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“Let’s live like Galicians”

Nationalism in advertising

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This project consists of the multidisciplinary analysis of the persuasive strategies used in a regional TV commercial to promote GADIS, a Galician (Spain) supermarket chain. The video, which provoked an overwhelmingly positive reaction within Galician society, strategically appeals nationalistic feelings in order to achieve specific commercial objectives. In this commercial GADIS presents itself as a company that defends local attributes (Galician, Galicians, and ‘Galicianness’) against foreign ones. The speaker, by playing off positive stereotypical features of Galicia and inverting negative ones, builds and conveys a positive image of Galicia which is intended to make Galicians proud of their Galicianness. In order to make the advertisements more acceptable, GADIS praises the Galicians through the use of humor and irony, which serves to mitigate the nationalism presented.

Keywords: indirect persuasion, indirectness, argumentation, advertising, multimodality, identity, nationalism, intersemiotic complementarity

1. Introduction

Galicia (or Galiza) is situated in the northwestern corner of Spain and is one of the 18 Spanish administrative regions. The local language is Galician (a variety of Portuguese), which coexists with Spanish, although with a certain degree of controversy. Proud sentiments of local identity are visible among the inhabitants of this country, but to varying degrees. This feeling has also grown into a (political) nationalist stance, which is expressed in different ways: through a free and spontaneous (radical left-wing) nationalist movement, as well as by institutionalized political left wing nationalist parties such as the *Bloque Nacionalista Gallego* (Galician Nationalist Block), although right wing parties such as the *Partido Popular* (The People’s Party) also reflect certain feelings of local identity. However,

within Galician society there are also many Galician people that disagree with Galician nationalism or that overtly profess Spanish nationalism.

In 2007 local Galician company GADISA (*Gallega Distribuidora de Alimentos*, i.e., Galician Food Supplier) started a campaign in order to boost sales in its GADIS chain of supermarkets, which operates throughout Galicia.¹ The commercial scope of the campaign was Galicia. The campaign aimed to increase and consolidate GADIS's position on the market against its main competitors (Carrefour, Alcampo, Día, Lidl, Eroski, and Mercadona). None of these companies are Galician: Carrefour, Alcampo, and Día are French; Lidl is German; Eroski is from the Basque Country (Spain); and Mercadona is from the Valencian Community (Spain). Even though the latter two are Spanish, they are not from Galicia.

The campaign called *Vivamos como galegos* [Let's live like Galicians], which covers two years, was created by the advertising agency BAPConde. It consisted of several videos and actions carried out in a range of media (TV, radio, billboards, online, etc.). The campaign started with the video called *Vivamos como galegos*² (hereafter referred to as VCG) and continued with the videos *Vivamos como galegos en Navidad* [let's live like Galicians at Christmas], a Christmas version of the original commercial, the video *Vivamos como galegos en Nueva York* [Let's live like Galicians in New York], a new version of the original video, based on the same concept but recorded in New York, and the videos *O precursor* [the Precursor], supposedly the prequel to VCG, and the videos *A historia do avó* [The Grandfather's Tale], about which I will refer below, *As verdades de Meluco* [Meluco's truths], a sort of spin off of the video *O precursor*, based on the praising of Galician women, and *Maloserá*,³ the latest commercial to be shown. Only the first two and last videos have been broadcast on (Galician) TV, while the others were available only as viral Internet campaigns.⁴

All the videos are essentially based on a single concept and idea — showing a close connection with one or more stereotyped Galician themes (food, sayings, famous people, etc.). The aim is to extol the virtues of the Galician way of life while trying to convert a previous feeling of inferiority into a sense of pride or superiority at being Galician. In this paper I chose to deal with the video VCG (see the Appendix) because it was the first to be shown on TV and by far the most popular in the series (the *Maloserá* video is also currently enjoying considerable success). I will also make occasional references to the video entitled *A historia do avó*.

VCG had a huge impact on Galician society, and not only in commercial terms. Miguel Conde, President and Art Director of BAPConde, says that GADIS increased its sales by 4.7% due to the VCG video. Furthermore, the video was the most downloaded in the history of Spanish advertising as well as the most watched video in the history of Galician advertising.⁵ I also was able to empirically observe that people use expressions employed in the commercial or deliberately

adopt behavior patterns shown in the video. The soundtrack also became a popular ringtone for mobile phones.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the persuasive efficacy of VCG: how GADIS exploited the socio-political context (nationalism) as well as the cultural context (sense of inferiority) of Galicia in order to achieve its commercial goal, namely boosting sales. Also, I will show how the use of irony in the ads allows for the mitigation of overt nationalism, thus making the ads both appreciated by, and effective with, non-nationalistic Galicians.

2. Methodology

My approach is *multidisciplinary* or *pluridisciplinary* as defined, among others, by van Dijk (2001:95)⁶. I may simply appear eclectic or "undisciplined," as Morin (2005:79) provocatively puts it, but I am convinced that the complexity of a phenomenon such as persuasive discourse (especially if it is multimedia, as in the case of this video) can only be addressed from multiple perspectives, using a range of analytical tools. For this reason I have used concepts and tools from Traditional Rhetoric (Aristotle 1985) and the modern Theory of Argumentation (Albaladejo Mayordomo 1989; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1989), as well as from (Critical) Discourse Analysis (Blommaert 2005; van Dijk 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003; Wodak and Meyer 2001; Gill and Whedbee 1997).

