Keywords: Vivamos como galegos, intertextuality, politics in advertising

1. Introduction

According to Blas Arroyo (2012), political persuasion, unlike other kinds of argumentative discourse, is focused more on “seducing” rather than “convincing” the audience (pp. 238–239). He describes the three traditional persuasive modes - logos, ethos, and pathos – and points out that while the most reasonable course of action is to turn to solid logos arguments to make a point, pathos arguments - that is, appeals to emotion - tend to be much more effective when it comes to winning over an audience. For this reason politicians focus so strongly on arguing that they
are members of the same group as the electorate, since both identity and solidarity wield great emotional power among the masses.

This strategy of discursively constructing a group identity that presumably includes both speaker and listener is also a powerful strategy in the commercial realm, which is why it is so frequently found in publicity (see, for example, Forehand, Deshpandé and Reed (2002) and Torres Romay (2009)). It should not be at all surprising, therefore, to find purposeful appeals to a shared identity and other examples of *pathos* in any context where political and commercial interests intersect. Such is the case with the television spots in the series *Vivamos como galegos*, made and distributed by the supermarket chain GADIS. These spots boldly address social issues such as the decreasing use of the Galician language while simultaneously increasing the visibility and sales of the company.

Many analyses of publicity have focused on those discursive elements which may be used to construct a common identity precisely because of the undeniable power such strategies have to capture an audience. While the GADIS ads also bring these elements into play, the ingenuity of the series is due in large part to its unique way of approaching and overcoming the socio-political concerns of the Galician public. Among these concerns are nationalism (see, for example, Screti, 2013) and the historic devaluing of Galician culture and the associations of said culture with rurality and lack of education (see, for example, Screti (2011), and Screti & Martín Jiménez (2011)). The uniqueness of the current work is in moving beyond the first spot to include analysis of five spots in the series, as well as in an analysis of the ways in which the videos discursively play on the theme of atemporality and the intergenerational continuity of Galician language and identity as a response to the ever-diminishing use, despite increased competency obtained through education, of the Galician language among younger speakers. By addressing these issues (albeit indirectly, as they are never explicitly mentioned in the ads), GADIS paints itself as a defender of all things Galician and, without ever explicitly exhorting the audience to frequent its stores, has managed to sharply increase its prestige and economic success within the region.

Section 2 below describes the political and social context this paper claims are addressed by the spots, while Section 3 gives a brief overview of the series in general, of each spot analyzed in this work, and of previous research that has been done concerning this series. Section 4 presents relevant theory on political and commercial persuasion as well as a description of the individual rhetorical devices used in the analysis of the GADIS spots. In Section 5 the main analysis of these spots, carried out using the theory described in the preceding section, is presented. Section 6 discusses the implications of this analysis, and Section 7 concludes the paper.
2. The Galician context

The purpose of this section is to delve into the social context into which the GADIS commercials were introduced, particularly in terms of the decreasing use of the language among Galician youth. A firm understanding of this phenomenon is crucial to the arguments presented in Section 5, where the ways it is acknowledged and played upon in the spots, and the possible effects of such advertising strategies, are explored.

2.1 Historic trends

Since the discovery of the Americas and the beginning of Spanish colonization, culture planning has been a grave concern of the Spanish state. Even-Zohar (2008) explained that cultural and linguistic interventions, historically a common practice among colonial powers, arose out of their “awareness of the insufficiency of sheer physical force for successful domination” (p. 278). Culture planning is designed to bring unity and sociocultural cohesion, vital to the survival of national entities, to groups that may not have any historic relation to the larger entity of which they are now a part. Certainly neither the importance of a unified culture nor the ideology that culture is transmitted through language were foreign to the monarchs of colonial era Spain when they created pro-Castilian language policies in their territories. The belief inherent to these policies was that “speaking the same language forges bonds among speakers, that a language can be imposed on a defeated population by the right of conquest, and that language preserves cultural identity” (Mannheim 1991, 68).

It makes sense, then, that Spain would historically have viewed the existence of other languages and cultures—specifically Catalan, Basque, and Galician—within its national borders as dangerous to national unity. This manifested itself in discourses claiming that Catalán and Galician were not languages at all, but were rather “underdeveloped, bastardized dialect[s] of Castilian, incapable of serving people’s communicative needs in daily life” (Vann 2002, 231). Francisco Franco’s dictatorial regime, in particular, was characterized, among other things, by linguistic persecution. Though according to Carbolová (2010) the use of Galician was never expressly prohibited, Castilian was the only language permissible in public, and the punishments for infractions were severe (Beswick 2002; Domínguez-Seco 2002; González González 1985; Vladu 2011).

