'Bueno', a Pragmatic Castilianism in Galician

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1. Introduction

Although traditional grammar manuals dedicate few sentences to discourse markers, there has been a flurry of research activity with respect to them within the last three decades, especially related to the study of pragmatics and discourse analysis. These particles are fundamental for the correct interpretation of many texts. The multifunctional *bueno* is among the markers studied in Castilian (Fuentes Rodríguez 1993; Bauhr 1994; Llorente Arcocha 1996; Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999; Serrano, 1999; Portolés 2001). The original adjectival sense of 'goodness' has been grammaticalized to give rise to various pragmatic functions. Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999) present examples of *bueno* as an indicator of deontic modality to express agreement and disagreement, as a highlighter of otherness, and as a textual organizer, indicating thematic continuity, message acknowledgement, opening a new theme, rectification, auto-correction, sequential interruption, etc. Bauhr (1994) divides the functions of *bueno* into three areas: 1) pragmatic functions 2) metadiscursive functions of auto-correction, rectification, sequential break, and transition and 3) expressive functions of impatience, hesitation and resignation.

In Galician, *bueno* is an influence from Castilian Spanish, since the patrimonial adjectival form derived from the Latin BONUS is *bo/bon*. Nevertheless, *bueno* is omnipresent in both spoken and written Galician. The ubiquitous use of *bueno* in Galician discourse has been recently censured as unnecessary and substitutable by *ben* or *bo(n)* (Freixeiro Mato 2003:16). The presence of *bueno* and other Castilian discourse markers in Galician is considered to be a result of intense castilianization, owing to the centuries-long diglossic relationship Galician has endured with respect to Castilian.

It is often difficult to determine whether a certain word used in one linguistic code L1 is an authentic borrowing from another code L2 (Poplack and Sankoff 1984; Poplack et. al 1988; Blas Arroyo and Tricker 2000), since it could be an example of code-switching, incomplete mastery of the L1, or a nonce borrowing (Poplack et. al, 1988: 52), that is, 'one-time' usage, which shares characteristics of both a 'one-time' idiosyncratic event like code-switching, as well as some phonological/morphological adaptation to the L1, normally associated with loanword integration. The objective of the present investigation is to evaluate the usage of *bueno* in the recordings of *A nosa fala* (Fernández Rei and Hermida Gulías 1996), which is an oral corpus consisting of three hours of texts recorded throughout all of Galiza from the 1970s through the 1990s. The linguistic context in which *bueno* appears will be analyzed to determine its status as a loanword. Various social variables will be crossed with the uses of the token in order to determine the extension of the term among the speakers. Finally, a semantic and pragmatic classification of all the tokens will be performed in order to determine the functions of *bueno* in Galician discourse.

2. Methodology

The sample consists of thirty-nine of the forty-three recordings contained in the collection *A nosa fala* (Fernández Rei and Hermida Gulías 1996), which, in turn, is a sampling of the *Arquivo Sonoro de Galego Oral*. Four of the recordings were not considered in this sample, since two of them are memorized poems, one is very short memorized story and one is conversation among four speakers whose ages and professions are not clearly identified. The recordings are part of the public domain and are available as cassettes and compact disks and have been recently posted on the web. The thirty-nine oral texts generally represent the speech of one single person who at times may converse with another speaker present during the recording or with the interviewer. Thirteen recordings were made in the 70s; eleven in the 80s and fifteen in the 90s, and include twenty-one males and eighteen females, from the ages of fourteen to eighty-five: seven are younger than twenty-five, ten are between twenty-six and

fifty; nineteen are between fifty-one and seventy-five and three are older than seventy-five. The professions of the speakers are varied but twenty-three are farmers, three are sailors and five are students. In general, the participants are from rural areas; urban speakers are not represented. The speakers hail from all three linguistic blocks of Galiza (Fernández Rei, 1991: 36-37): fifteen from the western; nineteen from the central; and seven from the eastern. The recordings deal with a variety of subjects such as work, professions, local customs, family stories, vacations, and past events.