I have placed particular emphasis on the idea that multimodal texts are more "complete" and therefore more persuasive than monomodal ones (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Kress et al. 1997; Royce 2007), as well as the fact that text and context are indivisible (Blommaert 2005) in terms of producing/receiving and analyzing discourse. This analysis is also based on the key notion of *image* as posited by Goffman (1965), which relates to *ethos* in argumentation (Aristotle 1985; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1989:487–493, especially 490. About the relation between *ethos* and *image* see Amossy 1999; 2001; 2010; Maingueneau 1999, among others). These concepts will be dealt with more specifically in the following sections.

2.1 Image

This classic concept is based on Erving Goffman's micro-sociological research. For Goffman, subjects build and transmit images of themselves in society (related to their roles, the expectations arising from their roles, natural/acquired features, etc.), through their actions and discourses. Subjects generally act in society in a manner that is coherent with the image they wish to build/transmit. This is true

not only at a micro-sociological level, but also at a macro-sociological one, in unmediated contexts of interaction (face-to-face) as well as in mediated ones (TV, websites, radio). Subjects can be considered to be everything that acts *as a subject*, including institutions or companies. From this perspective, GADIS is a subject trying to build and manage an image of itself in a mediated context. To do so, GADIS (1) acts in a particular way, and (2) speaks in a particular way. In order to persuade receivers, GADIS obviously presents a positive image of itself (ethos).

2.2 Context

Since Malinowski, the importance of context in human interaction has been stressed by many authors working in different disciplines (Malinowski 1935:vii; Gumperz 1982; Wilson and Sperber 1999; van Dijk 1999:cap 22; Wodak and Meyer 2001, among many others). The relation between text and context is more complex than a simple addition. As Blommaert puts it, “context is not something we can just ‘add’ to the text — it *is* text, it defines its meaning and conditions of use” (2005:45). From this perspective text and context (if it is really possible to define where the former ends and where the latter begins) are in a circular relation: they influence each other. But context also influences the meaning for the scholar, who is also part of the society within which the discourse is produced (Morin 2005:62–71). Without addressing the issue of context, the scholar will not be able to ‘understand’ the discourse and its relationship with society. In this sense, I need to consider the socio-discursive context of the VCG video in order to grasp its meaning and the way it works within Galician society.

Galicia has been traditionally one of the poorest regions in Spain, and one of the most depressed European zones, probably due to its peripheral location and its rural-based economy and lifestyle, in addition to a number of other socio-economic and historical factors. Galicians have traditionally emigrated all over the world, but especially to Latin America. In some Latin American countries such as Argentina, the term *gallego* (Galician) is used to refer to Spanish immigrants and their descendants in general. Yet in some other South American countries, for example in Costa Rica, the term *gallego* has a pejorative meaning: it is synonym of *stupid*, as listed in the dictionary of the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española*, the leading authority on the Spanish language. Galicians are also often the ingenuous or rather stupid butt of jokes. These factors have led to widespread feelings of inferiority amongst Galicians, when comparing themselves with people of other countries or Spanish regions. Another factor for consideration is the spread of Galician nationalism, which in contrast to this sense of inferiority, expresses a sense of superiority.

2.3 Multimodality

Multimodality refers to the presence within the same text of various semiotic codes (ways of expressing meaning), including verbal, visual, and aural means (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Kress *et al.*, 1997; Bateman *et al.*, 2007; Royce, 2007; Thibault, 2007; Matthiessen, 2007; Bowcher, 2007; Royce and Bowcher, 2007). Signs of all types cooperate in order to persuade receivers. From this perspective, every sign is argumentative *per se*, but also in relation to other codes within the same text (see, for instance, Groarke's contributions (2002) towards a theory of visual argument). Signs from various semiotic codes constantly interact within the text and are linked by *rhetorical* relationships: for example, they may be related to complementation, contrast, or comment. As Matthiessen (2007: 33–35) argues, there are rhetorical relationships (repetition, anaphor, hyponymy, enhancement, synthesis, ellipsis, etc.) between semiotic elements belonging to different levels of expression. These relationships can be intrasemiotic or intersemiotic. In the first case, for instance, an image can extend, elaborate or enhance the meaning of another; it could complement another image (for example by providing further meaning to an additional image); contrast it (by denying what other images infer); comment on it (for example by explaining what other images 'say'), or summarize it. In any case, the meaning is the function of the meaning of each sign and the relationship between them.

In the second case, an image can enhance, extend or elaborate on the meaning of a word or vice versa. As in the first case, an image can complement words (by providing additional meaning); contrast them (for example by denying what the words are expressing); comment on them (by explaining what the words are 'saying'); or summarize them.

Royce defines this interrelationship between semiotic elements belonging to different semiotic codes as "intersemiotic complementarity" (2007). It is linked to the idea that there is a sort of "division of semiotic labor" (Matthiessen 2007: 25, 29–30, 32, 37, 56), due to the existence of certain intersemiotic "untranslatability" (Thibault 2007: 143). For example, the meaning of some images is not always translatable by words (*id.*). Obviously, intersemiotic complementarity could create some *redundancy*, but, as Bowcher puts it:

Although redundancy of meaning may be the result of simultaneous use of several modes, we cannot say that the resulting meanings that are produced by a multimodal text could be produced if only one mode were to be used. This is because redundancy in meaning does not mean a collection of same meanings just expressed through different modes (2007: 242).