The eight years after Franco passed away in 1975 saw several important policy and planning initiatives which had language and identity as a central focus. Spain transitioned rapidly to a democracy and in 1978 passed a new Constitution, “que aspiraba a acomodar, por un lado, las reivindicaciones sobre la unidad cultural y
política de España, y por otro, las demandas de los nacionalismos catalán, gallego y vasco” (del Valle 2005, 2). Additionally, regional languages were given the status of co-official within their individual autonomous communities, and were allowed to be used in schools. For a State that has historically attempted to wipe out all other possible identities and languages for those under its control, these new liberties constituted an important symbolic step.

2.2 Decreasing use of the Galician language among youth

However, despite the gains in linguistic rights that occurred rapidly after Franco’s death in 1975, when Galician was declared co-official with Castilian in Galicia and steps were taken to normalize the language in public life, much damage had already been done to the its status in the region. According to Bouzada Fernández (2003), Castilian had become not only the language of social advancement, but had also come to be considered the unmarked language in public spaces. This, coupled with a mass movement to urban centers in the 1970s and the economic advantages of speaking Castilian over Galician, had produced something of an “identitary fragility” in the region that is still felt today (pp. 325–326).

In recent years, young Galicians’ formal competence in the regional language has drastically increased due to its mandatory inclusion in the schools. Beswick (2002) noted that along with school use of the language has come increased prestige, and Bouzada Fernández (2003) verified the existence of this increased prestige at all age levels, but particularly among youth. However, despite its gain in prestige, use of Galician is also increasingly infrequent as young people acquire Castilian as their primary language and are choosing to use it in all areas of their life, including in the home, with their parents, and with close friends (González González et al, 2007; del Valle 2000).

Loureiro Rodriguez (2008) presented evidence that Galicia is currently in an advanced stage of language shift, and she attributes this fact, at least in part, to “prejudices about the socioeconomic value of Galician or its appropriateness in certain contexts” (p. 70). However, other possibilities also exist to explain this decline in use. In part this may be due to the fact that the language is no longer the default language in many Galician homes. Del Valle (2000) examined first language trends in apparent time and showed that the acquisition of Galician as a speaker’s initial language drops from a high of 81.8% among speakers over 65 to a low of 38.9% among speakers aged 16–25. In other words, he explained, “patterns of intergenerational transmission are unfavorable for the maintenance of Galician” (p. 115).

Another possible explanation for the lack of increased usage of Galician is that speakers may be resisting what is seen as an imposition of the Galician language.
In his examination of the opinion columns and letters to the editors of various newspapers, Fernández Carballido (2009) included a letter from the newspaper *El Progreso* in which the writer said: “Yo quisiera decir que no me gustan las imposiciones y hoy en día es algo que se está hacienda: imponer el gallego” (Paz 2006, in Fernández Carballido 2009, 70). This feeling that the language is being imposed on speakers appears to be particularly associated with the standardized variety of the language. Indeed, one participant in a study of adolescents conducted by Loureiro Rodríguez (2008) called normative Galician “un error clamoroso. Está consiguiendo que la gente que hablaba sólo en gallego cambie al castellano, y la gente que lo hablábamos en igual cantidad que el castellano ni por asomo” (p. 81).

Finally, due also in large part to the creation of the standardized variety, the problem of prestige is resurgent with respect to the language in a new way. First, those who traditionally speak with the *gheada*, a feature typical of some areas of Galicia in which the hard /g/ sound in a word such as *gato*, may be pronounced instead as *jato*, are often still stigmatized since the *gheada* is not a part of the normative variety (Loureiro Rodríguez 2008). Additionally, those speakers who did not acquire Galician as their first language but have chosen to conduct their daily business primarily or exclusively in this language, known as *neofalantes*, may also be discriminated against due to their unnatural pronunciation or word choice and to their use of elements from the standard that are not often used in informal conversation (Ramallo 2013; Loureiro Rodríguez 2008).

Whatever the reasons behind decreasing use of the Galician language in daily life, this phenomenon is an apparent sociolinguistic reality, and one which, according to Bouzada Fernández (2003), “is certainly provoking a high degree of expectation and concern in many Galicians” (p. 328). The present work examines the ways in which the GADIS ads respond to and counteract this concern in Section 5.

3. The GADIS advertisements

*Gallega Distribuidora Alimentos* (Gadisa), “con capital 100% gallego, titular de la cadena de supermercados GADIS” (www.gadisa.es, in Screti 2011, 223), is a business that must operate within and account for the socio-political context just discussed. GADIS is the only supermarket chain based in Galicia; the other successful franchises in Galicia are based in other regions of Spain, such as Eroski (from Basque Country) and Mercadona (from Valencia), or in other European countries, especially France (Carrefour, Alcampo, Día) and Germany (Lidl). Taking advantage of its unique and privileged relationship with the Galician public, GADIS created a series of advertisements in the Galician language and, despite the belief among
some that “o galego non vende”,¹ this series has become “a campaña de maior éxito do momento”² (Souto 2008, 199). This social success has also resulted in economic success for the chain: according to Michael Conde, the president of the advertising agency involved in the dissemination of the ads, GADIS’s sales rates have increased 4.7% since the campaign’s launch (Screti & Martín Jiménez 2011, 1778).

