from the perspective of the analysis of conversation from a sequential perspective (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977). According to Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks (1977: 363) we will refer to 'repair' rather than 'correction' in order to capture the more general domain of

occurrences. Self and other-correction, then, are particular types in a domain more generally formulated by a distinction between self- and other-repair. We will refer to that which the repair addresses as the 'repairable' or the 'trouble source'. In view of the point about repair being initiated with no apparent error, it appears that nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class 'repairable'.

However, taking the diversity of phenomena included within repair as a starting point, and following on from the ethnomethodologists, I consider that a repair is produced to solve any sort of conversational problem, not necessarily errors, and can provoke discourse re-elaborations and reformulations, among other things. Thus, the first case of repair we come across is in lines 64-65: 'la clásica / a clásica xesta de aquí' ("the classic / the classic bracken from here") is a case of self-repair, as the speaker changes his linguistic form on his own initiative, and it would fall into the category which Jefferson (1983) terms 'embedded correction'.

The repair is not connected with a problem of misunderstanding or error, as is the case in prototypical examples of repair, but the fact that 'la clásica' is then modified indicates that it is repairable, and that as such, it was repaired. In this episode, the change from 'la clásica' to 'a clásica' is not simply a language alternation, but carries with it an important change of meaning, which could be classified as what John Gumperz (1982a) terms "a change of metaphoric codes".

In this case the repair is connected with a process of recycling and reformulation of information, since the phrase 'a clásica xesta' has connotations which are different from those of 'la clásica', Jorge therefore changes to Galizan to talk about local issues, about the vegetation of the area 'a clásica xesta de aquí / de da zona'("the classic bracken from here / from the area") (lines 65-66). Immediately afterwards he initiates another self-repair in the opposite direction; from Galizan to Castilian, in order to stop referring to local matters: 'bueno / de todas las zonas' ("well, from all areas") (lines 67-68).

In this event it would appear that the second embedded self-repair is also a self-correction. Jorge introduces an extenuating 'bueno' ("well"), and changes over to Castilian to effect a self-correction and identify 'la xesta' ("bracken") as vegetation found typically in the whole of Galiza, not only in Bergantiños. In these cases, language alternation is not related to a change in, or reformulation of alliances, although it is a task in preparation for the progressive change of linguistic varieties effected in the fragment which runs from line 64 to line 84.

In line 69, the presenter again introduces an extenuating 'pero bueno' ("but anyway"), perhaps to mitigate the consecutive repairs made in the previous fragment, and from line 70 he again switches to Galizan. There, from line 69 to 83, there is a change from Spanish into Galizan, in order to introduce a new character to

whom the presenter will speak in Galizan. This language alternation and the introduction of the new character coincide with the designing of a new discourse alliance and a re-organization of the footings of the participants.

We can observe that while Jorge Campos gives his discourse in Spanish, Cristina and the rest of the audience are the addressee-listeners. Immediately afterwards, when Jorge uses Galizan, Cristina and the rest of the audience move into the background as a new participant, Luis Barca Añón is being selected as the addressee-listener. The language alternation effected is directly connected to the re-organization of the footings of the individuals making up the audience. Although Cristina and the radio audience continue to be ratified listeners, they are not the addressee-listeners because the discourse action will be focused between Jorge and the new character, Luis Barca Añón. The language alternation and the reformulation of alliances also coincides with a change in Jorge Campos' role; he moves from the position of interviewee to interviewer.

After the interview (not transcribed here) has taken place, with both Jorge Campos and the interviewer speaking in Galizan, the presenter returns to Spanish in order to renew the connection with the radio station. This language alternation also coincides with a reformulation of alliances. Jorge, making use of his interactional control, ends the interview and chooses Cristina as addressee-listener and as the new speaker, which in turn allows Cristina to regain control of the interaction, just as was the case originally, this participant returning to her use of Galizan.