However, redundancy is no impediment to persuasion: repeating the message makes it easier to understand and to remember. On the other hand, images or sounds reinforce the persuasive value of words and vice versa: different semiotic modes multiply and intensify meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Bateman *et al.* 2007; Thibault 2007). I will return to multimodality and the relationship between signs of different semiotic codes within the same text later on, exploring the relationship between images, sounds and words in an excerpt taken from the VCG video.

3. Advertising from an Aristotelian perspective

Following Kibédi Vargas (2000), I also defend the transhistorical and transcultural validity of Aristotle's classification (1985). As is well known, Aristotle discussed the existence of three main discursive genres: (1) *judicial* discourse, which judges things that have been done (in the past); (2) *deliberative* discourse, which tries to persuade or dissuade receivers to adopt a certain course of action in the future; and (3) *epideictic* discourse, which praises or vituperates a person or institution. In more recent years Albaladejo Mayordomo (1999) has differentiated between *central* and *peripheral components*. According to him, all rhetorical discourse is made up of a single (central) component and one or multiple secondary (peripheral) components. Consider, for example, traditional advertising, whose aim is to convince/persuade receivers to adopt a certain course of action (buy a product, vote for a particular candidate, etc.). Traditional advertising does not simply belong to the deliberative genre: it has one central deliberative component (persuading receivers to purchase the product) plus one peripheral epideictic component (praising the product).

In the case of the VCG video, we can observe one central component and a peripheral one. The epideictic component constitutes the vast majority of the video, aimed at praising the Galician way of life today; indeed quite all the speech acts extol this lifestyle. This is the central component. The peripheral component is deliberative, limited to the final slogan, "let's live like Galicians," the only speech act aimed at convincing the receivers to adopt/maintain the Galician way of life in the future.

The video clearly has a deliberative goal, since it is aimed at persuading receivers to shop at the GADIS chain of supermarkets, but it tries to persuade them indirectly, through an epideictic discourse, channeled towards demonstrating the dignity and the positivity of the Galician way of life.

4. Indirectness

I have previously analyzed the distribution of the central epideictic component and the peripheral deliberative one. The evidence that the epideictic component is central and the deliberative component is peripheral lies in the fact that GADIS never explicitly urges receivers to shop at GADIS. Instead, GADIS merely demonstrates that the Galician way of life is the best in the world. GADIS never says, "shop at GADIS," it simply invites the receivers (who are Galician) to live *their own* way. Paraphrasing and summarizing the commercial, it can be seen that GADIS simply demonstrates how great it is to be Galician, proclaiming "let's live like Galicians," in other words, "let's live *our* way." It is essential to note that the speaker and the addressee are *discursively* placed in the same group, as indicated by the use of *let's*, which implies a subject like *we* –instead of a form like *(you) live*– and all the other examples of first plural personal deixis: (51) *Deámonos conta do ben que vivimos* [It's time we realized that life here is really great], (52) *Gocemos da nosa forma de vida* [Let's enjoy our way of life].

Recent trends in advertising do not directly invite receivers to adopt or avoid a certain course of action; instead they merely refer to the most appropriate course of action (Campmany 2005; Olins 2003). Accordingly, the VCG video does not directly ask its receivers to shop at this chain of supermarkets. This indirectness was probably one of the key factors in the success of the campaign for at least three reasons: 1) The commercial immediately catches the receivers' attention, which is essential if they are to remember the persuasive messages. 2) Receivers actively cooperate in interpreting the argumentation (Eco 1979), and are directly involved in interpreting the message, which increases persuasion. 3) The entire commercial constitutes a sort of *captatio benevolentiae*: it praises the receivers' way of life (receivers are Galicians, as is the addresser⁷); and it does not threaten receivers' *image* with directive speech acts (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]), as a form like "(you) live like Galicians" would do. By the subject *us*, the speaker builds a group in which speaker and hearers are united by virtue of their *Galicianness*, thereby reducing the receivers' sensation of being an indefinite target of a persuasive discourse, and minimizing receivers' resistance to persuasion, and consequently increasing its efficacy.

GADIS tries to convince receivers to buy in GADIS supermarkets not by telling them to do so directly, but rather with indirect argumentation: first by presenting itself as a defender of Galician virtues, through praising Galician virtues specifically, which in turn puts the Galician way of life in a positive light. Secondly GADIS invites receivers to live as Galician; the implicit premises are 1) that GADIS, like the receivers of the message, is Galician, and 2) that living as Galician

means buying Galician products (sold in GADIS supermarkets) and supporting a Galician company (GADIS) over foreign ones.

All the ad does is show how great living as Galician is: actually GADIS attempts to instill receivers with a sense of pride at being Galician, extolling their virtues: “It’s time we realized that life here is really great, let’s enjoy our way of life, let’s live like Galicians.” GADIS uses the entire video to show just how great it is to be Galician.

5. The discursive strategy: Managing the addresser’s image

Indirectness also forms the foundation upon which GADIS builds its own image. The image that GADIS tries to build and project through its discourse is that of an institution that aims to defend the Galician (speaker and hearers’) way of life, rather than defending its own commercial interests and profits. The video *A historia do avó* [The Grandfather’s Tale] and the campaign “Changing the dictionary” was started by GADIS in order to eradicate the sense of ‘stupid’ from the term *gallego* (Galician), and both were aimed at the construction of this image: GADIS defends Galicians, their way of life, and their values, by presenting them as absolutely valid.

