

Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia:
constructions of Catalan.

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ABSTRACT

Catalan is an *autochthonous* minority language within the Spanish state that is undergoing a programme of linguistic normalisation which is widely regarded as a successful model. Today, its progress is being challenged by globalisation, mass migration, and the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants, in particular Spanish-speaking Latin Americans, who are *allochthonous* speakers of marked varieties of the official language of the Spanish state.

The *micro*-level focus of the study is on how Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are constructing Catalan: how Catalan is being incorporated into repertoire (in-group and inter-group), and how and why individuals are forming conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan. At the *macro* level, the focus is on how policies of linguistic normalisation of the Catalan language are responding to the challenges of globalisation, and to the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants, especially Spanish-speakers.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 44 informants, and recordings made of the interactions of 11 of them. The focus of the data collection was on [i] Spanish-speaking Latin Americans' interactions involving Catalan, [ii] on the paths of migration and of identity formation along which individuals' epistemologies evolve, consolidate and transform, and [iii] on informants' opinions about language policies.

The study is framed around 'structure and agency' (Giddens, 1984), and the data analysed according to a view of *language as recursive social practice*, which links the macro and the micro, seeing individuals' agencies as the *outcomes* of social structures and also as *engendering change* in these structures. Central to individuals' recursive language practice is *knowledgeability* and *reflexivity* (Giddens, 1984) as they interact in a heteroglossic Catalonia (Pujolar, 2001), and negotiate codeswitching norms of practice that are specific to Catalonia, in particular an 'accommodation norm' (Woolard, 1989) which involves Catalan speakers often switching to Castilian with interlocutors who do not look or sound Catalan.

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I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made,
the work presented in the thesis is entirely my own.

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Prologue

After returning from a visit to Barcelona during the early stages of collecting data for the study, I received the following short story unsolicited in my email inbox. It is the reflections of a 15-year-old Latin American teenager as she looks back on her own migration to Catalonia. I include it as it raises several issues to be addressed in this study. The original Spanish version can be found in Appendix 1.

Un Cambio (A Change)

It was strange when they told me we were leaving. They said that next school year I wouldn't only be changing school but also city and country. I didn't want to go, I had my family here and my friends, I'd miss them a lot, and also 'why should we move?' I heard the grown-ups saying that the situation was getting bad, there was a crisis and not much work. In the other place there'd be work, and also a better education for me and my brother and sister and that over there I wouldn't be woken up by the sound of gunshots and shouting...

I knew they were gunshots because when I leaned out the window I didn't see beautiful fireworks like at New Year, but below our eighth floor apartment there were people running and others lying on the ground. The shouting wasn't happiness or excitement at seeing the beautiful fireworks in the sky, they were cries of fear and sadness.

I remember that once I saw a man force another into the trunk of his car, I think he had a gun, I don't know because my mother wouldn't let me see as we quickly left the car park. That was quite a long time ago, I was around four years old but I still remember.

So, we're leaving. I've been told to Europe, but they still don't know if it'll be Milan or Barcelona. I know that Barcelona is where the Olympic games are going to be held and that it's in Spain, where they have bullfights, and that Milan is in Italy and that some cousins of mine live there in a town nearby. It'd be great to go to Milan and to learn Italian.

Two months later.

My dad's been there for a month and a half and he's found a job and a flat, he was really lucky. I say he was lucky to find a decent flat so quickly because no one wanted to rent him one because he had a *sudaca*¹ accent, as they say there. I think that apart from not having my family there and certain objects of sentimental value that I won't be able to take, that will be the most difficult thing for me to get used to: to being the new one, the foreigner, the different one.

Day 5 in Barcelona

Last week we moved to Barcelona!! We arrived five days ago, mum, Patrick, Daniela and me. We left for Maiquetía very early in the morning, the lights from the shanty-

¹ *Sudaca* is a pejorative term used in Spain to refer to Latin Americans.

town at the foot of the Ávila were still shining and even though I know they symbolise the decadence of my country, when I saw them from the car window they looked beautiful to me and I felt sad even though I was excited by the great experience ahead of me.

We did our final errands before boarding and as we had some spare time with my uncle, we drank our last Maltas, Frescolitas, Hit Uva and Polar Beer for a long time. My mum and my uncle talked about politics and how for sure there'd be a military coup just like in lots of other places in South America. I decided not to talk during that conversation as I didn't know what to think. We finally had to go through to where our uncle couldn't come as he wasn't a passenger and we said goodbye with lots of kisses and promises to write and visit each other. He said he'd definitely come to Barcelona in the middle of August for the Olympics. After going through, the first thing we did was go to see the airport's duty-free shops and bought our favourite sweets that we knew we wouldn't be able to get over there, we tried not to eat too many and to save some for dad who said he'd be waiting for us at the airport in Barcelona.

Last Monday I started school. What I don't like is that they've got a different language here, Catalan, which is quite similar to Spanish but which isn't the same and which is quite hard to learn. Another thing that I don't like is that we have classes in the afternoon every day. The good thing is that I've got some friends, really they're two girls, the boys only annoy me; my mum says not to worry, that it's typical at that age. Still, there are some who criticise me for being a foreigner and because of my accent, they said I should go back to my country. This hasn't happened to Daniela, she and her friends are too small to worry about that. Although in the market the women really like it because we talk like the actresses in the soap operas, sometimes it's funny how they listen really carefully when we talk and try to remember which character we sound like most.

Now

I've re-read these pages from ten years ago and I compare these memories of our immigration to those of so many people who are in the news and manage to get into this country which is now like a new Mecca and in which they're looking for, not the fulfilment of a religious duty, but for conditions for a decent life and a worthy job that'll let them feed their families, isn't that what we all want?, isn't that what we deserve?

In class and outside they say that the foreigners, especially the *moros*² and *sudacas*, come here to take away and steal work from the Spaniard, who has every right to be here and to have more privileges than anyone else from abroad. They'll have forgotten that in most cases these people come from places that years ago were exploited from countries in the North and which are still exploited economically and that are still trying to recover; they can't because the rich want to get richer and keep the poor poorer.

We're all people, we all want to live in decent conditions. Does it matter where we're from to deserve it?

(short story by Ana Isabella Byrne Bellorín, aged 15, Barcelona 2001 [my translation])

² *Moros* is a term sometimes used pejoratively in Spain to refer to North Africans.

From his first day in the new land a tug of war between his old and his new self was going on in the immigrant, and nowhere was the struggle more vividly reflected than in his successive linguistic adaptations (Haugen, 1938).

1. INTRODUCTION

Today, an unprecedented number of new migrants are settling in Spain, a richly multilingual country. Many settle and work in Barcelona, where they find themselves negotiating and interpreting the meanings of new social practices in new social and linguistic spaces, in which their varieties of Latin American Spanish interact with Catalan and Castilian. The social and linguistic spaces that have been historically shared and contested by speakers of Catalan (an *autochthonous minority language* within the Spanish state) and speakers of Castilian (the *autochthonous majority language* of the Spanish state) are now being shared and contested by new *allochthonous minority* groups: most notably in Barcelona, Moroccans, Pakistanis, and Latin Americans. Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are of particular interest as *allochthonous new migrants* who speak marked varieties of the majority language of the Spanish state, settling in Catalonia during a key stage in the normalisation of the Catalan language.

As a result of globalisation, Catalan is under threat as *the exclusive* minority language to be protected: Arabic is being spoken on the streets in Catalonia at levels unknown since the Moors inhabited what is present-day Catalonia many hundreds of years ago; allochthonous Latin Americans (the descendants of Spaniards, Catalans, native Americans, and African victims of slavery) are also now inhabiting the contested social and linguistic spaces that were previously the domains of the autochthonous communities of Spain.

The presence of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in large numbers not only represents a new and interesting twist in the age-old conflict between Catalan and Castilian, it also threatens to contribute to the rolling back of the progress that the Catalan language has made in recent years through policies of linguistic normalisation. And herein lies a paradox in Catalonia: whilst new migrants are protecting the Catalan economy and the (historically Catalan-speaking) elite's dominant position in society by doing the work that the locals do not want to do, their

presence in such concentrations threatens the policy-led progress made by Catalan language in recent years.

Barcelona today is characterised by a combination of the characteristics of the *old*, the *modern*, the ‘*late-modern*’ and the ‘*post-modern*’³. The architecture, the food, the tourists, the urban layout, the dominance of Castilian over Catalan in many social settings – all are aspects of relative continuity through evolutionary change, where old and modern co-exist. As part of this process of change, a Statute of Autonomy and policies of linguistic normalisation of the Catalan language have attempted to position Catalan on an equal footing with Castilian. Street signs, public services, and media are now in Catalan, as well as Castilian. Public and educational institutions now use Catalan as a medium of communication and instruction. Yet, just as the transition enters second gear, new agents of globalisation have entered the equation, throwing the process off course. The manifestations of this ‘globalisation in late-modernity’ (Hall, 1992) (rapid change, increased non-European migration, new multiculturalism, and changing social practice) were at first seen as an insidious presence. Yet today they constitute a notable disjuncture in the evolution from old to modern to late-modern, and it could even be argued that this disjuncture and fissure represents a major evolutionary break, i.e. ‘post-modernity’, rather than the continuity that ‘late-modernity’ suggests. As a result, *individuals’ existing understandings of what constitutes ‘normal’ sociolinguistic practice in different contextual settings* (which I will refer to hereafter as ‘sociolinguistic knowledge’), and paths of identity formation, are being taken in new directions by some, and in old directions by others.

Policy-makers are attempting to address the challenges of globalisation by performing a difficult political juggling act: *politically* and *economically* pushing Catalonia forward in the global arena; *culturally* and *linguistically* striving for greater recognition of the Catalan language in the expanding multilingual, multicultural European Union; and paradoxically, *socially*, *culturally* and *linguistically* pulling individual agents away from the *multi*, and towards the *uni*, in which the Catalan language is legislated as *the* defining feature of Catalan-ness, and in which its use in many institutional settings gains precedence over Castilian.