We can see that the episode analysed has a circular structure as far as linguistic varieties, the interventions of the participants, and the distribution of the territoriality of discourse control are concerned. The presenters alternate the formal varieties of Castilian and Galizan, but always use an informative code belonging to the media[9]. The continued linguistic fluctuations are directly related to negotiation and the distribution of the interactional territory purtaining to each one of the participants and to the footing of the individuals making up the audience. In fact, Cristina's formal Galizan serves to establish and close the connection with the mobile unit, and Jorge's fluctuations from Spanish to Galizan and then back to Spanish, also designed in circular form, serve to mark the beginning and end of a new communicative episode: an interview. Likewise, Jorge Campos' language alternations are related to a change in role, from interviewee to interviewer, and they also coincide, as we have observed, with the re-organization of discourse alliances.

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[9] Through the use of the informative register and the formal varieties of the languages, the presenters identify themselves as information professionals, and become members of urban social structures.

In the light of this and other episodes from the corpus, we can consider *Radio Voz Bergantiños* to be a radio-station that transmits in language alternation. In that sense, the use of different linguistic varieties by this local station constitutes a strategy for making contact with the large and heterogeneous audience in the region. For this reason, *Radio Voz Bergantiños* represents an ideal sphere in which to analyse the negotiation of identity through discourse within this community[10].

In this case, the language alternations without the switching of codes serve to project a multidimensional local identity that connects with all the different groups within the community, and contributes towards discourse naturalization. This is due to the fact that this discourse strategy is an example of the community's natural linguistic "situation", which is one of linguistic plurality. In this way the speaker does not identify himself linguistically with any particular group but, symbolically, seeks a connection with the whole community.

5. The activation of traditional discourse domains, alignments in the audience, and discourse naturalization

It has been observed in the corpus of data that public agents recurrently use different techniques to refer to discourse domains which are part of the community's shared knowledge. In this way, the speaker reaches out in a gesture aimed only at community members, functioning as a 'theatrical aside', or a 'wink of the eye' aimed directly at the Bergantine audience.

An alignment is created simultaneously with respect to those individuals who are not members of the community and therefore cannot gain access to the discourse domain referred to by the participant. The recycling of local discourse elements in institutional talk contributes towards 'discourse naturalization' through the process of evoking sociocultural values in the community.

The participation of individuals in certain social interaction networks plays a decisive role in this socio-discursive process, as they have access to their community cultural knowledge as a result of their participation in the social interaction networks. Access to knowledge of certain local issues referred to in a particular speech, or expertise in certain discourse skills will, to a certain degree depend on the level of implication of the individual in the community's social interaction networks (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Clark, 1996; Gumperz, 1982a, 1996).

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[10] In fact, the value of radio programmes in the analysis of the relationship between language and society has been established in other studies, such as Spitulnik (1992), which studies linguistic pluralism in radio-space in Zambia, and its relation to the production of identities and ideologies.

Consequently, access to certain subjects not only contributes towards distinguishing between an addressee-listener and a non-addressee-listener, but also serves to establish an alliance exclusively with addressee-listeners belonging to the Bergantine community and to contact with their cultural common sense. This contributes towards discourse naturalization.

We move on to the analysis of one of the discourse mechanisms used recurrently in the corpus for the purpose of introducing local discourse domains into institutional talk, metaphorical processes. Metaphor is thus directly linked to individuals' conceptions of the world and to their sociocultural values.

The metaphorical process is one of the linguistic mechanisms used recurrently in our corpus to activate local discourse domains. Metaphorical expressions are used to refer to the community's shared knowledge, thus evoking local identities. Furthermore, they are used as a strategy to aid comprehension and to design affiliative alliances with the collective addressee, making it a perlocutive mechanism intended, just as with any other rhetorical structure (van Dijk, 1995) to persuade, and therefore to make the public institutional identities of the individuals relevant. In institutional discourse, metaphor functions as a form of ideological control (van Dijk, 1995), as a way of degrading the enemy, or serves many other purposes (Chilton & Ilyin, 1993).