At the same time, GADIS’ attempt of creating a sense of pride and even feelings of superiority at being Galician is aimed at obtaining the receivers’ empathy and sympathy, encouraging them to shop at the GADIS chain of supermarkets rather than a foreign-owned one. The slogan *Vivamos como galegos*, which appears at the end of the video with the GADIS logo, allows the receivers to recognize the speaker of the discourse (GADIS) and to infer: “GADIS is Galician (like us); GADIS defends (our) Galician way of life; therefore, GADIS defends us.”

It must be stressed that GADIS does not defend Galicia from the position of the political/institutional nationalism, or from the position of a political nationalist party, since this kind of overt political position could reduce the acceptance of the advertisement. In order to make the message more acceptable within Galician society (where there are both nationalists and non-nationalists), GADIS remains as neutral as possible. Consequently the video simply defends some aspects of local identity, through the representation of a number of stereotyped ideas *about* Galicia/n(s) that are generally admitted and usually accepted *within/by* Galicia/ns. The stereotypes featured in the video will be stressed by accepting and highlighting them or rejected by inverting them, with humor and irony. These two devices are crucial for reducing the impression that the tone of the ad is aggressively nationalistic.

6. Argumentative resources

I will now go on to discuss the main argumentative resources used by GADIS in order to persuade receivers. They consist of three main types: 1) the use of topics of quality (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1989: 153–168) treated with hyperbole; 2) the use of humor and irony; and 3) the use of dissociation (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1989: 627–698).

At the basis of these three categories there is a polarized description of the world and the actors, where the in-group (Galicia, Galician, Galicians and Galicianness) is positive and the out-group is negative. As van Dijk (2003) argues, in every polarized description of actors, speakers emphasize positive in-group features and de-emphasize negative in-group features. Accordingly, we can observe that in this video, the speaker emphasizes the in-group positive features stressing some (objective or perceived as) positive Galician habits/products/things; and it de-emphasizes the negative in-group features minimizing some (objective or perceived as) negative Galician habits/products/things through humor.

6.1 Topics of quality

The video continuously stresses the fact that all related to Galicia is the best in the world: "you're better off here than anywhere else [...] out there it's different." This utterance is the basis for a polarized construction of the world between Galicia and non-Galicia, which characterizes the entire advertising. Ideological values are associated with these two antagonistic spaces: Galicia is positive and non-Galicia is negative.

GADIS emphasizes the positive in-group features, listing some innate positive Galician features or Galician features generally appreciated inside or outside Galicia, or even those features that are objectively appreciated as positive.

1. A lot of *fiestas* [festivals]: "We have 17,340 festivals" (also hyperbolic).
2. Good and abundant food (26); traditional food (25; 35), and specially *tortillas* [omelettes], in fact, everyone believes that the best omelette in the world is her/his mother's (also hyperbolic): "the best omelette on the planet is my mother's."
3. Niceness and amiability (2; 27; 28).
4. Products like *grellos* (turnip greens), *percebes* (goose barnacles), table soccer (invented by Galicians), oak trees, or octopus, which are also renowned and appreciated outside Galicia.
5. Nice beaches (8): "How can we not feel fine here? Here we have the best beaches in the world" (also hyperbolic).

6. Spectacular Football (37): everybody believes that the best football is played in Galicia (also hyperbolic).

It is interesting to note that everything is not just good, it is *the best in the world*: the best football, the best beaches, the best omelettes, etc. This is a normal feature of advertising discourse, whose epideictic component is not merely aimed at showing how good the advertised product is, but rather that it is the best in the world (Ferraz Martínez 1993; Pignotti 1976; Campmany 2005; Olins 2003). But the hyperbolic description of the positive features of Galicia by one hand constitutes a 'romantic' use of the topic of uniqueness (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1989: 156 and 166), and by the other hand is used strategically in order to maximize their importance, in accordance with the typology I outlined above regarding the polarized description of the world. Furthermore it also increases the general ironic tone of the commercial.

6.2 Humor and irony

It is well known that (self) irony is one of the best devices for overcoming our defects; poking fun at our defects allows us to minimize them. In this sense, we can observe that the speaker de-emphasizes negative in-group features through ironically listing some "negative" Galician features, which transforms them into positive features through inversion. In these cases we normally have an initial situation, generally dealing with some negative stereotypes about Galicia and Galicians or with some feature normally judged as negative, and a final situation where the initially negative feature has become positive. Among other many examples (30–31; 36; 50–51), observe the following ones:

1. Stereotype about Galicians: indolence; for example, they always respond "well" to every question. Through a pun about the pragmatic value of *bueno* 'well, actually' (used as a discursive marker) and the semantic value of *bueno* 'good', 'fine', the speaker states that the reason why a man always responds "well" to every question is sheer optimism: "we're optimistic by nature." In this way we can observe a transformation brought about by discourse: the same event (always responding *well*) is seen from a new perspective that changes it from a negative feature (indolence) into a positive one (optimism).
2. Stereotype about Galicians: naivety; for example, they often 'predict' events that have just occurred. The video shows a grandmother saying to her grandson who has just fallen over "you'll fall:" the speaker says, "(we) Galicians are never wrong." In doing so he discursively transforms the negative feature of naivety into the positive one of infallibility.