In the analysis here, each expression of *buèno* was recorded, as were the number of uses of it per speaker. The appearance of at least one token of *bueno* in an oral text, gave that speaker a 'yes' answer to the use of *bueno*. S.P.S.S. was used to perform cross tabulations between the use of *bueno* and the variables of gender, age, decade of interview, decade of birth, linguistic block, linguistic sub-block, and profession. In the transcripts quoted below, the speaker's information is presented according to the following pattern: speaker' gender, age at the time of the recording, the year of the recording, place of origin and the linguistic block. Loose phonetic transcriptions are presented; open mid-vowels are represented with the grave accent; tonic open mid vowels are represented with the circumflex when the tonicity coincides with the conventions of placing written accent marks; the velar nasal by [ŋ]; gheada by 'gh', the palatal sibilant by 'x' and the palatal nasal by [ñ]; 'seseo' is represented by [s]. The Praat program was used to obtain waveforms and spectrograms.

3. Results

Of the thirty-nine subjects, twenty-seven used *bueno* at least once in their speech samples. This represents a frequency of 69%. A total of eighty-six tokens were counted. Cross tabulations of the usage of *bueno* and the variables of sex, age, decade of birth and of interview, profession, and place of origin yielded no statistically significant dependencies. Thus, in the sample of speakers studied here, the usage of *bueno* is independent of gender, age, decade of birth, decade of interview and place of origin. The word is not characteristic of a single, identifiable sector of the population, but rather, it is diffused among all ages, all locations and both sexes. Additionally, it is present in the speech of speakers born from 1900 until the decade of the eighties. Table 1 summarizes the functions of *bueno* found in this study. These functions were classified according to the description for Castilian developed by Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999) for Castilian Spanish. The majority of the examples represent meta-discursive functions in which the particle organizes and structures the text. A total of sixty-nine meta-discursive examples were found.

Table 1. Functions of *buèno* in this corpus.

Function		Number of examples
Meta-discursive		69
	open a new topic	20
	continuity	19
	sequential break	12
	conclusion	6
	acknowledgement	4
	rectification/ auto-correction	8
Deontic modality		11
	agreement	8
	disagreement	3
Focus on otherness		6

A sixty year-old woman from Teo, western block, interviewed in 1982, used *bueno* several times in her speech and several of her examples will be quoted below. The phonological adaptation of the token was analyzed by Praat. Nine tokens of *bueno* pronounced by the woman yielded an average of 642 Hz for F1 and 1443 Hz for F2 for the 'e'. In order to study the closed realizations of tonic 'e', two other words pronounced by the same speaker were analyzed: *téño-os* and *nése* with F1/F2 as 469/ 2100 Hz and 532 Hz/ 1768 Hz, respectively. These differences show that this speaker pronounces *bueno*

with an open 'è', consistent with the vowel space descriptions in Ladefoged (2001). With respect to the final vowel –o, it is raised slightly and as the waveforms and spectrograms suggest, realized with less intensity. In some speakers, the vowel is elided, thus yielding [buèn] or [buè]. In order to represent the phonological adaptation, the grave accent mark will be used on all tokens of the Galician *buèno*.

3.1 Expressing deontic modality

The many functions of *buèno* are derived from its lexical meaning of 'good'. Grammaticalization occurred and the various stages resulted in a particle that gradually lost its lexical content, acquiring grammatical content. Functions that show conformity, acceptance, consent and concession are less grammaticalized than the meta-discursive uses. Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999) refer to certain uses as those of 'deontic modality' because they express the speaker's desire to cooperate with his/her interlocutor by showing consent or concession or expressing agreement, as found in (1).

(1)   Speaker 2: Aínda contache esta mañá uη, de cuando tabaη... o que contache esta mañá de cuando tabaη guardando uη difunto.
Speaker 1: Ai buèno, ¡si hò!
[Speaker 2:You even told one this morning, about when they were... what you told this morning about when they were watching a dead man.
Speaker 1: Oh, right, yes sir! (translated by JAT)]
(Speaker 1, male 62, Speaker 2, male 58; recorded in 1983, Fonsagrada, eastern block)

Speaker 2 reminds the narrator that that very morning he had told a story about a dead man. Speaker 1 shows his agreement by saying '*Ai buèno, ¡si hò!*' Eight uses of the token representing admission or agreement are found in the corpus.

Interestingly enough, the same *buèno* can be used to indicate disagreement, and reproach as in (2). Speaker 1, the woman from Teo whose articulation of *buèno* was discussed above, narrates a story about her brother during the Civil war. Speaker two interrupts. Speaker 1 wishes to control the conversation and objects to speaker 2's intervention by asserting that 'it is what she says'. This use *buèno* attenuates the sting of the disagreement.