Change is also accentuating the existing divide between institutional and social language use. In terms of institutional language use, the Catalan language would

³ I will discuss the definition of these terms in Chapter 2.

appear to be in a strong position: in government institutions, educational establishments and many other institutional settings, language policies stipulate that Catalan should be used as the preferred, ‘normal’ language of communication. Yet, Catalan appears to be losing out to Castilian in many parts of Barcelona in terms of social language use, as Catalan speakers follow the traditional norm of selecting, or switching to Castilian, especially with interlocutors who look or sound ‘non-Catalan’.⁴ It appears, therefore, that the effects of macro-level structural constraints, or encouragements, upon the activity of individual agents in their linguistic repertoires have failed to bridge the divide between institutional and social. The *constraints* may even have had the *unintended outcome* (Giddens, 1984) of weakening the social position of Catalan, if they are based on a traditional-modern view, rather than one which encompasses the complex co-existence and overlapping of multiple stages of modernity and their manifestations in social and linguistic spaces.

□ Constructing Catalan: focus, approach and method

My focus is on how Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia (an *allochthonous* minority) are constructing Catalan (the language of an *autochthonous* linguistic minority). I have framed the study around ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ (Giddens, 1984), focusing on individuals’ ‘agencies within structures’.

I analyse the language use of my informants employing an approach of ‘language as recursive social practice’, arguing that informants’ constructions of Catalan are recursive (Giddens, 1984). *Recursive* language as social practice in the contexts of this study means that individuals’ sociolinguistic agencies are [i] the *outcomes* of the structures within which they exercise their agencies, and [ii] that their agencies also *engender change* within these structures.

At the macro level, my focus is on the ‘structures’ within which individuals’ sociolinguistic agencies are taking place. I mainly focus on the representation of Catalan in present-day language policies, which I see as a modern reflection of the historical building and imagining of the Catalan nation through narratives of a shared language, culture, history and struggle. I also consider the ‘structures’ of the countries of origin which many Latin Americans may be basing their agencies upon, often

⁴ I will discuss my use of the terms ‘Catalan/speaker’, ‘Castilian/speaker’, and ‘Latin American Spanish/speaker’ in 3.2.

based on a view of 'monolingual nationhood' in which minority languages are relegated to social, cultural and political positions of secondary importance.

At the micro level of the individual sociolinguistic agencies of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans, my focus is on the following constructions of Catalan in individuals' daily life paths: incorporating Catalan into repertoire; constructing meanings, often conflicting, around interactions involving Catalan; and the reasons why individuals are constructing Catalan in conflicting ways. I focus on individuals' *knowledgeability* and *reflexivity* (Giddens, 1984) as a means of understanding individuals' conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan.

I suggest that individuals' processes of construction are taking place along paths of migration, and of identity formation, and that these paths are central to the formation of individuals' epistemologies, which play a role in how individuals apply their sociolinguistic knowledge in interactions. I also suggest that in many cases these paths form a link between the diachronic and the synchronic in the construction process.

My methodological approach is qualitative and partially ethnographic, which involves a combination of semi-structured interviews with 44 informants, and recordings of the interactions of 11 of the 44. I have chosen not to employ a narrow focus on one key site of social and cultural production and reproduction, such as a single school, one family, or a single national group. Instead, my focus for data collection is at the intersections where informants apply their sociolinguistic knowledge in interactions involving *allochthonous* Latin American Spanish and *autochthonous* Catalan. At these intersections, Latin American Spanish speakers negotiate the use of Catalan in-group or inter-group, as they do when they are addressed, or not, in Catalan: shopping in the market, at a local corner shop, having lunch, etc. And the negotiation along these daily paths will vary between interactions where they may at times be free to make any choice of code or mode of discourse, whilst in other spaces, and with other interlocutors, they will be constrained by wider factors which limit opportunities.

□ My aims

My first general aim is to find out how a limited number of individuals, undergoing complex, and at times fraught, processes of migration, are constructing a new language, Catalan, in a new highly-reflexive, complex and heteroglossic

sociolinguistic environment, Catalonia, and why these constructions are being formed in so many different ways.

My second aim is to re-problematise the oft-idealised case of normalisation of the Catalan language by introducing globalisation and the sociolinguistic agencies of allochthonous new migrants into the picture. As speakers of marked varieties of the official *majority* language of the Spanish state, Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are certainly a problematic case for language planners. Moreover, they do not fit easily into many existing analytic paradigms in the literature on linguistic minorities. Consequently, as part of the re-problematising process, I have brought together existing analytic and methodological conceptual frameworks and added new ones where necessary.

And third, I aim to make a contribution to knowledge by filling a gap in the literature: up until the final writing up of this thesis, I have been unable to find any literature or study focusing exclusively on Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia.

□ My background

The reason why I became involved in this specific research field is related to my life history, and demands a brief summary. I was born in Ontario, Canada, and spent many summers visiting relatives and grandparents in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. I was always amazed by the idea that a relative with an Irish surname would speak English with a French accent, and that friends of my parents' generation living in Montreal spoke no French. When I was six years old, my parents moved to England to study and have stayed to this day, and as a family of six, we all underwent distinct paths of social, cultural and linguistic adaptation. We ended up being 'the American family' in a small seaside town with virtually no foreigners, along the coast from Bristol. Of course, it would be churlish to draw comparison between such a privileged migration and the migration paths of many informants: we did not come for economic reasons (and we did not have to learn Catalan!), but some related issues emerged. Had I just had the chance to do French immersion before leaving Canada, it would have saved me years of suffering in French classes. Why couldn't people ever understand that there was a difference between American and Canadian? Why do we today speak in different mid-Atlantic tones in my family? Why did 'home' only stop being Canada when we moved to London? And why do I feel like a foreigner in Canada, an outsider

in England, but at home in London? I was to find that similar questions and issues were being raised by informants when I began to collect my data in and around Barcelona: majority speakers who do not learn minority languages, surnames and languages, Catalan immersion, ascriptions of national identities, and changing accents, for example.

As part of my undergraduate studies in Spanish, I spent one year in Colombia, 1985 to 1986, and after graduation, two years in Venezuela, 1989 to 1991, teaching English. These years allowed me to see first hand some of the roots of today's mass migration of Latin Americans, coupled with the longing for return one day.

In Colombia, I witnessed the following: the failed Betancur peace process; 'Black November', which saw not only the chaos of the storming of the Palace of Justice by M19 guerrillas, but also the tragedy of the eruption of the Nevado del Ruiz volcano, which wiped out the town of Armero; and most importantly, the cultural, geographical and gastronomic joys of what I consider to be Latin America's most beautiful and diverse country by far.

In Venezuela, I witnessed an oil-rich state undergoing neo-liberal shock therapy in its markets, and endured the rampant crime of and paranoia of living in Caracas, but also the pleasures of beach, Andes and Savannah.

Having taken postgraduate studies in Latin American Studies, and in Teaching English as a Second Language, I realised that the fields of study of Latino migration into the US, and English speakers in Québec were overflowing with PhD theses. Then I decided on my present focus. At the same time, my sister by chance bought a small apartment in Ciutat Vella (the Old Town in Barcelona), which gave me a place to stay.

□ Organisation

The thesis is divided into two parts. In Part 1, I introduce and analyse a number of historical and theoretical issues, critically reviewing the literature in each case. In Chapter 5, I present my methodological approach.

Part 2 consists of Chapters 6 to 10, where I will present my data chapters, and Conclusion.

Part 1

In Chapter 2, I will cover the following: an overview of the historical background to the present-day sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia, a discussion of the effects of

globalisation in Catalonia today, immigration statistics for Spain and Catalonia, and aspects related to individuals' migration paths.

In Chapter 3, I will look at Nationhood, Policy and Identities, and in Chapter 4, I will present the analytic approach that I base my analysis on: 'language as recursive social practice'.

I will present my methodological approach and related issues in Chapter 5.

Part 2

In Part 2, I will analyse the data that I collected from interviews (Chapters 6 to 8) and recordings of informants' interactions (Chapter 9), referring back to issues raised in Part 1 where relevant..

In Chapter 6, I will present informants' reflections upon aspects of their paths of migration, and paths of identity formation.

In Chapter 7, I will bring in interview excerpts related to policy and learning Catalan.

In Chapter 8, I will analyse interview data related to how informants are constructing Catalan: incorporation into repertoire, and how and why informants are forming conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan.

In Chapter 9, I will analyse recordings of interactions, focusing on in-group and inter-group interactions involving Catalan. I will then bring in two comparative angles: researcher constructs versus informant constructs, and self-report data versus recorded data.

Finally, in my Conclusion in Chapter 10, I will summarise my findings, answer the research questions, evaluate the study in terms of whether or not I have met my aims, and discuss limitations and future research.

□ Research questions

I will attempt to answer two key research questions in this study, the first at a micro level, and the second at a macro one.

Research Question 1

How are Spanish-speaking Latin Americans constructing Catalan, and why are individuals constructing the language in conflicting ways?

I will attempt to answer this micro-level question by analysing recordings of informants' interactions, and informants' interview responses about the following: [i] *how informants are incorporating Catalan into repertoire, in-group and inter-group*, [ii] *how meanings and interpretations are constructed around being addressed in Catalan*, and [iii] *the reasons for informants forming conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan*. The analysis of the data will also involve reference to issues raised in earlier chapters about bilingualism, codeswitching, and language as recursive social practice.

The findings of the analysis at micro level will have clear implications at the macro level, and are thus closely linked to my second macro-level research question:

Research Question 2

How are policy-makers, and linguistic normalisation, responding to the many challenges of globalisation and the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants in Catalonia today?

I will attempt to answer the second question at two levels: [i] by referring to specific language policies, and issues surrounding Catalan nationhood and identity as raised in Part 1 of the study, and [ii] by referring to interview and recorded data.

PART 1

2. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION: past and present

The aim of this Chapter is to present the historical contexts of the present-day situation of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia. In doing so, I aim to highlight key historical junctures, as well as disjuncture, and to suggest a link between the diachronic and the synchronic, that is, that certain historical factors are being played out today in the daily interactions involving Latin American Spanish, Catalan, and Castilian. This discussion will raise issues of relevance to answering both research questions later in the study: how historical background relates to individuals' constructions of Catalan, and how globalisation and new agencies in Catalonia are affecting linguistic normalisation.