3. Stereotype about Galicians: ignorance; for example they are unable to translate from Galician to English. For instance, they translate literally (but inaccurately) the phrase *pulpo a feira* (a typical Galician dish made with boiled octopus [in Galician: *pulpo*] and olive oil, salt and paprika), as "octopus to the party [in Galician: *feira*]." The speaker states that "(we Galicians) invented the free translation." In this way the commercial discursively transforms a negative feature –that of ignorance– (being unable to correctly translate from Galician to English), into a positive one, namely the capacity for invention (of a free translation).
4. Stereotype about Galicia: in Galicia it never stops raining. The main character of the video proudly states that "We've got drizzle...rain, rain, and...rain." In doing so the speaker discursively transforms rain into a positive feature.

6.3 Dissociation

So the ad blatantly subverts common-sense assumptions about the world (e.g. that having a lot of rain is not desirable) or ordinary ways of interpreting a situation: through a humoristic narration speaker says that always saying *well/good* (1) is not a sign of indolence, but of optimism; predicting an event after it has happened (2) is not a sign of stupidity but insight; mistranslation (3) is not a sign of ignorance but of creativity; rain (4) is not, as we may have thought, a nuisance, but something to be happy about. In these cases, there is at work a mechanism of dissociation of the kind 'appearance/reality' (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1989:633–639), which subverts existing assumptions and redefines reality. Especially it would appear to be a case of the pair 'datum/reality': "le donné, dont personne ne doute, est considéré comme apparence, alors que ce qui sert d'explication, quoique rarement aussi certain, est traité comme caractéristique de la réalité véritable" (Perelman 1939:59 *apud* Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1989:652).

7. Multimodality: An example of intersemiotic complementarity

If we consider more attentively the fourth example, we will see how multimodality plays a key role. It is the conjunction of two different semiotic modes that allows receivers to consider rain in a positive light: the words alone –despite the triumphant tone– fail to convey a sense of positivity ("We've got drizzle...rain, rain, and...rain"); however, the images of people playing happily in the rain, combined with the words do manage to project this idea. This remark about the conjunction of two different semiotic signs brings us directly to the question of multimodality and the argumentativeness of semiotic codes within multimodal texts, as well as

to the issue of intersemiotic complementarity. There are numerous cases in which signs of different semiotic codes interact to convey meaning. One such example is the image of the two fridges full of food corresponding to the utterance “we love to see our cupboards and fridges always full” (26), to convey the importance Galicians place on the abundance of quality food. Others are the tender shots of children corresponding to the utterance “and when we see children we still smile at them; and they’re welcome” (27–28), to convey the amiable nature of Galicians; or the images of a large family lunch corresponding to the idea of good (and slow) food “[in Galicia] food is a religion” (48), etc.

In order to show how the rhetorical relationships of anaphor between signs belonging to different semiotic codes work within a multimodal text, together with their intersemiotic complementarity, I have selected an excerpt from the video: scenes S1-S2-S1 corresponding to utterances (1–8). I have defined multimodality as the presence of different semiotic codes, different ways of expressing meaning, as, for instance, verbal, visual, and aural. All three types of signs cooperate in building the meaning, and therefore also cooperate in persuading the receivers. I have also said that they can form a relation of complementarity, contrast, or comment. In any case, images or sounds reinforce the persuasive value of the words and vice versa. In the VCG video, there is a clear narrative structure where, parallel to the main scene (S1) there are many different scenes, each showing a different aspect of Galicia/n(s)/ness. Each aspect is visually, verbally and acoustically represented by a separate scene. As a result, each scene works like a vivid *exemplum* of the Galician feature which the speaker is describing. In the case of the example chosen here, all the three codes interact in order to convey a complete meaning. Consider the change between S1 and S2, as shown in Figure 1.

We can observe many differences between from one side lines 1 and 3, which represent S1, and from the other side line 2, which represents S2. These differences concern the words (as we can see in the video transcription), the images, but also the sounds, which unfortunately I am unable to reproduce here.

1. Words. As s shown in Figure 1, there are differences within the discourse (main character vs. new characters):⁸ but also differences that are expressed through the main character’s discourse. He makes a statement about the quietness of Galicia compared to the stress of non-Galicia, significantly referred to as “out-there.” Yet there are also differences in the language in which the utterances are made: in fact there is a switch from Galician to Spanish (here transcribed in Courier) and again to Galician. In S1 the main character speaks Galician, while persons living “out there” (represented in S2) speak Spanish, acting as a typical representation of the out-group language.

Scene	Utterance	Text	Character
1	(1)	Woah...you're better off here than anywhere else...	A
	(2)	People are still kind, not too stressed	A
	(3)	What?	B
	(4)	Out there it's different	A
2	(5)	How are you doing?	C
	(6)	Here going for the 5th tube of the day	D
	(7)	How can we not we feel fine here?	A
1	(8)	Here we have the best beaches in the world	A

Figure 1. Excerpt from the transcription; lines 1 to 8

- Images. There are different characters (the main character's family vs. two unknown persons), different color tones (warm vs. cold and green-blue), different angles (front vs. back; eye level vs. bottom-up), and different shot moves (static vs. moving).
- Sound. The soundtrack also marks a strong difference between the peace of Galicia and the clamor of the city: in S1 we can hear people talking in their car or the sound of a beach, while in S2 we hear the noise of the train and people rushing breathlessly down the platform.