(2)   Speaker 2: Aí foi cando nos esconderon de todo, e cando…
Speaker 1: Buèno, pois, ê o que eu digho.
[Speaker 2: It was then when they hid completely from us and when…
Speaker 1: Well, it is what I say. (translated by JAT)]
(two women, 60, recorded in 1982, Teo, western block)

3.2 Expressing meta-discursive functions
3.2.1 Theme- buèno- rheme: 'What follows is more important'

Buèno can highlight the message that 'what follows is more important'. It is present in a variety of contexts: as an opener to a new topic, as a break in sequences, as a signal that a conclusion follows, and in thematic continuity contexts where the speaker had initiated a digression and returns to a previously mentioned point. Thus, *bueno* means 'end of the previous and what follows is more important', or 'theme- *bueno*- rheme'. This same formula is seen in Castilian (Fuentes Rodríguez 1993: 218).

3.2.1.1 Open a new topic

One of the more common uses of *buèno* is that of a formula to indicate that the speaker initiates a new theme. This usage implies that the speaker and listener have a tacit understanding to begin an interchange, thus, *buèno* indicates agreement to converse. For example in (3), the speaker begins a new topic, clarifying that he doesn't understand Spanish very well.

(3)   Dixo: -Buèno, eu pa miη, eu noη sei muito, porque eu, bèη sabe usté que soη portughés e noη entendo muito español.

[He said: Well, as for me, I don't know very much, because you know very well that I am
Portuguese and I don't understand a lot of Spanish. (translated by JAT)]
(male, 20 years old, recorded March 1975,Vilardevós, central block)

Twenty examples in the corpus can be categorized as opening a new theme. This usage can indicate
other functions such as softening the abruptness of a beginning or as a device to collect one's thoughts.

3.2.1.2 Thematic continuity

Thematic continuity, found in nineteen instances in the corpus, usually occurs after the accumu-
lation of information that might constitute a digression from a topic on which the speaker wishes to
elaborate. The use of *buèno* in this context recalls a previously mentioned point in the text. This
function can also be considered similar to a break in discourse but returns to a previously mentioned
theme. An example is given in (4).

(4) È esa mullèr tuvèra uη fillo, que despois tíñao na, eη Buènos Aires, que fora tasista; è así na
    eira tiña uη, uη cubèrto è alí tiña uηa, pèro uη cubèrto bèη, tíñalle uηa cama ao fillo amaise,
    cuη, buèno uηa cama bèη pòsta pa cando o fillo cheghaba co còche.
    [And that woman had a son, who later was in Buenos Aires, who was a taxi driver, and so in
    the threshing field she had a shed and there she had a, but a shed well, she had a bed for her
    son, as well as, well, a sturdy bed for when her son arrived with the car. (translated by JAT)]
    (female, 60, 1982, Teo, western block)

The woman narrating the story explains an event that occurred at the beginning of the Civil War when
a neighbor was willing to hide her brother in a shed. The speaker, after series of starts, returns to a
point where she had left off by saying '*buèno uηa cama*'. The use of *buèno* helps the speaker to return
to the theme of the bed after the series of incomplete digressions culminating with '*amaise, cuη*'.

3.2.1.3 Sequential break

As stated above with respect to thematic continuity, *buèno* can signify a sequential break in the
narration. In (5) we see a listing of fragrances and then the use of *buèno* thereby breaking the sequence
and introducing the concluding element, which in (5) is a type of summary.

(5) …pois, azar, òpiuη, estíη, buèno, varias, è ofrecíache è tal,...
    [well, azar, opium, sting, well, several kinds and he offered you,... (translated by JAT)].
    (female, 25, 1995, Chantada, central block)

In (6), the speaker finishes by relating some background information with the expression of *¡pèro
Buèno*! and then returns to the main story-line about what happened one day.

(6) I-autras veces xa estaba o moneguillo tamêη esperando polo cura, que se levantara, ¡pèro
    buèno! Resulta que uη día esperou o cura máis do debido,
    [And other times the altar boy was already waiting for the priest to get up, but anyways... it
    turns out that one day the priest waited longer than usual, (translated by JAT)]
    (male, 69, 1975, Santa Comba, central block)

The expression *pèro buèno* at times not only breaks a sequence but also introduces a clarification to a
previous assertion (7). The speaker relates how the production of wine required a lot of work. Then, he
introduces a qualification to that statement with *pèro buèno* and explains that there used to be a lot of
young people who could endure the work. This particular example also can be interpreted as auto-
correction. In other cases, *pèro buèno* acts as a punctuation mark, indicating a conclusion. Twelve
examples of this usage were found in the corpus and seven of those were accompanied by *pèro*.