I will begin by presenting an overview of the historical background to the present-day sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia. I will then go on to discuss the effects of globalisation and what I see as the co-existence of varying degrees of modernity in Catalonia today: 'multiple modernities'. I will then look at immigration as a key factor for disjuncture in Spain and Catalonia today, presenting immigration statistics. I will end the chapter by discussing migration paths.

2.1 Historical background

To cover more than one thousand years of history in one short section of a thesis chapter is an impossible task. I have, therefore, limited the discussion to two key historical periods/junctures: first, the 'unification' of Spain in the fifteenth century, and second, the Franco dictatorship in the twentieth. It is beyond the scope of this study to focus in any detail on other important periods/junctures, such as the divisions of the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s, or the transition to democracy after the death of Franco in 1976.

In order to place the coming discussion in its wider historical context, I have collated below an historical chronology adapted from a number of sources.

Historical Chronology

Catalan: language origins

- 7th to 9th centuries:** ▪ Catalan and Spanish developed as separate languages from Latin.⁵
- 11th to 14th centuries:** ▪ Catalan on a par with French, Italian, and Castilian.⁶
- 13th century:** ▪ standardised grammar and spelling; Catalan replacing Latin in government in Catalonia.
▪ Catalan is the first Romance language to be used in science and philosophy, and used in the oldest European maritime code.⁷

Catalonia: nation origins

- 8th century onwards:** ▪ a conglomerate of countdoms re-take land conquered by the Moors;
- end of the 9th century:** Count Guifrà el Pelòs received the counties of Barcelona, Urgell, Cerdanya-Conflent, and Gerona from the French king.⁸
- 1137:** ▪ marriage of the count of Barcelona to the heiress of the neighbouring kingdom of Aragón; Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands become an independent confederal monarchy.
- 13th to 15th centuries:** ▪ Catalan becomes the most important language of present-day Catalonia, parts of Southern France, Aragón, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands: Mallorca (1229), Valencia (1238), and enclaves in Sicily (1282), Greece (Athens) (1303), Sardinia (1323), Naples (1442), and also North Africa.
▪ a commercial empire develops, governed by an alliance of nobility and urban merchant elites, despite having a significant rural hinterland.⁹

Spanish ‘unification’

- 1469:** ▪ marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, heirs to the thrones of the Kingdoms of Aragón and Castile, brings about the political union of Spain; Catalonia loses its status as a sovereign political entity.¹⁰
- 1492:** ▪ the remaining Arabs defeated in Granada; Columbus takes first voyage to the Americas.
- 16th and 17th centuries:** ▪ wider use of Spanish by the aristocracy and intellectual class in Catalonia; setback for Catalan culture and literature.¹¹
▪ the Golden Age of Spanish literature.
▪ Spanish-Castilian dominance: 1581 Philip II of Spain’s invasion of Portugal; 1640 Portuguese monarchy restored.
▪ 17th century: decline in Spain’s international position; increasing attempts in Catalonia to resist Spanish centralism.¹²
- 18th century:** ▪ beginning of the 18th century: imposition of the French-backed king Philip V, after the Spanish War of the Succession; abolition of the confederal system and the imposition of centralist rule with viceroys.¹³
▪ Catalonia loses self-government (municipal democratic councils, parliament, and the Catalan government, the *Generalitat*)¹⁴; repression, prohibition of Catalan, reducing it to the domains of family and Church.¹⁵

⁵ Strubell, 1996: 262-3.

⁶ Mar-Molinero, 1996: 76.

⁷ Fishman, 1991: 297.

⁸ Strubell, 1996: 263; Castells, 2001: 43.

⁹ Mar-Molinero, 1996: 42; Castells, 2001: 44-5.

¹⁰ Castells, 2001.

¹¹ Pradilla, 2001: 61.

¹² Lecours, 2001: 217.

¹³ Strubell, 1996: 263.

¹⁴ In the main text (i.e. not transcribed data), I use the following conventions: English words in standard font; **Spanish/Castilian words** introduced for the first time are in bold; *Catalan words* for the first time are in bold and italics; italics alone are used for *emphasising points* in the main text.

¹⁵ Castells, 2001: 45; Strubell, 1996: 263.

- 19th century:**
- 1808 invasion of Spain by Napoleonic forces; a new common enemy; spurs growing sense of Spanish nationhood.¹⁶
 - liberal elite emerges in Madrid; pro unitary, centralised state and stronger sense of Spanish nationhood, equating centralisation and homogeneity with integration, modernity and power.¹⁷
 - the *second* half of 19th century, Catalan *Renaixença*: Catalan gains wider cultural and political significance; influence of European Romanticism, idealisation of the past, traditional culture, Herderian view of Catalan language and culture as part of nationhood.¹⁸
 - increase in publications in Catalan, standardisation of the language, 1870 first newspaper, *Diari Català*, began distribution.¹⁹
 - 1898 loss of last Spanish American colony, Cuba.

- early 20th century:**
- 1906 First International Conference on the Catalan Language, establishment of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Institute of Catalan Studies); Catalan modernisation led by Pompeu Fabra.²⁰
 - 1907 election of Enric Prat de la Riba as President of the '*Diputació de Barcelona*' (a regional assembly).
 - 1923 to 1930 Primo de Rivera dictatorship, Catalan banned in public areas.

1931-39: The Second Republic:

- left-wing republicans, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC) become dominant in Catalan nationalism: bridge between Catalan working class, petty bourgeoisie, and nationalist ideals; Lluís Companys elected leader of the restored Generalitat, Esquerra make a Spain-wide alliance with the Spanish Republicans, the Socialists, the Communists, and trade unions (Anarchists, and Socialists).²¹
- 1932 Catalan Statute of Autonomy: Catalan co-official status in Catalonia; language revival - public administration, education, Catalan mother tongue education until the age of ten, bilingual thereafter.²²
- 1936-39 Spanish civil war, victory of General Franco in 1939, 36-year dictatorship: re-imposition of centralism and Castilianisation.

Post-Franco: 1976 onwards

- 1977 Generalitat de Catalunya re-established, reinstatement of Catalan as official language, release of all Catalan political prisoners achieved in Catalonia by 1980.²³
- October 1979 referendum approved a Statute of Autonomy; Catalonia becomes an autonomous community.

The chronology above should not imply that I see Spanish and Catalan history solely as 'continuous', evolutionary chains of events; as stated above, I aim to highlight historical *continuity* and *discontinuity*, *junction* and *disjunction*.

¹⁶ Mar-Molinero, 1996: 74.

¹⁷ Lecours, 2001: 217.

¹⁸ Mar-Molinero, 1996: 77.

¹⁹ Pradilla, 2001.

²⁰ Strubell, 1996: 264.

²¹ Castells, 2001.

²² Milian i Massana, 1994.

²³ Strubell, 1996: 264.

Rather than entering into ongoing debates about continuity and discontinuity in history, I instead accept that both represent useful, but distinct, analytic tools in linking past and present.²⁴ I will give an illustration of how I see both perspectives to have their uses. On the one hand, I believe that the chronology above of events/periods above can be viewed in terms of *discontinuities* that broke the evolutionary narrative of Spanish history, particularly in terms of state-led views of language, identity and nationhood. On the other hand, they can also be seen to represent *continuity*, in that they played distinct roles in the evolution and historical consolidation of class relations, through which a Catalan-speaking bourgeois elite managed to maintain positions of socio-economic advantage in Catalonia.

Before focusing on two key periods/junctures, it is important to note that, in terms of their historical relationships, the boundaries between Spain, Catalonia and Latin American countries, and between their peoples, are neither clear nor exclusive. For example, the national groups in this study are not mutually exclusive: most Latin Americans can trace a Spanish ancestor, as can most Catalans (if the term ‘Spanish’ here is to be understood in the ‘non-Catalan’ sense). Moreover, a significant number of today’s immigrants from Latin America are returnees of sorts: the children (now adult) of Spanish/Catalan emigrants. Equally, historical processes can be distinct in different national contexts. For instance, central to the sociolinguistic histories of Catalonia and of Spain’s former colonies in Latin America is the process of Castilianisation. As highlighted by Mar-Molinero, despite bearing similarities, the effects of Castilianisation are distinct in the construction of the national identities in each case (Mar-Molinero, 1997: 16).

□ Spanish ‘unification’

The reign of Ferdinand and Isabella represents, in many respects, the first major disjuncture in the progressively upward evolution of the Catalan language. Unification led to Castilianisation, and the subjugation of non-Castilian peoples, in the Iberian Peninsula, and in the Americas. As stated by Mar-Molinero (2000: 18), ‘from this period onwards the blur between “Spanish” and “Castilian” begins’.

²⁴ Giddens (1990) challenges the traditional Marxist view of human history which sees history as having an overall direction, one which is governed by general dynamic principle. Instead, the viewing of past continuities in the light of modernity, Giddens advocates, can be attained via the displacement of evolutionary narrative and the deconstruction of story lines, but without the outright rejection of definite episodes of historical tradition whose character can be identified and about which generalisations can be made.

The powers behind this historical shift are seen to be the power and wealth of the Spanish Crown and of its landowning nobility, as well as the influence of the fundamentalist Church built around the Counter-Reformation (Castells, 2001). The subjugation of non-Castilian peoples also applied to the remaining Moorish populations in the Iberian Peninsula; in this sense, solidarity against a common Moorish enemy is seen as an important historical factor behind Spanish nationalism and Castilian linguistic supremacy (Mar-Molinero, 1996: 73).

Despite its exclusion from commerce with the American colonies, Catalonia would grow economically, industrialising from the second half of the 16th century, developing its own consumer goods industry and expanding regional trade (Castells, 2001: 44). Nonetheless, despite the Catalan language having experienced a golden age in literature, and largely replacing Latin as the 'official' language in Catalan territories in the first part of the 15th century, the Catalan language entered a period of literary decline in the final decades of the 15th century due largely to the transfer of the royal Court to central Spain.

The exclusion of non-Castilians was also common in the Spanish American colonies. This is seen by Anderson (1991) as the 'root to the riddle' as to why creole communities developed so early their conceptions of nation-ness, well before most of Europe (Anderson, 1991: 50).²⁵ Anderson refers to the exclusion of creoles from positions of authority in the Spanish American colonies, and the subsequent logic that those born in the Americas could not be true Spaniards; and by the same logic, those born in Spain could not be true Americans (1991: 50, 58).