Differences on all three levels (words, images, sounds) converge in creating a dichotomy between *here in* (Galicia) and *out there* (non-Galicia), between *us* vs. *them*. Ideological and evaluative meanings are associated with the signs describing

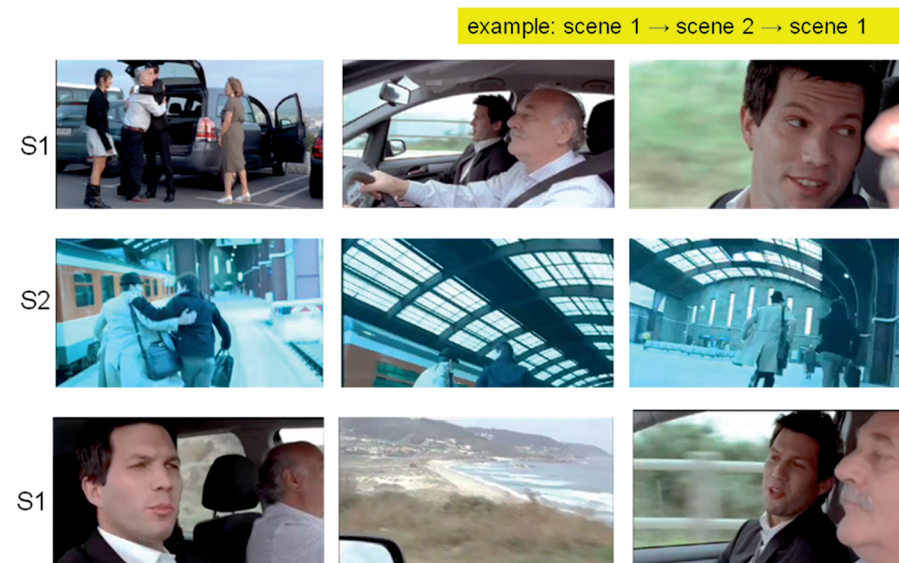


Figure 2. Example of intersemiotic complementarity: Scene1 and Scene2

		Galicia	vs.	non-Galicia
words	language	Galician	vs.	Spanish
	discourse	here no stress	vs.	out there stress
images	form	normal tone	vs.	green/cold tone
		straight camera	vs.	diagonal camera
	content	static	vs.	moving
		family	vs.	acquaintance
		beach	vs.	metropolis (tube)
sounds		nice sounds	vs.	noise
values transmitted		positivity	vs.	negativity

Figure 3. Words, images and sounds converge to create a positive image of Galicia against a negative image of non-Galicia

and representing these two spaces (Voloshinov 1973), so that ideological and evaluative meanings are associated with both socio-semiotic spaces of *here* (in) vs. (out) *there*. The *here* (Galicia) is positive, while the *there* (non-Galicia) is negative.

This dichotomy can be represented as in Figure 3. The final line summarizes the conclusion of the discourse in this commercial: everything in Galicia is positive, while “out there,” i.e., outside Galicia, everything is negative.

All semiotic signs cooperate in the construction of the meaning, as an anaphor, but they also increase and multiply the resulting meaning.

8. Final remarks

The construction of positive feelings about Galicia/n(s)/ness and negative ones against non-Galicia/n(s)/ness deserves a deeper analysis, at least in the sense of the construction of identity. GADIS defends the local identity (represented by the intimate, calm and safe, limited old Galicia) against the universal one (with its stress, its formality and its dangerous lack of limits). GADIS defends the traditional identity (represented by multimodal references to the family, the village, serenity, warmth, nice sounds, nature and the rural world) against the modern one (represented by iconic, acoustic and verbal references to the tube, noise, acquaintances, distance, coldness). This kind of defense is strategic to the fulfillment of GADIS’ commercial and economic ends, namely boosting sales. In order to do so, instead of representing itself as an institution targeting commercial benefit and profit, GADIS acts and speaks as the defender of Galician interests. Indeed, the entire commercial is a sort of *captatio benevolentiae* aimed at obtaining the empathy and sympathy of the (Galician) receivers, who are GADIS’ potential customers. In order to obtain their *benevolentia* GADIS has to show them that Galicia is the best

place in the world to live in. It does this by listing various objective positive aspects of Galicia (festivals, goose barnacles, turnip greens, friendliness, tranquility, etc.) Galicians tend to agree with, as well as several other aspects that have traditionally been considered to be negative (rain, indolence, hypocrisy, naivety, etc.), turning them into positive features.

But goodwill is also captured due to the comic and pleasant narration, which is full of hyperbole and irony. GADIS generally uses irony and hyperbole in at least three ways: (1) to minimize the negative features of Galicia, as we have seen before. (2) According to Pratkanis and Aronson (1994), the more pleasant the message is, the more persuasive it tends to be: distraction complicates rational reasoning and the analysis of arguments; at the same time pleasant messages tend to be more permanent in the receivers' memory. GADIS tries to make its message as pleasant as possible through irony and hyperbole so as to turn off critical apprehension of the message and to be better remembered. The fact that this commercial is pleasing also guarantees GADIS the receivers' empathy and sympathy. 3) GADIS uses irony and hyperbole throughout the commercial in order to temperate the aggressiveness of what could be perceived as a nationalistic defense of local values. It must be remembered that the audience is made up of nationalists and non-nationalists, as well as anti-nationalists. As such, referencing the local must not appear too overtly nationalistic to avoid political opposition. This is obtained through the mitigation offered by hyperbole and irony. For instance the commercial shifts from the real towards the unreal, ending in a hyperbolic narration, with ironic or humoristic effects, which is highly appealing to receivers. At the beginning the main character is at the airport with his relatives; later the sense of unreality increases, and we can see the main character leaning out of the window to talk to a passer-by; then he is in middle of the street talking to a few people; next he climbs up onto a car and talks to more people; he then mounts a horse to address even more people; and finally he gallops triumphantly along, talking to a large crowd, in what could be seen as an imitation of William Wallace.⁹ One could interpret these scenes as increasingly aggressive, since the young protagonist may look like a warrior leader talking to his soldiers, inspired by a belligerent nationalism. But this *in crescendo* aggressiveness is presented in such an exaggerated way, so hyperbolic, that it looks unreal. It constitutes a parody of the military chief giving a speech to his soldiers. It is ironic. Therefore, the intrinsic nationalistic aggressiveness of the scene is attenuated due to its lack of reality. Through the use of humor, GADIS professes a sort of ironic (and funny) patriotism, which seems more hilarious if compared to the social context: the actual existence of some Galician nationalistic aggressive movements within the Galician society. This makes GADIS' "nationalism" more acceptable and positive. On the one hand, GADIS uses nationalism strategically,