Most analyses of this series have focused solely on the first ad released, titled Vivamos como Galegos, and they sustain that the purpose of the series is to respond to and counteract the devaluing mentioned previously. According to Screti and Martín Jiménez (2011), the video attempts to win over the consumer indirectly by praising all things Galician. They expressed that

GADIS try [sic] to change receivers’ frame, from a sense of inferiority to a sense of pride (and even superiority) for being Galician. Obviously, this kind of discourse is aimed at getting the receivers’ empathy and sympathy, so they will prefer buying from GADIS supermarkets rather than other supermarket chains owned by foreigners. (p. 1784)

In order to achieve this goal, the ads not only praise the characteristics that make Galicia unique, but also employ irony, hyperbole, and the inversion of negative characteristics. They also play on folklore, symbolism, and identity-related elements to obtain a high level of rapport with the public, as will be discussed in Section 4.

What follows is a brief description of each of the five analyzed ads, to familiarize readers with the overall form and content of each before presenting the detailed analysis in Section 5.

3.1 Vivamos como galegos (2007)

This video features a man who has recently returned from a trip outside of Galicia. The protagonist talks with his family about all the things he appreciates about Galicia, from the personality of the region’s people, to local traditions and customs. Each element he mentions is accompanied by relevant photographs and videos, creating a montage effect. At the end of the video, the protagonist progresses from simply describing what is happening to exhorting his audience to live in a certain way. The final image is the slogan “Vivamos como galegos”,³ superimposed with the name and logo of the GADIS supermarket.

¹. “Galician doesn’t sell”. NOTE: Unless otherwise indicated, all translations should be considered those of the author.

². “Today’s most successful campaign”.

³. “Let’s live like Galicians”
3.2 Maloserá (2009)

This advertisement makes use of the Galician word “maloserá”, which does not have a direct equivalent in either Castilian or English. It is a saying that more or less expresses that, no matter how bad things may have become, the situation is still not so dire that it won’t turn out well in the end for the people involved. At first, the ad has a melancholic tone created by the use of black and white images and an almost sad voice speaking about the difficulties of the Galician past. When the narrator begins to speak about the present, dark, dull colors begin to appear, the rate of speech increases and the tone of voice rises slightly, adding a sense of determination to the predominating sadness. Suddenly, a dramatic change in tone occurs as the narrator explains that it is the Galician attitude toward life, captured in the word “maloserá”, that allows them to keep moving forward. The music becomes lively, and the scenes include brighter, more vivid colors. The rest of the video is dedicated to examples of situations in which Galicians might use this expression. At the very end, we see again the same exhortation from the first video to live a Galician way of life, and, just as in the first, this video also ends with the slogan “Vivamos como galegos” and the name of the supermarket.

3.3 Sairemos como Galegos (2012)

This video opens with a group of children talking about the discouragement they see their parents suffering each day. The children decide to help their parents and to thank them for everything they do. They then begin to talk about all the things they have learned from their parents, and there is a montage that juxtaposes traditional elements of Galician society (i.e. food, agriculture, horses) with displays of modernity (i.e. technology, iPhones). The video ends with a series of images of the children embracing their parents and with the slogan “Sairemos como galegos” superimposed with the name GADIS.

3.4 Se chove, que chova (2013)

The scene opens on a group of women getting their hair done in a salon. The main topic of conversation is about Galicians’ ability to stay positive in any circumstances. A young woman who overhears the conversation calls a friend and asks him to transmit it over the radio so others can hear, and soon people throughout

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4. “We will make it (out of the crisis) as Galicians” (Alcalá 2012); also interestingly the source of much controversy in Galicia (per personal conversation with Galician contacts) due to the possible alternate interpretation “We will leave as Galicians.”
Galicia are listening along. Near the end of the video one of the women is giving advice about what needs to be done in the face of hardship, ending with the exhortation “Vivamos...vivamos...vivamos como galegos!”, which precedes a series of video clips of people throughout Galicia shouting and celebrating this attitude. In the final scene, the women are leaving the hair salon in the pouring rain, and one of them says “Sabedes que vos digo? Que se chove, que chova!
”\(^5\) at which point these women, joined by dozens of other people of all ages, run out into the rain, hugging and laughing. While this scene in the rain plays, quotes from throughout the video are displayed in written form across the screen, ending with the quote “se chove, que chova!!!”, which remains on the page along with the slogan “Vivamos como galegos” and the GADIS logo as all else fades to black.