I believe that certain consequences of Castilianisation, dating back to the second half of the 15th century, remain relevant to today's new migration in Catalonia: [i] the expulsion of the Muslim, Moorish enemy from Spanish soil; [ii] the blur between Castilian and Spanish which came with the expansion into the Americas; [iii] strong creole conceptions of nationhood in the Americas; [iv] the years of decline of the Catalan language; and [v] the economic growth of Catalonia in spite of subjugation.

As an illustration of the five points above, today's new migrants, many with strong senses of national identity that have been affected by Castilianisation, are migrating to the economically-strong Catalonia, which has experienced its own painful processes of Castilianisation, where Catalan and Castilian are represented in

²⁵ In this context, the term 'creole' refers to Latin Americans (of Spanish descent) who were born in the Americas and not in Spain.

associated languages, identities and discourses. And, in an ironic reverse of history, Latin Americans (counted together) and North Africans are today numerically the first and second new migrant groups in Spain and Catalonia respectively, and in both cases the challenges they pose to Spanish/Catalan society are historically-grounded. Both in a sense are 'returning' from distinct historical relationships of colonisation. The North Africans' arrival presents evident religious, cultural and linguistic challenges, which are historically-grounded: Islam, expulsion from Spain, Spanish colonial activity in North Africa, and geographical proximity. The arrival of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans is perhaps more ambivalent. Many are of mixed European, native American, and African origins, and speakers of marked varieties of Spanish. Whilst the marked tones of Argentinian Spanish are due in part to Italian emigration to Argentina, those of Peruvians and Ecuadorians are more linked to indigenous languages such as Quechua – whether they settle in Madrid or Barcelona, their accents and appearance reveal complex historical origins. Moreover, as Spanish speakers, they can be seen as culturally and linguistically closer than North Africans to 'Castilian Spain', with the result that, when settling in Catalonia, they are directly (and often unwittingly) drawn into the historical conflict between Castilian and Catalan. Equally, Spanish colonialism also represents historical disjuncture in the national histories of Latin Americans and North Africans, having played a role in the formation of their nations and national identities: a discussion with a North African about Al-Andalus (the Arabic term for Andalusia), the last Moorish territory to fall, or about Ceuta and Melilla (the Spanish enclaves off the coast of Morocco), or with some Latin Americans about Columbus Day celebrations in their home country, can provoke interestingly-ambivalent responses which reflect this view. Thus I argue that an interaction between a native Catalan speaker and, for example, a Peruvian or Moroccan new migrant cannot be entirely detached from these historical complexities dating back to the late fifteenth century.

□ The Franco Years

Issues with roots in the Franco years are also being played out today. After the victory in 1939 of Franco's nationalist forces in the Spanish Civil War, the institutions of autonomy were abolished in Catalonia, and Companys, leader of the Generalitat, executed. Public use of the Catalan language was prohibited in institutional situations: schools and universities, radio stations, the daily press,

municipal authorities, and advertising. In the early years of the Franco dictatorship the publication of books in Catalan was banned; re-editions were allowed of books by non-living authors (only using pre-Fabra rules²⁶), and then later of poetry books by living authors (Strubell, 1996).

In terms of nationhood, Spain was *the* exclusive nation. Francoism is seen to have justified itself through the suppression of all forms of autonomism, regionalism and stateless nationalism; thus, any form of federalism or wish for home rule was seen by the Franco regime as being equivalent to separatism (Moreno, Arriba & Serrano, 1998: 68). Moreno, Arriba & Serrano state that one result of Francoism was that it actually served to give strength to nationalisms, where anti-Franco forces could articulate political discourses that denounced the lack of democracy and the official attacks on their identities. Thus, they argue, the ideology of autonomism and political decentralisation made its way into Spanish democratic political consciousness (Moreno, Arriba & Serrano, 1998: 68). Or as stated by Castells (2001: 47), liberals, liberal democrats, socialists, and communists became Catalan nationalists as well. And certainly it is this conflation between nationalisms and democracy during the Franco years that has given the nationalisms of the Spanish state degrees of legitimacy that are not enjoyed elsewhere in western Europe.

In terms of language use, the sociolinguistic effects of these policies are still being played out today. During the Franco years, Castilian gained a virtually exclusive status as the language of formal and institutional domains, which led to nearly all Catalan speakers becoming fully bilingual with what Woolard (1989) refers to as enforced diglossia. However, in the later years of the dictatorship, especially from the mid-1960s onwards, anti-Catalan policies softened. The 1966 Freedom of Expression Law relaxed censorship, and enabled private organisations to teach mother-tongue languages other than Castilian, whilst also permitting the publishing of material in these, albeit mainly on local folkloric news (Mar-Molinero, 1996: 81). In the 1970s, further mild concessions were made in the 1973 Education Act, which allowed for Catalan to be taught in the state sector, but only as a foreign language.

Another major factor with its roots in the Franco years is migration. Considerable emigration *from Spain* took place to Latin America and France in the years following the end of World War Two, and in the 1960s to Germany and other European areas in

²⁶ see footnote 20 above

the 1960s reconstruction (Santos, 1999). Major *internal migration* within the Spanish state also occurred from the 1950s until the late 1970s, particularly of unskilled workers from the south of Spain moving north, many to Catalonia. This migration has been replaced today largely by new migrants from the developing world and Eastern Europe.

After the death of Franco in 1976, the subsequent transition to democracy was essentially a middle way between two competing traditions in Spain. As stated by Moreno, Arriba & Serrano (1998),

a middle way was negotiated and explicitly recognized by the Constitution: on the one hand, the idea of an indivisible and solely Spanish nation-state; on the other, a concept of Spain as an ensemble of diverse peoples, historic nationalities and regions (Moreno, Arriba & Serrano, 1998: 68).

This duality, between the idea of a ‘Spanish nation-state’ and a ‘Spanish state of nations’, around which languages and identities are still revolving, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

To sum up this section, I have highlighted key historical factors from the 15th century and from the Franco period which I believe are still manifesting themselves socially, linguistically and culturally today, within a duality between a perceived Spanish ‘nation-state’ and a Spanish ‘state of nations’. It will be seen in Part 2 that issues discussed in this section, for example, blurred boundaries, and the repression of the Franco years, remain present in informants’ minds as they reflect upon their own positions and experiences in Catalonia.

2.2 Catalonia today: globalisation and multiple modernities

In this section, I will analyse the effects of globalisation in social, cultural and linguistic spaces in Catalonia today. I will argue that these spaces are being fractured by the forces of globalisation and post-modernity, and that they are characterised by co-existing degrees of modernity, which I have defined as ‘multiple modernities’. I will suggest that this co-existence of ‘old’, ‘modern’ and ‘post-modern’ serves to facilitate the interaction between past (diachronic) and present (synchronic) in interactions between agents in these spaces.

□ Modernity

Giddens (1996) uses the term 'modernity' in a general sense, referring to the institutions and modes of behaviour established first of all in post-feudal Europe, but which have increasingly become world-historical in their impact during the twentieth century. He uses the term as roughly equivalent to 'the industrialised world', albeit one in which industrialism is only one institutional dimension (Giddens, 1996: 14-5). Similarly, Hall & Gieben argue that modernity pre-dates the onset of industrialisation in the nineteenth century, looking further back to the 'rapid and extensive social and economic development which followed the decline of feudalism in Europe' (1994: 1). Giddens (1990) points to key *discontinuities* that separate modern social institutions from traditional social orders: [i] the *sheer pace of change*, set into motion by the era of modernity; [ii] the *scope of change*, that is, social transformation on a global scale as different areas around the world become interconnected; [iii] the *intrinsic nature of modern institutions*; and [iv] the city, or *modern urbanism*, which he argues is ordered according to quite different principles from those which set off the pre-modern city from the countryside in prior periods.

With reference to later stages of modernity, different adaptations of the term 'modernity' can be found. Giddens uses the term 'high-modernity' to suggest modernity at a late stage. High-modernity is seen by Giddens to have brought about a separation of time and space ('time-space distanciation') in people's lives, in which self and society can be extended globally; it is argued by Giddens that for the first time in human history, 'self' and 'society' are interrelated in a global milieu (Giddens, 1996: 32). Hall (1992: 277) discusses the character of change in 'late-modernity', with reference to globalisation and its impact on cultural identity. For Hall, the key distinguishing feature of late-modern societies, as opposed to modern societies is 'difference' and the production of new 'subject positions', that is, identities, for individuals (Hall, 1992: 279). In the field of sociolinguistics, Heller (1999) redefines the term as 'hyper-modernity' to emphasise the transformation of the relations of power and the bases of identity in the Western world, with particular reference to migration and linguistic minorities, their activities in the new economy, and their new positions therein (Heller, 1999: 4). Linked to these views of modernity in its late stages is 'globalisation'.

□ Globalisation

No single definition of globalisation can be found in the literature as ‘so far no single term has acquired the status of orthodoxy’ (Guibernau, 2001: 243). One useful definition is offered by McGrew (1992), who describes globalisation as a multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states and the societies making up the modern world system. Globalisation is seen as a ‘process through which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe’ (McGrew, 1992: 63). Similarly, Guibernau refers to ‘the intensification of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life’, made possible by the technological revolution of the last two decades, leading to a redefinition of space and time (Guibernau, 2001: 244). From a similar perspective, Castells introduces his interpretation of the social characteristics of globalisation, as a *network* society, in which our world, and our lives, are being shaped by the ‘conflicting trends of globalization and identity’ (Castells, 2001: 1). According to Castells, the IT revolution and restructuring of capitalism has led to the creation of *the network society*, that is, the globalisation of strategically decisive economic activities, ‘by the transformation of material foundations of life, space and time, as expressions of dominant activities and controlling elites’. This, he argues, has led to new active and proactive expressions of collective identity, calling the nation-state into question. Finally, Giddens (2000) describes *globalisation* as a character of today’s period of *high-modernity*, affecting tradition in two ways. Firstly, in western countries, both public institutions and everyday life are seen to be opening up from the hold of tradition; and secondly, other societies across the world that remained more traditional are becoming detraditionalised. These two are seen to be at the core of an emerging global cosmopolitan society (Giddens, 2000: 42-3).