but it also makes an instrumental parody of it, in order to achieve its commercial and economical objectives.

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Notes

1. As the company itself states on its website, GADISA capital is «100% national», but is unclear whether it means Galician or Spanish (<http://www.gadisa.es/index.php?id=19>). Note that in this second case, the campaign would not only defend the Galician way of life in order to indirectly promote its commercial interests (see below), but also would –somewhat cynically– defend a local way of life in order to promote more general commercial interests.
2. The English subtitled version of the video is available at the following URL, but please note that some changes and corrections have been made in this transcription (see Appendix) in order to improve the English subtitles: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Pb5n50SyKI>.
3. Translating this traditional Galician expression is no easy task. It is normally used to offer encouragement and in response to pessimistic utterances referring to future events. For instance, a student facing the possibility of failing an exam will receive encouragement from the interlocutor with the phrase *maloserá*, which loosely expresses the idea that “things would have to be pretty desperate for you to fail the exam”.
4. The viral campaign is actually *Come neniño, que estás moi delgado* [eat up boy, you’re nothing but skin and bone], in which some Galician grandmothers offer Galician university students some omelettes.
5. <http://www.ipmark.com/noticia.asp?ref=8001> (30 March 2010).
6. Following van Dijk (2001: 95–6): “without being eclectic, good scholarship [...] should integrate the best work of many people, famous or not, from different disciplines, countries, cultures and directions of research”. Note that while some scholars, as Darbellay (2005: 46) or Darbellay and Paulsen (2008: 3–5) consider multidisciplinary and pluridisciplinarity as synonyms, as we do, others, as for instance, Charaudeau (2010), distinguish between these two concepts.
7. We have here two addressers: (1) the real one, GADIS; and (2) the virtual one, the main character, the *persona* through which GADIS speaks within the ad. One can reasonably suppose that

the virtual addresser is Galician, at least because he actually speaks in Galician. Probably GADIS is not as Galician as it tries to seem, but by speaking through a Galician character (working as a synecdoche for the company), who seems Galician because he speaks Galician, GADIS builds an image of itself as a Galician company.

8. Or even the same characters in a flashback of himself out of Galicia.
9. William Wallace is the Scottish national hero played by Mel Gibson in the 1995 movie *Braveheart*.

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Appendix. Video transcription

In this section I present the video transcription with its English translation. Some clarifications need be made: together with scenes (S1, S2, etc.) the characters and scenarios also change. I considered the performance of the main character as a single scene interrupted by other scenes. The orthographic system used here for transcribing the Galician language is the official system (also known as *aislacionista*) instead of the Portuguese *norma padrão* (standard) proposed by some Galicians known as *reintegracionistas*. The Courier font in (5) and (6) indicates Spanish, instead of Galician. The expression *off-screen* means that one can hear the speakers (the protagonist as well as the other characters) without seeing them; either because they are out of range of the camera, or because they speak as omniscient narrators.

S1: the main character (character A) returns from a trip; his mother, father and sister are picking him up from the airport. The protagonist, sitting in the car, talks to his relatives. Except when indicated otherwise, the utterances are made by character A.

- 1) Bouf, como aquí en ningún sitio (A)
Woah...you're better off here than anywhere else... (character A)
- 2) A xente aínda é amable, ten pouco estrés
People are still kind, not too stressed
- 3) ¿O qué? (B)
What? (B)
- 4) Por aí fora é diferente
Out there it's different

S2: two persons running along the platform in an underground station.

- 5) ¿Qué tal? (C)
How are you doing? (C)
- 6) ¡Aquí, a por el quinto metro del día! (D)
Here, going for the 5th tube of the day (D)

S1: coming back to the main character in the car.

- 7) Cómo non imos sentirnos ben aquí
How can we not feel fine here?
- 8) Se aquí están as mellores praias do mundo
Here we have the best beaches in the world

S1: view of a Galician beach from the car window, seen from the perspective of the main character. Coming back to him in the car.

- 9) Se a mellor tortilla do planeta é
The best omelette on the planet is

S3: a housewife in a kitchen, showing an omelette.