3.5 Soñemos como galegos (2014)

The most recent of the five spots analyzed in the present work, this video features a group of older men who are presented as the husbands of the women from the Se chove, que chova spot. The video opens with a young man talking to an unidentified group of people to tell them a story of what happened to him the previous week. The scene then flashes back to a barber shop and the young man getting a haircut and feeling down. The group of older men enter and begin telling the young man about things they have learned in life and talking about the future of today’s youth with hope. The scene transitions to show one of the men talking to a crowd of hundreds of youth, encouraging them to dream big. In the end, the video returns to the opening scene where the young man continues to talk to his original audience, which turns out to be a hospital room full of newborn babies. He whispers to one of the babies, “vivamos como galegos”, which is followed by joyful music and a series of videos of babies playing and laughing while quotes from the video appear across the screen. The video ends with the quote “e se hai que volver a nacer, nácese”,\(^6\) the slogan “Soñemos como galegos!”\(^7\) and the GADIS logo on a black screen.

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5. “You know what I say? If it’s raining, let it rain!”
6. “And if a rebirth is required, be reborn!”
7. “Let’s dream like Galicians!”
4. Theory and methodology

This section presents both theory and constructs from the realm of advertising used to inform the analysis in Section V as well as the specific rhetorical mechanisms employed in the ads. The former includes a discussion of the way identity can be highlighted and manipulated for commercial and non-commercial ends, the creation of in- and out-groups through deixis, and the importance of references to folklore in general and to the Galician language in particular, in addition to a brief discussion of intertextuality. The rhetorical mechanisms employed in the ads and presented in this section include antithesis, parallelism, anadiplosis, and triads.

First, however, it is necessary to state one of the fundamental assumptions of this work: in line with Foucault (1972), in this study language is not considered to neutrally and objectively reflect the world as it is. Rather, following Linell (2009), this study assumes that “reality’ is always more or less constructed in and through language” (p. 24). Thus, through the use of the mechanisms described in this section, the GADIS ads create an imaginary reality meant to appeal to listeners, regardless of the extent to which it reflects the actual state of Galician society. Having established this, I turn now to a discussion of identity in advertising.

It should not be surprising that commercial advertising campaigns are often not concerned with reaching an entire population, but rather choose to focus on a specific sub-sector of the society in question. One of the most effective ways to carry out a campaign whose target audience is a specific group – especially when that group is a minority – is to play on a sense of in-group identity. Forehand et al. (2002) stated that “strength of identification has been found to influence the amount of attention consumers give to information, the probability that consumers will purchase identity relevant products, and the response of consumers to congruent identity actors in advertising” (p. 1087). That is, the more strongly a person self-identifies as a member of a group, the more impact situations relevant to that identity will have on his or her actions. However, they clarified that identity salience, rather than strength of identification, is the most important criteria in predicting consumer actions.

Identity salience is a fluid and fleeting state that “is most often elicited when individuals process identity-related information and categorize themselves along identity-related criteria...identity salience is often elicited by external factors, and although it may be easier to elicit identity salience in a strong identifier, a strong identifier is not necessarily in a constant state of identity salience” (Forehand et al. 2002, 1088). Increasing identity salience is possible by the process of priming, through which the target identity may be evoked either implicitly or explicitly. Salience may also be affected by social context and by the unique social status of
the target identity. That is, more socially marked identities tend to be more cognitively salient. However, Forehand et al. (2002) also noted that, without priming, other identity factors do not seem to have much influence on consumer behavior. They present the possibility that “in-group spokespersons influence consumer response to targeted advertising only to the extent that the consumer’s identity is salient,...In the absence of the combinatorial influence of social distinctiveness and identity primes, the presence of similar or dissimilar individuals in advertising appears to have limited effect on consumer evaluation of the spokesperson or the advertising” (p. 1097).

Such priming can be achieved through indirect or direct mention of either the target identity or of elements commonly associated with it. However, in order for priming to have the desired effect, it is also necessary to establish that the spokesperson in the publicity is a member of the same group, for example by highlighting those characteristics that the audience and the representative have in common (Forehand et al. 2002, 1088). An elevated use of the first person plural pronoun, for example, can play this role in certain contexts (Blas Arroyo 2012). Strom (2013) found that both the use of nosotros and other strategies “functioned as inclusive devices, thereby inviting the audience to be a part of the community” (p. 264–265). Screti (2011; 2013) also referred to pronoun use, as well as to place deictics (aquí versus allí, for example), which he convincingly argued also serve to discursively establish a basis for inclusion in and exclusion from the group in the first of the GADIS ads. According to Brown and Yule (1993), deictic elements such as these force the listener to interpret from the context who or where is being included in the created category. That is, in order for deixis, and in particular use of nosotros, to be effective, listeners must choose or be led to interpret that they do indeed form part of a group of which the speaker is also a member.