□ The ‘Post-Modern’

Another concept that I believe throws additional light on what is happening in Catalonia today is the ‘post-modern’. I use the term ‘post-modernity’ to suggest *disjuncture* and *fissure*, where I see breaks in the continuity in the stages of modernity presented above, and changes in key characteristics. I use the term rather than *post-modernism*, which is used by Hall (1992: 226-7) to describe the ‘new aesthetic

cultural and intellectual forms and practices which are emerging in the 1980s and 1990s', and which are replacing those associated with 'modernism', a term which describes the cultural styles and movements of the first half of the twentieth century. This emphasis on *cultural* styles replacing more traditional ones, is certainly not a unique, defining feature of Catalonia today. It is clearly common in other European countries, and in North America.

There are aspects of late-/post-modernity in Catalonia, however, which I do see as distinct from other European/North American countries. The incorporation/penetration of the characteristics of late-modernity into societies such as Canada or the UK, for example, has been into societies that have already undergone radical modernising processes of immigration, multiculturalism, blurring of class distinctions, liberalisation of internal markets, etc. In other words, globalisation in late-modernity per se has not led to new multicultural and multilingual practices, but has accentuated existing ones. However, in the case of Spain, and Catalonia, the defining characteristics of late-modernity reached, in a globalising world, what was essentially a society with comparatively traditional class distinctions, strong state markets, and little non-Iberian multicultural or multilingual social practice. Consequently, the features of globalisation in late-modernity have been the key factors in bringing about new multicultural and multilingual social practice, to an extent that their effect has been more dramatic than elsewhere, resulting in disjuncture and fissure, suggesting post-modernity.

□ Catalonia: 'multiple modernities' and situated social practice

How then can the complex definitions and categorisations above be applied effectively to a qualitative, partially ethnographic, sociolinguistic study of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia? The challenge of my task is well highlighted by Amit-Talai (1998: 42):

How then to reconcile the usual siting of ethnographic work in particular places and the prosaics of everyday life with engagement in a wider scholarly quest for global contextualization, especially when the price for failure sometimes seems to be intellectual marginalization in the 'newworld order' (Featherstone and Lash, 1995) of informational 'flows' (Castells, 1989, 1996)?

Firstly, I consider the defining features of *modernity*, *high-modernity*, *late-modernity*, *hyper-modernity* as described above (Giddens, 1984, 1996; Hall, 1992;

Heller, 1999, 2001) and my definition of *post-modernity*, to be of relevance to the focus of this study, but none in any exclusive sense. Characteristics such as legitimacy, sovereignty, secularism and the development of a monetarised exchange economy (Hall & Gieben, 1994: 6) have clearly been of key historical relevance to Catalonia, and Spain. In today's rapidly changing Catalonia, the *discontinuities* mentioned by Giddens (1990) are also relevant: the *sheer pace of change*; the *scope of change*, leading to global arenas becoming interconnected; the *intrinsic nature of modern institutions*; and, the distinct nature of *modern urbanism*. In particular, the distinct nature of the modern urbanism in and around Barcelona, where I collected my data for this study, is relevant as a site where the global and the local are coming together, or 'the terrain where a multiplicity of globalization processes assume concrete, localized forms' (Sassen, 1996: 210, in Amit-Talai, 1998: 44); this can bring the most isolated areas into a cosmopolitan global framework of socio-cultural interaction (Rapport & Dawson, 1998)

I believe, however, that it would be an error to latch onto one term and fit it into the contexts of my study, as no single term, and no single focus, fits. My application of these concepts, therefore, involves recognition of what I believe to be an accurate and appropriate representation of Catalonia today, particularly Barcelona: that is, of different degrees of modernity co-existing and overlapping in social, cultural and linguistic spaces: *multiple modernities*. The old, the modern, the late-modern and the post-modern are all concurrently manifesting themselves in social, cultural and linguistic spaces, with their associated agents negotiating these spaces, associated identities, and norms of social practice: in short, situated multiple modernities being represented and contested via multiple agencies (allochthonous and autochthonous).

The important role that I see multiple modernities to be playing in terms of sociolinguistic practice is as follows. I see the co-existence of different stages of modernity, in social, cultural and linguistic spaces, and linked to distinct identities and understandings about what constitutes 'normal' sociolinguistic practice, as facilitating the continued interaction between past and present as described earlier. The fact that the new has not replaced the old, but is co-existing with it, allows for the old to interact with the new (and vice versa) in social, cultural and linguistic spaces at the synchronic level of interaction. And it is the effects of globalisation, most notably the presence of hundreds of thousands of new migrants that has fractured the previous Castilian-Catalan duality of these spaces.

2.3 Immigration: disjuncture in Spain and Catalonia²⁷

The sudden presence in such large numbers of new migrants from the developing world represents a remarkable delayed post-colonial about-turn in the histories of Spain, Catalonia and the former colonies, now over a century after the last Spanish colony in the Américas was lost.

In this section, I present immigration statistics to show the rapid increase in immigration in recent years. The statistics below will illustrate how the history described above and its peoples have in some cases come full-circle, constituting significant disjuncture. Equally, in respect of the discussion above on multiple modernities, this coming full circle has also brought about a post-modern historical break or end, after which new realignments are taking place, in social, cultural and linguistic spaces.

I will present immigration statistics for Spain, Catalonia, Barcelona and for Cuitat Vella (the Old Town), which is the base for my study.

□ New migration statistics: Spain

Over the last two decades, Spain has attracted *unprecedented* numbers of immigrants, a key historical disjuncture for a country traditionally of emigration. Whilst immigration figures for Spain may seem comparatively low compared to elsewhere in Europe, they represent very significant demographic change. Table 1 below illustrates the growth in foreign population in Spain from 1989 up to the 2001 census.

Table 1: Foreign population in Spain

year	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
number of foreigners	398,147	407,647	360,655	393,100	430,422	461,364
% of population	1	1	0.9	1	1.1	1.2

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
number of foreigners	499,773	538,984	609,813	719,647	801,329	895,720	1,109,060
% of population	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.8	2	2.2	2.7

(source: *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* [2002], Dirección General de la Policía, Ministerio del Interior).

If we go back to 1980 (not in Table 1), there were only 81,544 immigrants in Spain (Aguado & Malik, 2001: 153); by 1990 (Table 1), the figure had risen to 407,647, or

²⁷ I use the term 'immigrant' or 'immigration' in a general sense. As in Turell (2001), I use the term 'new migrant' to refer to immigrants who arrived after 1980 (mainly from the developing world), and 'established migrant' for those who arrived in Catalonia pre-1980, mostly Spaniards.

1% of the population; and by 2001 (the year of the last national census), the figure was 1,109,060, making up 2.7% of the population. This presence of immigrants has become particularly visible in Madrid and Barcelona, where 41% of immigrants had settled by 2001 (Aguado & Malik, 2001: 153).

Provisional Spanish immigration figures for 2004 from the **Instituto Nacional de Estadística** illustrate massive growth since the 2001 census. They show that the Spanish population has risen to 43.97 million, of whom 3.69 million (8.4%) are immigrants (El Tiempo, 2005). Figures after 2001 are based on the **padrón** (town hall residents lists). These figures will include many, but not all, of the approximately 700,000 new migrants who have had their status regularised between January 30th and April 30th 2005. This regularisation process will be discussed later in this chapter.

□ New migration statistics: Spain, Catalonia and Barcelona

Table 2 gives a comparison of the figures for the foreign population in Spain, Catalonia and Barcelona in 2003.

Table 2: Foreign population in Spain, Catalonia, Barcelona, 2003

	Total population	Foreign population	%
Spain	42,717,064	2,664,168	6.2
Catalonia	6,704,146	543,008	8.1
Barcelona province	5,052,666	398,459	7.9
Metropolitan region	4,618,257	383,116	8.3
Metropolitan area	3,056,505	277,625	9.1
Barcelona	1,582,738	163,046	10.3

(Source: *Departament d'Estadística*, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005; Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya; Instituto Nacional de Estadística)

Table 3 illustrates the rapid growth of the foreign population of Barcelona between 1996 and 2005, including the Town Hall residents list for 2005.

Table 3: Growth of foreign population in Barcelona, 1996-2005

Year	Foreign population	% of the overall population
1996	29,354	1.9
1999	40,903	2.7
2000	53,428	3.5
2001	74,019	4.9
2002	113,809	7.6
2003	163,046	10.7
2004	202,489	12.8
2005	230,942	14.6
		increase 2004-5: 14.1%

(Source: *Departament d'Estadística*, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005)

Table 4 below shows the largest non-EU immigrant groups in Barcelona between 1996 and 2005.

Table 4: Largest non-EU populations in Barcelona, 1996-2005

Nationality	1996	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2004-5 % increase
Ecuador	202	658	2,703	8,204	17,975	26,891	32,946	31,828	-3.4
Peru	2,094	4,583	5,669	6,879	8,646	10,964	13,163	15,037	14.2
Morocco	3,196	4,982	6,074	7,165	9,751	11,985	13,594	14,508	6.7
Colombia	703	1,106	2,288	4,708	9,616	12,429	13,307	13,935	4.7
Argentina	1,871	1,489	1,750	2,504	4,547	9,516	11,437	12,439	8.8
Pakistan	614	1,382	2,129	3,405	6,112	9,944	10,198	11,997	17.6
China	804	1,309	1,929	2,460	3,303	5,272	7,195	9,534	32.4
Bolivia	110	165	268	583	1,116	2,455	4,810	8,314	72.8
Domin. Rep	1,066	2,777	3,349	4,136	5,031	5,947	6,777	7,218	6.5
Philippines	1,854	2,384	2,758	3,176	3,859	4,903	5,871	6,470	10.2

(Source: *Departament d'Estadística*. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005)

And finally, Table 5 below gives the figures for the 20 largest foreign groups in Ciutat Vella, my base during the study.