In our corpus, the metaphorical process constitutes a tool used to operate the process of naturalization (Thompson, 1990; El Refaie, 2001). Institutional matters are identified with facts encountered daily by the individual, thus appearing to be the results of natural, or nearly-natural processes. Some of the metaphors used in our corpus evoke traditional local discourse domains. Thus elements of traditional local discourse are recycled in institutional discourse through the metaphorical processes. And, through this discursive recycling, reference is made to the knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of the most traditional local social groups, the farmers. For example:

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Case No. 3 "O tute e a cuota láctea"
somos miembros
do que chamamos a unión europea
e aí somos quince miembros
eso é coma quen se senta a xughar a baraxa
ó tute
catro i can co cabalo e co rei
se cantan as cuarenta
pero
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canta as cuarenta un
ou canta as cuarenta os outros
si as levan eles
i aquí pasa exactamente igual
non é o que din
os do (...)
no no hai que aumentar a cuota
hai que aumentala a cuota
pero hai que falar cos outros
porque non vale que ti cantas as cuarenta
cando as levas
e cando as levan eles non val
pois a cuota é fundamental
porque é fundamental
porque é a única garantía
de que o leite ou acollan todo
i do que o leite teña un precio
si non hai cuota
si non hai cuota
eso é un desastre absoluto
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Case 3:"*Tute*[11] and the milk quota"

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we are members
of what we call the European Union
where we are one of fifteen members
that's like sitting down to play cards
to play tute
four and hmm with a horse and with a king[12]
someone calls forty points
but
sometimes one calls forty
sometimes the others call forty
if that's what they've got
and here exactly the same thing happens
it's not like they say
those people from (…)
no there's no need to raise the quota
the quota must be raised
but we have to talk about it with the others
because it's no good calling forty when you've got it
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[11] Tute is a traditional card game in Galicia.

[12] These are cards which belong to the Spanish deck of cards.

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and when they make forty, not accepting it
because the quota is fundamental
because it's fundamental
because it's the only guarantee
that they'll take up all the milk
and that the milk will reach a certain price
if there is no quota
if there is no quota
that is an absolute disaster
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This episode is taken from a political meeting held by a local *Partido Popular* leader, José Manuel Vila, in Carballo, during the Galizan regional elections in October 1997. This part deals with rural Galiza and focusses on the milk quota in Galiza. The incorporation of the Spanish state into the European Union resulted in restrictions on the production of certain products, and one of the sectors worst affected has been the Galizan dairy sector. The *Partido Popular* government has made little effort to raise Galiza's milk quota. However, the media, the government and different political parties have gone out of their way to protect the olive quota in Andalusia.

In this part of the meeting, the representative of the *Partido Popular* concentrates on the game of *tute* in an attempt to cover up the subject of the milk quota pending in Galiza. He uses a metaphorical process to make his own vision of this matter seem the most natural, and to make the problem appear to be the result of a natural process rather than the consequence of possible bad negotiating on the part of the government. The process is also used to conceal the asymmetrical relations which the institutional representative seems to be attempting to design through the use of persuasion.

The representative of *Partido Popular*, José Manuel Vila, turns to metaphor to explain the current problems with the milk quota in Galiza. This metaphor evokes one of the customs of Bergantine farmers, and rural Galizans in general –to play a game of *tute*. The game of *tute* is usually played by four players who win points according to how they play. The horse and king of trumps are very important in this game, since whoever has them 'calls forty', thereby gaining a large number of points and therefore having a much greater chance of winning the game.

In this meeting comparisons are drawn between calling forty in the game of *tute* and achieving the desired level of milk quota. The metaphor is a strategy to divert attention, conceal the current problems with the milk quota, and convince the audience that the speaker's point of view on the problem is unquestionable. Through the use of this strategy, the milk quota is compared with a game of *tute* where chance, a factor beyond human control, is the decisive factor. Thus the speaker

solves a highly complex problem, such as is the milk problem, which has repercussions for all of the small farmers present, in the same way as a game of *tute*, in which sometimes you win, sometimes you lose.

Furthermore, in this episode elements of the farmers' own dialectal linguistic variety are used, thus constituting a strategy for getting closer to the audience by symbolically introducing traditional discourse (traditional discourse domains and dialectal linguistic elements) into institutional discourse. For example, the institutional representative uses dialectal elements such as the 'gheada'[13] 'gh', whereas /g/ is represented as 'g' in the standard spelling, normally absent from institutional discourse since its use is stigmatized −'xughar' ("to play")− and castilianisms −'baraxa'[14] ("deck of cards")− which have a high level of diffusion and acceptance in the most traditional social circles: 'eso é coma quen se senta a xughar a baraxa / ó tute' ("that's like sitting down to play cards / to play *tute*").