In addition to in-group creation, one of the most powerful methods of creating a vision of Galician identity is through recurring to folklore (Torres Romay 2009, 4). Torres Romay (2009) presented various advantages of employing folklore, among them “una mayor visibilidad en el mercado por la diferenciación frente a mensajes estandarizados o adaptados” and “un sentimiento de reconocimiento y valoración de las culturas locales” (p. 7). Key examples of folklore can include music and traditional instruments, for example, the bagpipes in Galicia. Regional symbols, such as the ocean, the urban landscape (i.e. the cathedral in Santiago de Compostela), and the rural landscape may also be used as folklore, as well as the identitary elements of Galicia, which are the “costumbres o tradiciones orales o festivas que se relacionan con una cultura” (p. 10). Of all these identitary elements, the use of language is among the most pronounced, particularly in this
case, since the Galician language is a symbol of Galician identity in Spain (Beswick 2002; Bouzada Fernández 2003; del Valle 2000).  

Given that this analysis includes five elements in a series, a brief discussion of the notion of intertextuality, which is one possible form of what Linell (2012) referred to as *situation-transcending practices*, is in order. He stated that “specific utterances, thoughts or texts are almost always dependent on the subject’s prior acquaintance and use of similar or related texts” (p. 248). That is, in creating these ads, GADIS would have been reliant at least to some extent on a knowledge of previous and current trends in advertising. Additionally, in expanding the series after the first spot, their creations would have been affected by GADIS’s own previous use of advertising, including earlier spots in the series. Thus it is not at all surprising to find references to previous videos within subsequent ones.

That intertextuality, other forms of situation-transcending practices, and indeed dialogue in general are relevant to and based on not only the producer but also the audience is an integral tenet of dialogical theories. Bakhtin (1981) claimed that “every word is directed toward an answer and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates” (p. 280). He additionally claimed that understanding is an active process on the part of the listener, who must rely on his or her own background and experience to come to an understanding of a text. For the purposes of this paper, this means that the audience of one spot can also be assumed to recognize at least some intertextual references to previous spots, particularly given the widespread popularity and diffusion of these ads in the region.

Let’s now turn to a discussion of some of the rhetorical mechanisms that can be encountered in the GADIS ads. The persuasive nature of political discourse means that many of the elements of classical rhetoric common in such discussions can also be effectively brought to bear in commercial discourse, whether or not a commercial advertising campaign has political aims in its publicity. One such element, highly relevant when it comes to establishing identity and defining members of the in-group, is repetition in the form of parallelisms (Blas Arroyo 2012). *Parallelisms* indicate that what is presented as true for one group is also true for another, thus establishing a bond or link between the two groups. A more specific instantiation of this kind of parallelism is *antithesis*, which relies on parallelism between

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8. It should be noted that here no distinction is being drawn between standard versus traditional Galician. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer who pointed out to me that it is predominantly if not solely the standard variety that is employed in the GADIS spots. This fact deserves a more detailed analysis than can be entered into in the current work, and is a promising direction for future investigation. However, throughout this paper the term “Galician” is used to refer to both indiscriminately.
groups of opposites, such as young/old. By referencing the extremes, antithetical references symbolically indicate the inclusion of all members of the population.

Another rhetorical device common to political and other persuasive discourse genres is that of anadiplosis. According to John Zimmer (2012), who practiced public international law at the United Nations, anadiplosis is present when words that are used late in one phrase are used early in the next. It can serve to mark relationships between the other parts of the phrases, and can have a great impact on audiences, particularly when contained in triads. “Lists of three,” as Atkinson (1984) called them, “have an air of unity or completeness about them” and result in the amplification of the message being communicated (p. 57–60).

5. Analysis

This section presents evidence in favor of the main claim of this paper, which is that these advertisements establish the continuity of Galician language and identity (as a response to the feared loss of both due to decreasing use of the language among youth). First, however, a brief discussion of the use of place deictics and the first person plural will serve to establish that GADIS does indeed paint itself as a member of the Galician in-group, thus enabling the ads to take advantage of the mechanisms and strategies discussed in Section 4.

5.1 In-group creation

The use of deictic elements has been discussed thoroughly for the first ad in Screti (2011; 2013), which argues that the ad establishes the existence of two realms: the ‘here’, which is desireable, and the ‘not here’, which is not. It is important to note that the first is the only one of the videos that employs place deictics in such an exaggerated way, but that does not necessarily permit us to suppose that the same effect is not present in the other videos. These videos have become icons of Galician culture, so when subsequent videos are watched, many messages of the first video will also be activated in the mind of the viewer due to intertextuality (see Section 4). Thus, from early on in the very first video, the existence of the two groups can be considered a discursive element of the entire series. Additionally, over 50% of verb forms in the first three videos are in first person plural (nosotros) form, which creates a strong link between ‘here’ and ‘us’. Of the other verbs employed, barely 19% have a non-Galician-person as a subject, and many of these are either impersonal expressions (for example, “É posible que un día un galego baixe
os brazos”⁹ [Sairemos, 1:08]) or refer to entities belonging to Galicia (as in “Una fórmula que cruzou fronteiras e seguirá cruzándoas”¹⁰ [Maloserá, 1:49], in which the referent of fórmula is the Galician word “maloserá”).