Table 5: Foreign population in Ciutat Vella, 2005 (20 largest groups)

Nationality	Total population
Pakistan	5,816
Morocco	4,390
Philippines	4,166
Ecuador	2,897
Italy	1,684
Argentina	1,675
Domin. Rep	1,418
Colombia	1,143
Bangladesh	1,060
France	1,006
China	929
India	843
UK	750
Germany	745
Chile	704
Peru	694
Bolivia	683
Algeria	603
Brazil	584
Mexico	494
Total foreign population	38,045 (35.6% of population)

(Source: *Departament d'Estadística*. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005)

2.4 Paths of migration: new migrants moving into new spaces

I have illustrated above the rapid increase in immigration in Catalonia, and have suggested that the presence of many new migrants is fracturing existing norms of practice, (and associated identities – to be discussed in Chapter 3) in social, cultural and linguistic spaces. I will now look at immigration in terms of *groups* and

individuals moving into new spaces where they face new social and linguistic practices which demand applications and adaptations of their existing sociolinguistic knowledge.

Of relevance to this study is the nature of movement, both physical and mental, between countries of origin and new host countries. Amit-Talai uses the terms ‘transnationalism’ and ‘transmigrant’ to refer to migration from postcolonial states to world cities like New York or Los Angeles: ‘Neither temporary labour migrants, nor permanent immigrants, these “transmigrants” maintain ongoing personal networks and investments that cross state boundaries (Amit-Talai, 1998: 43). Giddens, on the other hand, refers to ‘reverse colonisation’ through which non-western countries influence developments in the West, citing the Latinising of Los Angeles, or the emergence of a globally high-tech sector in India (Giddens, 2000: 16-17).

Amit-Talai’s focus on transmigration, on a grey zone between temporariness and permanence, and on the maintaining of personal networks and investments across state boundaries (1998: 43) rings true in the lives of many informants in this study. Many are certain why they came to Catalonia, but not certain whether they will stay or return. And although most of the informants in this study are, or will be able to become permanent residents, many hundreds of thousands in Spain are currently inhabiting the limbo between temporariness and permanence described by Amit-Talai. Equally, the description applies to those maintaining active networks of communication with home countries: through association with fellow nationals in Catalonia, and through loose, informal support networks for new arrivals. Association also continues across state boundaries: contact by phone and email from home or from **locutorios** (shops for cheap phone calls and internet connection), and involvement in improving living standards of relatives in countries of origin by regularly sending money back home. As an illustration of this, a report in the Colombian daily *El Tiempo* reported that in 2003 Colombia became the major destination country for bank transfers out of Spain, with the annual amount totalling 711,700,000 euros (Vargas, 2004).

In terms of Giddens’ reference to ‘reverse colonisation’, it is certainly the case that the migration of Latin Americans to Spain represents a reversal of traditional migration patterns of Spaniards emigrating to the Americas. It should be noted, however, that the terms ‘transnationalism’ and ‘reverse colonisation’ are often linked to post-colonial frames of analysis that do not apply in the same way to the contexts

of this study. I understand the reversed/transnational relationships to be less clear-cut in the case of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia for two reasons. First, many new migrants are descended from Spaniards and Catalans, and are 'returning' in a sense, unlike movement from the developing world to *new world* cities such as New York and Los Angeles. And second, the examples cited by Giddens represent reversal closely tied to unequal, bilateral post-colonial relationships (in his examples, between the US and Latin America, the UK and India), which do not apply in the same way to Spain's and Catalonia's relationship to Latin America (or to each other). The major (neo-) colonial power in Latin America during the twentieth century was the US, not Spain. Iberian-Latin American post-colonial relationships have different historical context, making problematic the application of typical 'post-colonial' analytic frameworks applied elsewhere.

Notwithstanding, 'reverse migration' to Spain has traditionally been accompanied by a certain benevolence towards immigrants from countries with an 'historical' relationship with Spain. Not only Latin Americans, but also Filipinos and Guineans have historically received preferential treatment: preferential residence and work permits; easier renewal of permits and the issuing of longer and more flexible permits; no visa requirement to enter the country (although visa requirements do now apply to most of these countries' nationals); a faster application procedure for the granting of Spanish nationality; and, the possibility of maintaining dual nationality (Escrivá, 1997).

In recent years much of the government discourse on Spanish immigration has emphasised the need for immigrants to 'integrate'. However, this view of 'integration' would appear to be less in favour of multiculturalism and *more* assimilationist²⁸. Political leaders right up to former President of the Government Aznar, and former Generalitat leader Jordi Pujol most recently (and his wife previously [Puigverd, 2001]), have freely expressed discomfort with multiculturalism in public fora. The new Socialist government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero appears to be taking the first careful steps toward modifying such a stance.

Processes of integration cannot, however, be linked solely to government discourses. Whilst the legal status granted to migrants, and the status attributed to the

²⁸ According to Castles (1995: 278), in assimilationist societies, immigrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population; literally 'making alike' (Bauman, 1998:102).

minority languages/cultures in society and in the education system of the host country are important, other non-institutional factors also play a role: the mechanisms of chain migrations, through which family members join social networks at later stages; the evolution of the notion of return (Dabene & Moore, 1995: 20-24); family structure; and motivations for coming to Spain and Catalonia (Turell, 2001). It will be seen in Part 2 that these non-institutional factors come up repeatedly in interviews with informants.

□ How and why

Prior to the imposition of visa restrictions on a large number of Latin American nationals, the first stage in the migration path was often a visit to a relative already in Catalonia, with sufficient cash in a wallet to get an automatic tourist visa on arrival at the airport in Spain; this would then be followed by a return home to organise the necessary immigration documents, or overstaying on a tourist visa.

An important distinguishing feature in individuals' distinct migration paths is the reason for coming to Catalonia, and the extent to which expectations are met. This in turn relates to whether individuals create plans to stay, return or move on elsewhere.

As will be seen in Part 2, the most common reason cited by informants for coming to Catalonia would appear to be a combination of economic and political instability in countries of origin. However, it is also important to remember that not all new migrants feel that they are in permanent positions of disadvantage and exclusion. In fact, a significant number of Spanish-speaking new migrants in Spain are educated professionals from countries such as Argentina, Cuba and Colombia, who play central roles in a range of professional, social and cultural spheres in Spain. The majority, though, are replacing the traditional functions of Spain's working class, particularly in domestic work, and the agricultural, construction and service industries.

The rapid growth, among others, in the number of Ecuadorians, Argentinians and Pakistanis in Ciutat Vella was seen in Table 5 above. The three groups offer a valuable illustration of how different groups (and groups within groups) are taking very different paths of migration. Whilst clear correlations between group and type of construction of Catalan cannot be drawn, the examples do give an indication of the different socio-economic and cultural positions of the individuals and groups in question in their new sociolinguistic environment. Typically, many North Africans and sub-Saharan Africans first enter Spain illegally, in **pateras**, precarious boats, into

the south coast or the Canary Islands. Many Pakistanis are also entering Spain illegally overland – in conversations that I have had with Pakistani street sellers in Ciutat Vella, they have explained to me the perilous overland journeys that they have undertaken by paying people smugglers, some reporting deaths enroute. The reasons that they have given me for choosing Catalonia, mainly Barcelona, are firstly, the presence of an established Pakistani diaspora in Ciutat Vella, which makes work easy to find, and secondly, relaxed monitoring of ID papers by the police. Some also suggested to me that Catalonia is chosen as the UK has recently become very difficult to enter illegally. The rapid increase in the number of Ecuadorians has its own very particular roots in a bilateral agreement between the governments of Ecuador and Spain, which led to the ‘regularisation’ of thousands of Ecuadorians left in a limbo status after the 2000 amnesty. Many Argentinians, in contrast, have taken other paths of migration. Whilst the economic collapse in Argentina has led to a rapid increase in immigration into Spain of Argentinians, many gain automatic Italian or Spanish passports in Argentina as the children or grandchildren of Spanish and Italian emigrants.

□ Legal and illegal immigration

I will now illustrate aspects related to ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ immigration in Catalonia today, and mention the latest measures taken by the current Spanish Socialist government to ‘regularise’ the status of foreigners ‘without papers’, **sin papeles**.

Immigrants described as ‘legal’ would typically apply for residence and work permits in their home countries prior to emigrating. However, figures for ‘legal’ immigrants in Spain do not necessarily imply that all immigrants have gone through such formal channels in their home countries: as mentioned above, many entered legally as tourists with enough money in hand to receive automatic tourist visas on arrival; many then became temporarily ‘illegal’ after overstaying on tourist visas, working illegally, before having their status regularised in the 2000 amnesty. Many who did not qualify for the amnesty remain in Spain in a semi-legal limbo.

Other groups are more clearly ‘illegal’, that is, they enter Spain undetected: some enter Spain by boat (also mentioned above), whilst others enter overland, some walking across mountain paths in the Pyrenees before being picked up and delivered to contacts in Barcelona (based on personal conversations). These latter groups are in

the truest sense 'illegal' immigrants or 'sin papeles' as at no stage has their presence been registered by official institutions (some may, however, have registered in Barcelona on the *padró* [town hall residents list] and/or for free medical care). It would appear that many register for medical care without registering on town hall lists, as the following statistics would indicate. According to the Catalan daily newspaper, *Diari Avui*, in September 2004, 7,075,868 were registered for medical cards in Catalonia, whilst there were only 6,704,146 inhabitants registered on Catalonia's town hall lists of residents in 2003 (Ciércoles, 2004).

The true number of 'sin papeles' is impossible to measure. A recent article in the Colombian national newspaper *El Tiempo* (December 30th, 2004) cited figures from the Spanish **Instituto Nacional de Estadística** (National Institute of Statistics) suggesting that there were more than one million 'illegal' foreigners in Spain in 2003; moreover, this figure did not account for those who had not registered on local town hall residents lists (Vargas, 2004). The same article stated that 300,000 (70%) of Colombians living in Spain, are sin papeles, or non-regularised with residence applications in process (Vargas, 2004); whilst the largest concentration of Colombians is in Madrid, many also live in Catalonia.