(7) ...daquelas costaba muchísemo traballo coidar o viño. Père, buèno; todo era xènte nova i-
     hàbía moita xènte i-èntonces pois, claro, todo se levaba.
     [...then it used to take a lot of work to make wine. But anyways, all were young and there
     were a lot of people, and so, well, of course, people endured at lot. (translated by JAT)]
     (male, 52, 1992, Sober, central block)

3.2.1.4 Conclusions

As we have seen, thematic continuity and sequential breaks are often indistinguishable because
there is usually a break before returning to a previously mentioned theme. A similar function of *buèno*
often introduces a conclusion. Six uses of *buèno* signal a conclusion or 'pre-conclusion' and are a type
of sequential break, since they indicate a rupture from the sequence in progress. An example of a
conclusion recounts the reflections of a seventy-six year-old man who explains how the world has
changed since he was a young man. He explains how during his youth, young lovers never dared to
touch each other in public. By the year of the recording (1975) the whole world could observe the
behavior between boyfriends and girlfriends. The speaker laments the fact that many young girls do
not even wish to have a boyfriend and their parents condone that attitude. In (8) we see how he finishes
his examples, and then concludes with *buèn*o, the world will be whatever it will be.

(8) O mundo está perdido. *Buèno*, xa será o que sexa. Asta outros tempos ha de haber tempos
     mellores que estes è máis malos.
     [The world is lost. Well, it will be whatever it will be. Even other times, there has to be better
     times than these as well as worse ones. (translated by JAT)]
     (male, 76, recorded in 1975, Roo, western block)

3.2.2 Acknowledgement

Buèno can acknowledge the message transmitted by another speaker. It is an indication of
cooperation derived from the deontic modal functions of the marker. This acknowledgement means
that the listener has received and understood the message. The marker helps the conversation move
along by processing what has been said. In (9), the speaker asks her interloculor if he has ever heard
the screech of the chicken fox. He responds in the affirmative and the woman indicates her reception
and understanding of his answer with the particle *buèno* and then proceeds to liken the sound of the
chicken fox to that of the animal she is trying to describe. These interchanges often begin with a ques-
tion by the speaker who responds to his interlocutor's response with *buèno*, which closes the sequence.
This usage is represented by three examples in the corpus.

(9) Speaker: ¿Noη, nuηca, nuηca sentiches berra-la raposa? ¿A raposa das ghaliñas?
     Interlocutor: ¡Ai, si! Alguηa vez sentíη.
     Speaker: Buèno, pois ela bèrra ighual, bèrra o mismo
     [Speaker: Didn't you ever hear the fox screech? The chicken fox?
     Interlocutor: Oh, yes. I heard [it] some time.
     Speaker: Well, it screeches identically, it screeches the same way. (translated by JAT)]
     (female speaker, 85, recorded in 1993, Coristanco, western block)

3.2.3 Rectification and auto-correction

Bauhr (1994) and Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999) indicate that rectification and
auto-correction correspond to meta-discursive functions of the particle. Auto-correction is a way of
expressing conformity with an objection formulated by a real or imaginary interlocutor, but the
speaker himself always initiates the auto-correction. Auto-correction (10) sometimes indicates that the
speaker finds a more precise word or expression. The speaker begins by saying 'she saw', but doesn't
finish her thought. She starts again with *buèno* and finishes with 'they saw me leave from there'.
Seven usages of auto-correction are found in the corpus.

(10) -Si, eu viη que o, que, que, buèno, que me viroη salir de alí.
   [Yes, I saw that the, that, that, well, that they saw me leave from there. (translated by JAT)]
   (female, 60, recorded in 1982, Teo, western block)

Rectification is auto-correction initiated by another speaker, who uses *buèno* to mean 'you are mistaken' or 'you should correct yourself'. Rectification implies the existence of two speakers. Only one example of *buèno* possibly represents rectification. In the dialogue prior to (11), a woman explains how her brother, who was hiding in a neighbor's shed, needed to take a candle with him. Her listener (Speaker 2) comments that 'at that time there was no (electric) light'. The main speaker repeats the statement, but then speaker 2 intervenes with *buèno* and repeats the fact that there was no electric light. She wants to continue but stops talking, because speaker one interrupts and recognizes that her previous assertion,'there was no 'electric' light', needs qualification. Speaker 1 explains that her family did indeed have light but that the neighbor woman did not have it in her shed.