The vast majority of the verbs, then, make reference either to the in-group or to something belong to that group, and a large portion additionally group the narrator (and, by extension, the GADIS chain) and the viewers into the same subject. This, together with a few instances in which the name of the group was specifically evoked and juxtaposed with a verb in the first-person plural, such as in “Ademais os galegos nunca nos trabucamos”¹¹ [Vivamos, 0:29], serve to constantly remind viewers that the in-group is comprised specifically of Galicians, and that both the speaker and (presumably) the listener belong to this group.

5.2 The continuity of Galician identity

One of the discursive messages communicated by the videos (particularly by Sairemos como Galegos) is that Galician identity is timeless and enduring. Other studies have shown that the frequent references to folklore throughout the videos is a way to tie the videos to historic Galician identity (see, for example, Torres Romay (2009)). Because the relationship between Galicianism and the past in these ads has been extensively explored in other works, this study will focus instead on how these folkloric and historic elements are made relevant to the Galician present and future.

As mentioned in Section 4, in classical rhetoric, one way to make an important idea particularly salient and to show continuity between ideas is through the use of triads (three-part repetitions), and these videos make use of this strategy as well. The beginning of the video Maloserá contains three parallel triads – a triad of triads –¹² that are particularly strong:

1. **Fomos capaces de** **facer unha maleta cando sabiamos que nos afastaba da nosa casa por moitos anos. Fomos capaces de** **viaxar onde ninguén fora antes,** loitar sen entender, abrirnos paso en una vida dura e combativa. **Fomos capaces de** **dicir adeus,** de ser pai a miles de quilómetros e nai e pai á vez.

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⁹ “It is possible that one day a Galician may lower his arms”

¹⁰ “A formula that crossed borders and will continue to cross them”

¹¹ “Furthermore we Galicians are never mistaken”

¹² It is interesting to note the existence of different levels of triads; in addition to this “triad of triads”, several of those individual groups also contain smaller triads, marked with subscript numbers.
We were able to pack our suitcase when we knew we would be far from home for many years. We were able to travel where no one had gone before, to fight without understanding, to make a way for ourselves in a hard and combative life. We were able to say goodbye, to be a father from thousands of kilometers away, to be both mother and father at once.


We are able to conquer the seas every day and to defy all of the ocean's waves. We are able to get up early, and be three people at once, and bring our family forward, and smile, and have joy. We are able to work, and study, and help at home.

iii. Somos capaces de sair adiante como poucos no mundo. Como non imos ser capaces de sair adiante en momentos dificiles? Como non imos ser capaces de reinventarnos, de apretar os dentes, de traballar máis e mellor?

We are able to move forward like few others in the world. How will we not be able to move forward in hard times? How will we not be able to reinvent ourselves, to grit our teeth, to work harder and better?

Before carrying out an analysis of these triads, an explanation is needed of why the first phrase of the third triad (beginning with “Somos capaces de sair adiante”) belongs to this third triad instead of the second, with which it undoubtedly shares a surface structure. Here a version of the rhetorical device anadiplosis, which is a form of parallelism where a phrase from one sentence is repeated (perhaps with minor structural changes) in the following sentence, comes into play. As stated in Section 4, anadiplosis serves to create links between related phrases. Thus, by the repetition of the phrase “somos/ser capaces de sair adiante”, the first phrase is linked to the other two despite containing “somos” in the present tense. Having established this, let’s examine the discursive effect of these triads.

The first of the three main triads evokes images of the past through the use of the preterit tense, accompanied by black and white images to intensify this effect. The second evokes the present, since the verb tense changes, accompanied by the addition of some muted colors. The third triad, though it might seem at first glance to have the same format as the second, should be considered as a separate group, and therefore its own triad, for two reasons. The first is auditory, since pace of speech accelerates just as this group begins. The second is content-based. While the second group talks about day-to-day routines of the Galician people, the third is more focused on attitudes. Additionally, the third group is oriented toward the future. The second and third elements of this third triad are in the periphrastic future
form (*imos ser*), and the first element is strongly linked to the second by the parallelism of being able to move forward. Even the concept of ‘moving forward’ itself implies that the first element is oriented, not toward the present, but toward the future.

By changing the verb tense while maintaining the parallelism between other structural elements, the video highlights the similarities between the past, the present, and the future, and communicates that, although time continues to pass, what it means to be Galician is atemporal, it does not change. This fact, combined with the accelerated speech, increased volume, and the other small structural changes already mentioned that occur in the third triad all serve to emphasize the future and to establish in a marked way the future’s inclusion within the discourse.