In December 2004, the Zapatero government agreed a new 'regularisation' of immigrants in limbo. In an amendment to the **Ley de Extranjería** (Law of Foreigners), from the 30th January 2005, foreigners without legal status who could meet three main requirements were able to apply for work/residence permits: [i] application had to be made during an 'extraordinary period' lasting until 30th April 2005 by an employer who could 'regularise' any illegal employee who could show that they had been living in Spain for more than six months; [ii] the applicant had to be able to present a work contract valid for a minimum period of six months; and [iii] the applicant should not have had a criminal record in Spain or in their country of origin. Domestic workers were able to apply directly for their own work permits from January 30th if they could show contracts that total a minimum of 30 hours work per week covering a minimum period of six months (Vargas, 2004). Successful applicants are then able to apply for permanent residence depending on various additional criteria. However, the main drawback for many illegal workers is that they will need to show that they have been registered on a town hall list of residents in order to prove their period of residence, something which many will not have done due for fear of details being passed on to police or immigration authorities (Vargas, 2004). By

April 5th, as an example, only 34,000 Colombians were reported to have signed up to the process; in fact, in April, the Spanish government made the process more flexible, allowing those not on town hall residents lists to regularise their status provided that they could prove that they had lived in Spain since August 8th, 2004 (Vargas, 2005a). However, it is estimated that more than 80% of Colombians living illegally in Spain were unable to regularise their status as they were not on town hall residents lists and lacked the appropriate documentation to prove residency by alternative means (Vargas, 2005b).

□ States of mind: belonging, longing and sadness

The complex development of contradictory emotions is clearly significant in the development of individuals along paths of migration. An interesting analysis of the emotional side of Latino migration (into the US) can be found in Falicov (2002), which focuses on loss, grief and mourning through migration, arguing that ‘migration loss has special characteristics that distinguish it from other kinds of losses’ (2002: 274). Central to these sentiments, according to Falicov, are the notion of return, and ‘pockets of remembrance’:

it is always possible to fantasize the eventual return or forthcoming reunion. Furthermore, immigrants seldom migrate toward a social vacuum. A relative, friend, or acquaintance usually waits on the other side to help with work and housing and to provide guidelines for the new life. A social community and ethnic neighborhood reproduce in pockets of remembrance, the sights, sounds, smells, and tastes of one’s country. All of these elements create a mix of emotions – sadness and elation, loss and restitution, absence and presence – that makes grieving incomplete, postponed, ambiguous (Falicov, 2002: 274).

With particular reference to migration from South Asia, but also relevant in a more general sense, van de Veer (1995: 4) stresses the ambiguities of migration, focusing on the ‘the dialectics of “belonging” and “longing”’:

The theme of belonging opposes rootedness to uprootedness, establishment to marginality.

The theme of longing harps on the desire for change and movement, but relates this to the enigma of arrival, which brings a similar desire to return to what one has left.

Van de Veer highlights a dual impact of diasporic migrant communities: fortifying the sense of belonging of the established, and strengthening the sense of longing to be elsewhere in one’s own diaspora. This can have an effect on the nationalist discourses of both sides, as I will illustrate in Part 2:

In an interesting manner the presence of the migrant “other” is used not only in the nationalist discourse of the established; this discourse, which marginalizes and demonizes the migrant, also breeds nationalism among those who are marginalized (van de Veer, 1995: 7).

□ Racism and discrimination

Turell (2001) suggests that, looking back in Spanish history, Spanish society can be viewed as among the most racist and xenophobic in Europe: the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors in the 15th century; the huge fortunes of the families of the Spanish and Catalan oligarchy amassed from slave trading until the middle of the 19th century; and in recent times under the Franco regime, Church- and state-backed racism through the brutal repression of anybody or anything which had to do with different races, cultures and religions (Turell, 2001, 44), which includes Spain’s long-established **Gitano** (Gypsy) communities.

In terms of language, seemingly benign ‘racially-based’ expressions have been part of the Spanish language as much as they are of other languages. As a teenager visiting Spain (not Catalonia), I came across ‘**hay moros en la costa**’ (*watch out! [literally: there are Moors on the coast]*) and was taught the following tip for weather forecasting, ‘**sol de día es de María, día sombrío es del judío**’ (a sunny day is from Mary [the virgin], a grey day is from the Jew), and the obligatory jokes about Catalans and their lack of generosity. Later the term **sudaca** would come into common usage to refer pejoratively to ‘South’ Americans. I was surprised in 2004 to hear that the term ‘Paki’ was now in use in Barcelona to refer to a shop owned by a Pakistani apparently with no racist connotation, yet. For now, the term is still a mere abbreviation. I overheard a shopkeeper say the following in a shop in Barcelona:

“*si*, [the product name] *per exemple pots trobar en algún paki, algún paki el té*²⁹
“*yeah, for example, you can find [the product name] in a Paki, a Paki will have it*”

In Part 2, I will analyse interview data in which informants describe their perceptions of racism and discrimination in Spain and Catalonia.

□ Conclusion

How, then, can the discussion above be applied specifically to Spanish-speaking Latin Americans moving into new spaces in Catalonia? Firstly, in a general sense, I believe that distinct paths of migration cause distinct disjuncture in individuals’ lives,

²⁹ In translated and original transcriptions, Spanish/Castilian is in standard font, as are my comments in brackets; Catalan is in **bold and italics**.

which is also reflected in individuals' social practice and constructions: depending on many circumstances, new migrants develop practices, identities, and senses of belonging and longing, for example, in many different ways. Some latch onto *the new/the here* instead of *the old/the there*; others onto *the old/the there* instead of *the new/the here*; others mix *the new* and *the old* and *the here* and *the there*; some flourish whilst others stagnate. And these 'latchings onto' develop over time, via changing social, linguistic and cultural manifestations. I will present one simple visual example. When I first started my data collection, the Ecuadorians that I saw in Barcelona were mostly low profile, only visible by their physical appearance. By 2003, I noticed one vibrant new form of 'national presence': Ecuadorian men, women and children proudly wearing the bright colours of the Ecuadorian football teams that they support, asserting their difference and thus standing out clearly in Barcelona. This latching onto the *old/there* was not the result of a sudden mass rejection of the symbols of the *here*, but surely a manifestation of *new* legal status, and a *new* sense of security in paths of migration. The football shirts of Colombian teams may also be on display in 2006 as newly-regularised Colombians choose a bright, popular and direct way of announcing their new status on the beaches and streets.

In this chapter, I have presented an overview of the historical background to the present-day sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia, suggesting a link between the diachronic and the synchronic. I have suggested that, in certain instances, historical factors are still manifesting themselves today, and playing themselves out, in the everyday social and linguistic practice of Catalonia's increasingly diverse population. I also suggested that this link between past and present is facilitated by the existence of social, linguistic and cultural spaces characterised by representations of multiple modernities.

The agents for this diachronic-synchronic link, in allochthonous-autochthonous interactions, are the new migrants who have arrived in Catalonia during a period of globalisation, and Catalan-/Castilian-speaking interlocutors. I illustrated the unprecedented nature of such migration with immigration statistics for Spain and Catalonia, and suggested that the presence of new migrants is fracturing social, cultural and linguistic spaces, and affecting sociolinguistic norms of practice. I ended by highlighting the importance of key aspects of individuals' paths of migration.

In terms of the informants in this study, it will be seen in interview data in Part 2 that historical aspects such as colonisation in the Americas and the Franco period are

related to individuals' reflections upon their own sociolinguistic practice and their position in Catalonia. I will also argue that the past can be linked to informants' constructions of Catalan. I will argue that it is along paths of migration (and identity formation) that individuals' epistemologies can evolve, consolidate or transform. These epistemologies are related to individuals' constructions of Catalan as they play a role in determining how informants apply their sociolinguistic knowledge in interactions, knowledge which is often rooted in the Latin American country of origin, or in transition between old and new structures. This is perhaps most notable in codeswitching strategies in interactions involving Latin American Spanish, Castilian and Catalan, as well as in the formation of conflicting interpretations around the meanings of being addressed in one code or the other. Thus, I will argue that these applications of distinct sociolinguistic knowledge in interactions between speakers of Latin American Spanish, Catalan, and Castilian represent the key diachronic-synchronic coming together, a point at which existing norms of sociolinguistic practice are negotiated and may fracture.

3. NATIONHOOD, POLICY AND IDENTITIES

In this chapter, I will focus on two key ‘structural’ aspects of Catalonia today: definitions and discourses of nation and state, and language policies. I will also analyse the minority status of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia. I will discuss these issues, critically reviewing relevant literature, with two key aims: first, to present a theoretical grounding to the related interview data that I will present in Part 2; and second, to build upon my second research question, which asks how policy-makers, and linguistic normalisation, are responding to the new challenges of globalisation in Catalonia today.

3.1 Nation, state and nationalism

□ Defining the nation

Defining the term ‘nation’ is neither a straightforward nor an objective task; it is linked intrinsically to wider arguments over ethnicity and group membership.

As stated by Seton-Watson, ‘no “scientific definition” of the nation can be devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and exists’ (Seton-Watson, 1977: 5, in Anderson, 1991: 3). Guibernau, uses the term ‘nation’, to refer to a ‘human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future and claiming the right to rule itself’ (Guibernau 1996: 47). Castells similarly defines nations as ‘cultural communes constructed in people’s minds and collective memory by the sharing of history and political projects’ (2001: 51).

Such definitions of nationhood link human consciousness through self-identification to essential factors such as common culture, and shared history/territory/political project. This would be challenged by authors such as Gellner (1984) and Anderson (1991). Whilst Gellner’s (1984) view of the nation is as a ‘false’ invention, imposed by a cultural elite, Anderson argues that nationality, or nation-ness, and nationalism, are not reflections of cultural essentialism, but *imagined* cultural artefacts. Anderson’s hypothesis is based upon the view that such cultural artefacts were created towards the end of the eighteenth century through the ‘spontaneous distillation’ of discrete historical forces. He suggests that, once created, they became ‘modular’, ‘capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-

consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations' (Anderson, 1991: 4). Central, therefore, to Anderson's definition is the view of nations as imagined constructs:

it [the nation] is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (Anderson, 1991: 6).