(11) Speaker 2: Daquela noη había lus.
   Speaker 1: Daquela noη había lus.
   Speaker 2: Bueno, noη había lus...
   Speaker 1: Nòs tiñamola, pèro èla n'a tiña que...
   [Speaker 2: At that time there was no light.
   Speaker 1: At that time there was no light.
   Speaker 2: Well, there was no light...
   Speaker 1: We had it, but she didn't have it because...(translated by JAT)]
   (both speakers are women, 60 years old, 1982, Teo, western block)

3.3 Expressing 'focus of otherness'

Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999) point to a function of *buèno* that is neither meta-discursive nor deontic. It does not organize a text yet it doesn't exactly express agreement or disagreement, but rather, it 'softens' the following intervention which indicates that another aspect of the matter at hand needs to be considered. Focus of otherness is very similar to rectification; however, the former does not imply that the other interlocutor is wrong. The use of *buèno* in cases of recti-fication and focus of otherness helps to reinforce the positive image of the speaker. An example is given in (12). Pepa does not answer 'no' to her interlocutor, but she expresses a possible qualification 'if he wants to leave'.

(12) –Pèpa, bota o, bota o teu Manuèl pá Habana pa onda seu pai que tamêη
   Gharsía de, do Seu, bota o seu, è Liñare-lo seu, è, è botas, os cartos téñoos eu.
   È dixo: Buèno. Pois si quère marchar.
   [-Pèpa, send, send your Manuèl to Habana to his father becuase Gharsía, his, he
   also sends his, and Liñares his, and you send, I have the money.
   And she said: Well, if he wants to leave. (translated by JAT)]
   (female, 60, 1982, Teo, western block)

In another example (13), the interviewer (I) asks the speaker (S) if she had ever been frightened by the devil. Instead of declaring an abrupt 'no', the speaker answers with *buèno* and says that truthfully she had never seen the devil as an animal. This usage of *buèno* softens the sting of a negative response. The corpus has seven examples of 'focus on the other'.

(13) I: ¿È pasouche alguηa vez de te asustares tamêη co dèmo; a ti tamêη noη?
   S: Buèno, eu co dèmo a disi-la verdá, así eη forma de, de animal è eso eu non-o viη, ¿èh?
   [I: And it also happened once that you also got scared by the devil, right?
   S: Well, me with the devil, to tell the truth, as an animal, that I never saw, OK?
   (translated by JAT)]
   (female, 46, 1985, Mazaricos, western block)

4. Discussion

Poplack has been one of the most active researchers involved in the delimitation of various contact phenomena such as established borrowings, nonce borrowings, code switches, etc. Poplack and Sankoff (1984) showed that English loanwords elicited from Spanish-English bilinguals manifested characteristics not shared by other L2-origin words, and that those words accepted by the community as a whole are integrated by both older and younger speakers. The work statistically confirmed that the major pattern of assimilation of English loanwords into Spanish depended on frequency of use and phonological and morphological integration indices (Poplack, *et al.*, 1984: 129). Some researchers (Otheguy, García, Fernández, 1993) simply interpreted Poplack's results that any sound adaptation qualifies the item as a loanword and no sound adaptation as a code switch. In a subsequent work analyzing English loanword usage in informal French discourse, Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) qualified the use of phonological adaptation. Phonological adaptation is not a definitive diagnostic for loanwords, but the index of phonological integration of English loanwords was higher for widespread loanwords than for code-switches or nonce borrowings. As for the present study, the analysis of spectrograms shows phonological adaptation. A high frequency of eighty-six tokens was found in the three hours of speech. Cross tabulations indicated no dependence of the use of *buèno* on any social variable analyzed: sex, age, profession, decade of interview, decade of birth, and location. Given that the sample is balanced between the sexes, represents ages from fourteen to eighty-five and has examples from all the defined Galician linguistic blocks, *buèno* is fully accepted into the Galician speech of the participants. Additionally, the texts did not indicate that *buèno* triggers code switches. The use of *buèno* by these speakers is characteristic of established borrowings rather than of code switches or nonce borrowings.