Another mechanism that has been employed here to create a discursively continuous and atemporal identity is antithesis, especially between youth and the elderly. At times this is verbal, as in this example: “*Estamos orgulhosos deles por non deixar atrás os seus maiores, e sacar adiante os seus fillos*” [Sairemos,\(^\text{13}\) 0:47]. Additionally, these phrases are always accompanied by a set of parallel images, such as those shown below in Image 6 and Image 7, that portray and juxtapose the elderly with children. It is the use of antithesis in the photos that strongly creates a sense of cross-generational inclusion in Galician life.

![Image 6.](image_url) [Sairemos, 0:50]

![Image 7.](image_url) [Sairemos, 0:54]

\(^{13}\) “We are proud of them for not leaving their elderly behind, and for bringing their children forward”.
Another strong parallel is that which is created between the ad featuring children, *Sairemos como Galegos*, and the previous ads. As previously mentioned, each new video is presented and understood within the context of the previously existing discourse formed by the others and therefore can take advantage of that fact to facilitate intertextual connections and heighten identity salience in the audience. In this case, there are many moments in *Sairemos como Galegos* that are repetitions of events from previous videos, such as the scene of a male giving an inspirational speech from horseback, as shown in Images 8 and 9.

<Image 8. [Vivamos, 1:03]

Image 9. [Sairemos, 1:12]

These parallels are at times, but not always, marked verbally with the verb “*seguiremos*”, as in examples (1) and (2):

1. (1) *Seguiremos adiviñando o futuro. « Vas caer. »*¹⁴ [Sairemos, 2:15]
2. (2) *Seguiremos usando a fórmula secreta. « Tranquila. Maloserá. »*¹⁵ [Sairemos, 2:26]

The spoken quotes from these statements, both produced by young girls, are repetitions of something that was said in a previous spot by an elderly woman, in more or less the same situation, with the same intonation. Even the images in these cases are quite similar, as seen in Images 10, 11, 12 and 13. Here again, the

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¹⁴. “We will continue predicting the future. ‘You are going to fall.’”

¹⁵. “We will continue using the secret formula. ‘Calm down. Maloserá.’”
visual and situational parallels, combined with the antithesis “young/old” serves to highlight the inclusion of all Galicians as members of the same culture, with the same traditions, and communicates that what was present in the past will continue on into the future.

Image 10. « Vas caer. » [Vivamos, 0:32]

Image 11. « Vas caer. » [Sairemos, 2:18]

Image 12. « Tranquila. Maloserá » [Maloserá, 1:08]

A further juxtaposition exists that creates an intertextual link throughout four of the videos: the scene, at or near the end of each spot, of a Galician person riding horseback with fist raised triumphantly (Images 14–17). This element of commonality is used to antithetically connect all members of society—from the youth in *Sairemos* to the elderly in *Chove* and *Soñemos*—with the imaginary Galician world created in *Vivamos*.

Image 14. [Vivamos, 1:17]

Image 15. [Sairemos, 2:18]

Image 16. [Chove, 3:44]

Image 17. [Soñemos, 2:29]

In addition to the juxtaposition of the elderly and youth, these videos also juxtapose images from folklore with images of modernity, as in the scenes shown in Images 18, 19, and 20.
In the first scene we see children, some with horses, a traditional and therefore folkloric element of Galicia, while another has a bicycle, which is more modern. In the second we see the bagpipes, the most traditional Galician instrument, superimposed with a taxi and with the buildings of a modern, industrialized society. In the last image, the child is using modern technology to communicate in Galician, which is undoubtedly representative of Galician tradition and folklore. All of these juxtapositions create the image of a world in which folklore and modernity go hand in hand and in which progress can be made without sacrificing tradition.

Image 20 exemplifies a particularly surprising characteristic of the videos: all of the children are presented as speaking only Galician, even in urban settings where, in reality, language shift to Castilian is already in a quite advanced stage, given that more than 75% of the population in urban areas of more than 50,000
people claims to habitually speak only or predominantly Castilian (González González et al. 2007, 63). Additionally, Galician is used in the videos by the children to communicate amongst themselves, which in reality is quite improbable outside of rural contexts (Loureiro Rodríguez et al. 2013, 144).