The strategic use of dialectal linguistic traits acts, together with the metaphorical process, to activate traditional local discourse domains. These local linguistic traits are contextualization cues for a new frame which is opened up in the discourse into which traditional local discourse is symbolically introduced. Consequently, the activation of the new frame means a change of footing towards the audience. In this case, the speaker designs an affiliative alliance with the individuals belonging to rural social networks, and at the same time identifies himself as a member of those networks.

6. Conclusions

In this study we have analysed how institutional discourse borrows elements of daily local discourse exchanges. In these exchanges, the community's shared cultural knowledge is constructed and circulated; the shared knowledge which defines common sense and what is 'natural' within the cultural community context. Therefore, the discursive mechanisms analysed constitute naturalization strategies. Daily local discourse is filtered through those mechanisms, and the *possible*

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[13] The *gheada* is a dialectal phonetic phenomenon which consists of the fricativization and aspiration of /g/. Here, it is represented by the letters 'gh'.

[14] The standard Galizan term for a deck of cards is baralla". The word "baraxa" is a castilianism borrowed from baraja, and is produced on the analogy of other words in which the only difference between the Spanish and Galizan versions is the phonemic contrast between the phoneme /x/ in Spanish (represented by the letters 'j'and 'g'), and the phoneme / ʃ / in Galizan, represented by the letter 'x'.

partiality and asymmetry of the language of power is set within the frame of community common sense, its contents seeming impartial, true and natural.

We have focussed on the strategies for discourse naturalization which, to a certain extent, break away from the 'formality' of institutional discourse. In that sense, some of the strategies for the naturalization of institutional discourse are related to what Fairclough (1997) designates the "conversationalization of institutional discourse". This author is of the opinion that one of the characteristics of the order of contemporary social discourse is the colonizing carried out by institutions and in the public domain, of discourse types which come originally from a private context. This integration of conversational practices in institutional discourse constitutes a hidden control strategy, as conversationalization implies a greater level of informality which serves to conceal the asymmetry of the interactive relations designed between institutional representatives and individuals.

In that sense, Fairclough (1997) considers institutional discourse's appropriation of conversational resources an intrinsic element of the technologization of discourse. The technologization of discourse includes those discourse practices used by institutions to control cultural and social changes.It could be said that institutional and professional groups have their own technical discourse practices. Professionals and institutional agents possess their own linguistic jargons, and discourse mechanisms suffer restrictions and specializations designed for creating this type of discourse (Drew & Heritage, 1992).

For example, in our corpus of institutional discourse, it is possible to observe the use of the first person plural to project a public image, and the impression of being representative of the group. Also found are continual references to the public present, by means of personal deixis, the use of repetitions and other kinds of tropes for persuasive purposes, restriction of the taking of turns and the frames of participation, etc. All of these mechanisms are used by individuals to present their public image and elaborate institutional discourse.

These and other linguistic and discursive mechanisms help to maintain the asymmetrical interactive relations produced between institutional agents and individuals. They constitute the prototypical discourse methods with which institutions are able to control interaction discursively. These types of mechanism are, in my opinion, typical constituent elements of the process of technologization. But also, as a result of social and cultural changes produced in modern societies, Fairclough considers that methods of control, or discursive technologization, have been reformulated. This means that discursive practices and strategies have changed. For this reason, discursive technologization also includes conversationalization and, therefore, from our point of view, the process of naturalization of institutional

discourse, given that it encompasses the new hidden control strategies of modern societies.

Finally, discursive naturalization strategies analysed serve to project institutional identities. Their use creates the opening of a new interactive frame in which local identity is evoked in an institutional context, to a perlocutive end. At the same time, this new frame creates a change of footing and the designing of an affiliative alliance with the members of the community. Thus the process of discursive naturalization is related to the production of what we will designate 'local public identities' and the projection of the community's sociocultural meanings through discourse.

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