- 10) A da miña nai (E en off)
My mother's (E off-screen)

- 11) É a da miña nai (F en off)
It's my mother's (F off-screen)
- 12) É a da miña nai (G en off)
It's my mother's (G off-screen)
- S1: coming back to the main character in the car.
- 13) Somos optimistas por natureza
We're optimistic by nature
- 14) Para nos todo es
For us everything is...
- S4: two persons in a rural –very Galician– setting.
- 15) Bueno (H)
...“well” (H)
- 16) ¿Fai calor? (I)
Is it warm? (I)
- 17) Bueno (H)
...well (H)
- 18) ¿Fai frío? (I)
Is it cold? (I)
- 19) Bueno (H)
...well (H)
- 20) ¿E a familia qué tal? ¿Ben? (I)
And how are the family getting on? OK? (I)
- 21) Bueno (H)
...well (H)
- S1: the main character stops in the middle of the street to talk to a man walking along the street.
From this point the main character talks off-screen.
- 22) Somos positivos
We're positive by nature!
- 23) Ademais os galegos nunca nos trabucamos
And (we) Galicians are never wrong
- S5: A child and his grandmother in a park. The child stumbles and falls and his grandmother says:
- 24) Vas caer! (J)
You'll fall!... (J)
- S6: a girl in a kitchen, eating directly from the saucepan.
- 25) Podemos ir xantar á casa e vela familia
We can go home for lunch and see the family
- S7: 3 foreground shots of two refrigerators wide open, full of food.
- 26) Gústanos tela despensa e a neveira sempre cheas
We love to see our cupboards and fridges always full
- S8: two children playing in a park with a dog.
- 27) E cando vemos nenos aínda lles sonrimos
And when we see children we still smile at them
- S9: an elderly man walking in a park with a child.
- 28) E son ben recibidos
And they're welcome
- S10: an elderly man dancing with a child.

S11: some young people playing table soccer.

29) Somos os inventores do fútbolín

We invented table soccer

S12: a football player in a press conference; a journalist asks a question off-screen.

30) Da pregunta total

And the absolute question

31) Fran, qué? (K)

So Fran...? (K)

S13: a blackboard of a restaurant with the English phrase *octopus to the party*, subtitled as *pulpo a feira* (a typical Galician course made with boiled octopus).

32) Da traducción libre

Free translation

S14: a shaking hand touches the back windscreen of a car maneuvering for parking.

33) E do hand parking

And hand-parking

34) Ahí! Ahí! Ahí! (L en off)

That's it, there, there (L off-screen)

S1: coming back to the main character in the square; people start moving nearer to him.

35) Come nas casas dos teus pais sempre que poidas

Go to your parents' for lunch whenever you can

S1: the main character climbs onto a car roof, talking to the people around him.

36) E se alguén te pon en apuros, respóndelle con outra pregunta

And if someone asks you a tricky question, ask one back!

S1: the main character gets off the car and mounts a brown horse; he starts galloping in a field; more and more people come up to him: they appear from behind; he talks to them as he canters along.

37) E se pregunta onde se xoga o mellor fútbol, responde con rotundidade

And if someone asks where the best soccer is played, answer categorically...

S15: a stadium full of people cheering.

38) En Galicia (M en off)

In Galicia (M off-screen)

Final moments of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony; main character's voice is off-screen.

39) Temos dezasetemiltrescentoscarenta festas

We have 17,340 different festivals

S15: two men in a stadium sharing some food.

S16: an elderly man and a young girl dancing in a rural setting.

S17: some young people standing around a pot chanting a *conxuro* (a traditional Galician spell).

S18: a beach full of people and bonfires during the summer solstice celebrations or the Festivity of Saint John (June 24th)

40) Temos greleiras,

We've got *grelo* harvesters

S19: a woman with some *grelos* (turnip greens — a traditional Galician vegetable).

41) Percebeiros

Goose barnacle hunters

S20: a *percebeiro* (barnacle hunter) in his wetsuit shows some barnacles from the sea.

42) Temos orballo

We've got *orballo* (drizzle)

S21: foreground shot of fine rain falling upon some leaf.

43) Carballo

Oak trees

S22: image of an oak tree.

44) Choiva

Rain

S23: foreground shot of wet paving-stones.

45) Choiva

Rain

S24: a typical rural Galician house (made of granite and slate) in the rain.

46) E...

And...

S25: a typical Galician house in the rain.

47) Choiva

Rain

S26: two persons playing and laughing in the rain.

S1: the main character riding the horse and talking to the persons facing the sea.

48) Onde a comida é una relixión

Where food is a religion

S27: a table in the middle of the garden of a typical Galician rural house; around the table some people are eating, and some children playing; (main character's voice is off-screen).

49) E un domingo sen aldea, non é un domingo

And if you don't go to your village on Sunday it's not a proper Sunday.

S1: coming back to the main character on horseback, alternating with shots of people standing on a hill. Protagonist keeps talking to them.

50) E onde a xente non é fea, é riquinha

And where people aren't ugly, they're nice

51) Deámonos conta do ben que vivimos

It's time we realized that life here is really great

52) Gocemos da nosa forma de vida

Let's enjoy our way of life

53) Vivamos como galegos.

Let's live like Galicians!

Beethoven's Ninth Symphony becomes louder; bagpipes (traditional Galician instruments) play the symphony; the slogan *Vivamos como Galegos* appears on the screen in red letters. Alternating shots of the main character on horseback and people facing the sea with their hands in the air and spectators in a theatre doing 'the wave'. The main character gallops from the left to the right of the screen and disappears; a white panel occupies the screen, in the centre the GADIS logo is shown just above the slogan.

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