Although none of the speakers studied here offered any meta-linguistic commentary about the appropriateness of *buèno*, Freixeiro Mato (2003, 2005) has called for its elimination in Galician, and its substitution by *bo/ boη* as well as by another Galician discourse marker, *beη* (Freixeiro Mato 2005: 128). Freixeiro Mato considers *buèno* as an 'unambiguous Castilian word in Galician discourse'.

Other researchers have indeed studied examples of L1 words in L2 discourse. Blas Arroyo and Tricker (2000) analyzed the status of ambiguous lone Spanish-origin nouns in Catalan discourse by meticulously examining grammatical markers and accompanying elements in the noun phrases and were able to classify the nouns as loanwords since their grammar was that of Catalan. In the present study, *buèno* does not form part of any noun or verb phrase, oftentimes it is expressed in isolation as an interjection, or it is accompanied by another discourse marker such as *pèro* as in *pèro buèno*, or by *pois* as in *buèno pois*. Characteristic of a discourse marker, *buèno* in Galician is invariant and shows no gender nor number variation.

Just as *buèno* appears here in Galician discourse without the expression of any other accompanying Spanish elements, so does the connector 'so' appear in Spanish discourse by Spanish-English bilinguals. Lipski (2005) does not consider 'so' a loanword, nor a part of a typical code-switching pattern, since it does not function as a trigger nor as an element expressing untranslatable meanings. Lipski proposes that bilinguals use 'so' as a punctuation mark in Spanish discourse, which is "circumscribed by English functional items" (Lipski 2005:13). Spanish speech is 'filtered' though an English system, thereby allowing for access to English functional words. In the case of *buèno*, however, the token shows a range of context-dependent pragmatic meanings to which all of the speakers analyzed here have access. Although the minimal monosyllabic nature of 'so' made vowel determination difficult, Lipski (2005:6) notes that one phonotactic system was used for both Spanish and English. Melissa Moyer (2000) studied the use of the Spanish discourse particle '*no'* in Spanish-English bilingual speech in Gibraltar and concluded that the marker allowed another strategy to define the nature of the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Just as with 'so', the use of Spanish 'no' could be found embedded in otherwise English discourse. Given that the corpus here is not a bilingual corpus such as those of Lipski and Moyer, and considering the phonological adaptation of *buèno* and its variety of pragmatic uses, it seems unlikely that Galician speakers need to filter their speech though the Castilian pragmatic system in order to produce *buèno* nor are they using it to define the relationship with their interlocutors, especially considering its organizational uses in monologues.

While this corpus shows more meta-discursive uses than deontic uses, the latter would probably increase if the nature of the recordings represented conversations. Most of the recordings studied are

exclusively monologues. Deontic functions typically imply agreement/ disagreement between two or more individuals. Meta-discursive functions organize and connect texts. The latter are equally useful in the elaboration of monologues as well as dialogues. In the sample of recordings studied here, *buèno* has not acquired lexical functions that correspond to the Galician *bo/bon*, but *buèno* has acquired pragmatic functions in Galician that are similar those that are found for Castilian (Bauhr, Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, Llorente). Instead of the patrimonial *bo/boη*, which could have developed into a discourse marker as it did in Portuguese (Freixeiro Mato 2005:124), Galician borrowed the form *buèno* as well as its pragmatic functions. Indeed, *buèno* has filled a 'pragmatic gap' in the Galician linguistic system.

5. Conclusion

Hopper and Closs Traugott dismiss the effects that lexical borrowing may exert during processes of grammaticalization (1993: 210): "One situation in contact that we ignore is that of 'borrowing' which often involves extensive incorporation of foreign elements in only one area of the language, typically the lexicon, with minimal influence elsewhere." Nevertheless, the present study has illustrated that the borrowing of one single lexical item has resulted in an established loanword that serves as a highly productive discourse marker whose ubiquitous use has been condemned in some circles as an unnecessary Castilianism (Freixeiro Mato), thus illustrating its impact on the elaboration of a prescriptive standard, as well as in attitudes related to linguistic purity. Indeed, this simple loanword has had more than a minimal influence in the Galician language.

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Selected Proceedings of the 4th Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics

edited by Maurice Westmoreland and Juan Antonio Thomas

Cascadilla Proceedings Project   Somerville, MA   2008

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or:

Thomas, Juan Antonio. 2008. 'Bueno', a Pragmatic Castilianism in Galician. In *Selected Proceedings of the 4th Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics*, ed. Maurice Westmoreland and Juan Antonio Thomas, 131-139. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #1763.