The last point to highlight in this section is that the most recent video, Soñemos como galegos, contains a change in focus from the previous videos in that, while the first four videos contain a total of four uses of second person plural “vós” verbs (that is, 2% of all marked verbs), this spot contains nine uses of verbs in this form (11% of total marked verbs in the video). This 9% increase in rate of vós use coincides with a shift from a focus on the whole of Galician society to a focus on the younger generation, exemplified both in the references the older men make to the young doctor’s generation (i.e. “Neno, sodes conscientes de todo o que valedes?”[Soñemos, 1:04]) and in the doctor speaking to the room full of newborns (i.e. “Así que xá sabedes: agora abride ben os ollos, acostumádevos á luz e disfrutemos do máis marabilloso que temos: a vida.”[Soñemos, 3:47]). In this video, the elderly, representing the past, pass their wisdom and experience down to the young man’s generation, which is the up-and-coming present, and the young man passes his newly gained insight down to the newest Galicians, representing the future. However, the doctor doesn’t stop at passing his message forward to ‘you all’, as if there were a discontinuity between his generation and the future. Rather, after acknowledging this new generation of Galicians, he includes them with himself and his elders in the first-person plural we, inviting them to be part of the timeless Galician experience that started in the past, exists now, and will continue in the future.

6. Discussion

As mentioned at the beginning of this work, Galicia is a region in which identity plays an important role in political discourse. This series creates an imagined Galician world in which everyone, from the oldest to the youngest, communicates solely in Galician and values the Galician way of life. By superimposing tradition with modernity, it affirms that Galicia continues to be relevant, thereby opposing the traditional ideology that Galician language and culture have neither use nor economic viability in a modern, developed society. Additionally, by showing youth who speak only Galician and who are committed to continuing what their

16. “Boy, are you [all] aware of how much you [all] are worth?”

17. “So now you all know: now open your eyes, get [yourselves] used to the light and let’s enjoy the most marvelous thing we have: life.”
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forbearers have started, it also affirms that children and youth, many of whom in reality are leaving the Galician language behind in favor of Castilian, value and will continue to value their cultural and linguistic heritage. Such an affirmation would be a message of hope for the future of Galician society.

Although these cultural implications are incredibly strong in the advertisements, it is important to remember that GADIS is first and foremost a business and therefore has financial interests relative to the success of the videos. Never once in the videos is there a direct request for Galicians to frequent the supermarket chain. Instead, what they do is suggest that, just like the viewers of the ads, whose Galician identity has been heavily primed throughout the spots, GADIS is also a part of the Galician in-group. As shown previously, one of the ways in which this is done in the videos is through use of the first person plural to talk of the listeners and GADIS as a unit. Additionally, at the end of the spots, after a strong triad of exhortations (in first-person plural command form) to enjoy and value the Galician way of life, we find the concluding phrase, both spoken and written, “Vivamos/Sairemos/Soñemos como Galegos!” Finally all the rest of the scene fades out, leaving only this phrase together with the name “GADIS”.

Image 21. Vivamos como galegos galegos

Image 22. Sairemos como

The message here is that GADIS is deeply involved in the Galician lifestyle, and that part of being an authentic Galician is to recognize and frequent this particular chain.
In truth, the videos never explicitly explain that GADIS is a supermarket chain. In this case, by not offering an explanation, the ads communicate indirectly that GADIS is a common and well-known fact of society that all Galicians ought to recognize. According to Strom (2013), assuming that all members of the in-group have knowledge of an entity can as a consequence lead the audience to “believe that these groups and entities are more prevalent than they actually are, and [the audience] may take up their cause so as not to fall in disaccord with the rest of the community whom they believe to already be familiar with the aforementioned groups and entities” (p. 263). This, combined with the fact that the in-group Galician identity has already been highly primed due to the multitude of references to it, has a great impact. According to Forehand et al. (2002), “heightening the salience of an identity increases the alignment of judgments with group membership norms, particularly when the membership group possesses a clear position on the issue” (p. 1087). That is, since the ads make so much use of identity issues, Galician identity should already be quite prominent in the viewer’s mind. If it is prominent, the audience should behave in accordance with the norms of the group. Since these ads do not explain what GADIS is, the effect may be that the audience believes that recognizing and, by extension, shopping in this chain is the standard behavior expected of members of the in-group, and they will then behave likewise.

7. Conclusion

One thing the GADIS commercials do very, very well is reach the heart of their audience. This is done through recognizing and employing the socio-political situation in which Galicia finds itself currently. They create an imaginary representation of Galicia in which whole society, from the eldest to the youngest members (along with GADIS itself), values and will maintain the language and culture, an impression which relieves the threat felt toward both due to the decreasing use of the language in some areas.

Along with all this, GADIS takes advantage of the solidarity that it has fostered by including itself as a member of the in-group. It presents itself as authentically Galician and, without ever once explicitly soliciting customers, manages to give the impression that all true Galicians already are GADIS customers. Though these things are never said outright, they are strongly implied and, according to Harris (1977), that which is implied can have just as much force as that which is directly stated. Harris and Monaco (1978) found that in practice, the audience processes pragmatically implied statements identically to explicitly affirmed ones. Thus, without directly saying anything, GADIS has ensured that its audience
both resonates with and will remember everything that it took such care not to explicitly state.

References


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