With reference to Catalonia, it is argued by Castells that in Catalonia, modern statehood has not been reached, but that for several centuries there has been a cultural/territorial identity that expresses itself as a national character (Castells, 2001: 29-30). Castells refutes the view that the Catalan identity could be imagined (by 'imagined' Castells seems to mean 'invented'); he appears to misrepresent Anderson's use of the term, in the following passionate terms:

For at least over 1,000 years, a given human community, mainly organized around language but with a great deal of territorial continuity as well, and with a tradition of indigenous political democracy and self-government, has identified itself as a nation, in different contexts, against different adversaries, being part of different states, having its own state, searching for autonomy without challenging the Spanish state, integrating immigrants, enduring humiliation (indeed commemorating it every year), and yet existing as *Catalunya*... A cultural community, organized around language and a shared history, *Catalunya* is not an imagined entity, but a constantly renewed historical product, even if nationalist movements construct/reconstruct their icons of self-identification with codes specific to each historical context, and relative to their political projects (Castells, 2001: 49-50; italics in original).

Castells' critique of nations as imagined constructs is based on what I see as a kind of subjective reification of nationhood. He argues that nationalism, and nations, have a life of their own, independent from statehood, and embedded in shared cultural constructs and political projects (Castells, 2001: 29). Castells also challenges Gellner's view of nations as ideological artefacts, constructed through the arbitrary manipulation of historical myths by intellectuals for the interests of social and economic elites, arguing that history 'seems to belie such an excessive deconstructionism' (Castells, 2001: 29).

Castells does, however, recognise that aspects such as ethnicity, religion, language, and territory are not enough alone to build nations; instead, he argues, shared experience does. To support this view, he refers to the United States and Japan

as countries of strong national identity, where despite being at opposite ends of the spectrum of ethnic homogeneity, in both cases there is a shared history and a shared project, with historical narratives built on an experience, socially, ethnically, territorially, and genderly diversified, but common to the people of each country on many grounds. What Castells fails to recognise is that both the US and Japan have also been imagined through institutionally-reified myths, and that in each case, this involved the assimilation of native and non-native minorities through force, then coercion, then consequent emergence of a state of cultural hegemony: from the Wild West to the myth of the American melting pot, endless examples could be cited for the US; equally, Japan's assimilation of the aboriginal Ainu and 'native' Okinawans could be cited, as could the troubled integration today of around a quarter of a million Nikkei Brazilians making an often troubled 'return' to their ethnic roots. In this regard, Goebel Noguchi refers to the creation of the 'myth' of a monolithic Japan (Goebel Noguchi, 2001), with its modern-day roots in the construction of a unified and wealthy Japan during the Meiji period (1868-1912). Castells applies the questionable Japan-US paradigm to his view of nation construction in Catalonia, failing to recognise that the paradigm has involved the institutional forcing of minorities to be members, the very same processes that the Catalan people suffered under Castilianisation.

There is no doubt that an essentialist view of Catalan nationhood, as presented by Castells above, does exist in Catalonia, but it is a contested view that not all of the inhabitants of Catalonia necessarily share. Furthermore, I would argue that such a view of Catalan nationhood has today reached a key juncture: globalisation, multiple modernities and changing social, cultural and linguistic practice demand re-imagination and inclusion of new social and linguistic agencies. In fact, Castells himself has now gone some way towards recognising this challenge, by arguing that central to Catalonia being a community, a new Catalan culture should be constructed which brings in diversity (Castells, 2005). The article by Castells, in *El Periódico* newspaper, appears to follow a top-down view of 'structure' building in space for diversity from above; moreover, it is primarily focused on the need for immigrants to keep the economy going and to meet the needs of a society with a falling birth rate, rather than a conscious embracing of multiculturalism.

□ Defining the state

A common starting point for defining the *state* is Weber's definition of a state as a 'human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory' (Weber 1991: 78, in Guibernau, 2001), and where private or sectional violence is illegitimate (Gellner, 1984: 3).

According to Nadel's (1942) definition of a state, three specific conditions are to be found: (a) centralised organs of government, associated with (b) claims to legitimate territorial control and (c) a distinct dominant elite or class, having definite modes of training, recruitment and status attributes (Nadel, 1942; in Giddens, 1984: 246-7). The term 'state' is also used to refer in general terms to the overall form of a state-based society, or as the governmental institutions of a definite type within such a society (Giddens, 1984).

In terms of Giddens' general definition of a state, I see Catalonia as a state-based society with strong distinct Catalan government institutions, which have a high degree of autonomy and a very high profile not only in Catalonia but also in the Spanish state. In terms of Weber's and Nadel's criteria, the answer is less clear. Firstly, key organs of government are centralised in Catalonia, but higher centralised organs of government are found in Madrid with controls over sovereignty, Spanish foreign policy, defence etc., which can override the organs of the Catalan government. Secondly, with regard to legitimate territorial control/monopoly of violence, Catalonia's statehood is far more limited as Catalonia is not the sole sovereign entity in control of its territory, or the defence of it. However, in terms of Nadel's third criterion, Catalonia does have the notable characteristic of statehood in the form of its own Catalan-speaking, economically and culturally dominant elite.

I therefore understand Catalonia to be, not a state, but an entity with a number of features of statehood, within a larger Spanish multi-nation-state.

□ Defining the nation-state

In simple terms, I understand a nation-state to be a state made up of, or dominated, by one national group. According to Guibernau, the nation-state also 'seeks to unite the people subjected to its rule by means of cultural and linguistic homogenization (Guibernau, 2001: 243). Giddens uses the term 'shell institution' to refer to nation-states today that are developing as part of a wider, global nation-state system:

We continue to talk of the nation, the family, work, tradition, nature, as if they were all the same as in the past. They are not. The outer shell remains, but inside they have changed – and this is happening not only in the US, Britain, or France, but almost everywhere. They are what I call ‘shell institutions’. They are institutions that have become inadequate to the tasks they are called upon to perform (Giddens, 2000: 18).

It is argued that since the end of the Franco period in 1976 and the subsequent process of democratisation, the Spanish nation-state has undergone a process of erosion; and that this has changed significantly the minority position of Catalonia (Hoffman, 2000: 427). However, the view that Spain ever really was a nation-state, even during the Franco dictatorship, is questionable. There has never been a single Spanish nation (nor a single language), but rather an imposed centralist view of Spanishness and nationhood, maintained during the Franco period by a conservative, bureaucratic authoritarian state apparatus. I see the death of Franco not merely as leading to an erosion of a nation-state, but as a catalyst that allowed the various nationalities to re-form democratically and institutionally inside the same ‘outer shell’ (Giddens, 2000). And, the existence of the ‘Spanish shell’ predates globalisation, and even modernity, having emerged in the late 15th century.

In terms of Catalonia’s relationship with the Spanish state, Castells offers a valuable definition of *Catalunya* as a nation which has stopped at the threshold of statehood, and which has forced its ‘parent state’ to adapt and to cede sovereignty: a *national quasi-state*, not a fully-fledged state, but one which has won a share of political autonomy on the basis of its national identity (Castells, 2001: 52). Finally, it is also important to note that theories about ‘nation-states’ cannot be applied loosely to Catalonia, as the conflation of the *nation* and the *state* is based on the questionable notion that the two concepts are reducible to each other, where citizenship would equate directly with nationality (May, 2001: 75). A Latin American immigrant, for example, might undergo linguistic, cultural and identity changes that makes him or her feel, and/or be accepted as a ‘Catalan’, but they will only become a Spanish citizen, often with dual nationality.

To sum up, in terms of the widely-held view that Catalonia is a nation without a state, following the above definitions, a more accurate term would be a ‘contested nation with only partial statehood’.

□ Defining nationalism

Nationalism can be understood as a political principle ‘which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent’ (Gellner, 1984: 1). Three major explanatory approaches to nationalism are mentioned by Guibernau (1996): [i] the essentialist view of nationalism, the Herderian view of symbols and a particular language and culture; [ii] nationalism in terms of modernisation: Gellner’s view that nationalism should be understood as ‘the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population’ even though this may be the very opposite of what nationalism affirms and what nationalists believe (Gellner, 1984: 57);³⁰ [iii] nationalism according to the significance of national identity and the emergence of national consciousness, along the lines of Anderson’s ‘imagined communities’.

Central to the ‘modernist’ approaches above ([ii] and [iii]) is the rejection of essentialism; this rejection involves the theoretical separation of nationalism and ethnicity as different and non-comparable (Hobsbawm, 1992: 4, in May, 2001). May argues that the aim of this separation is to challenge the view of “primordial” nationalists, which, in the Herderian approach ([i] above), see membership in a nation as based mainly on ‘preexisting ties of ethnicity’, thus equating nations with ethnocultural communities that are defined by fixed cultural characteristics, in many cases a common language (May, 2001: 52).

How then do the representatives of Catalan nationalism manifest their views in the Spanish political arena?

In terms of political groupings and power, from June 1993 to 2000, the *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) alliance held the balance of power in Madrid: first with the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) of Felipe Gonzalez, and then with the right-wing **Partido Popular** (PP), led by José María Aznar. CiU-led nationalism thus played a dual role of keeping the central government in power, whilst consolidating its own moderate nationalist agenda in Catalonia through control of the Generalitat, allowing for the linguistic normalisation of the Catalan language. In 2000, the Aznar

³⁰ Castells (2001) argues that nationalism is constructed by social action *and* reaction, both by elites and by the masses, as argued by Hobsbawm (1990), rather than by Gellner’s ‘high culture’.

government won an overall majority in the Spanish parliament, reducing CiU's pivotal role.

A change of power took place in the Generalitat in late 2003, with a tripartite 'leftist' alliance gaining control (PSOE's Catalan party, the pro-independence Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC), and the leftist *Iniciativa Per Catalunya*). This brought about crisis and conflict between Madrid and Catalonia; however, the return of the Socialist Party (PSOE) to power in Madrid in March 2004, has gradually reduced the conflict.

□ Catalonia and *linguistic* nationalism

In the case of Catalonia, the role of the Catalan language as a marker of national identity means that nationalism and language have historically been linked. As stated in the previous chapter, Catalan nationalism has gained a democratic legitimacy that other western European nationalisms have failed to gain. The reasons for this can be found in the long history of oppression of the Catalan-speaking linguistic minority, its conflation with democratic opposition to dictatorship during the Franco years, and perhaps the general perception that it is language more than race that defines Catalan nationalism. Such nationalism of a linguistic *minority* is evidently seen as distinct to nationalism of other *majorities*; it is perceived differently and it manifests itself differently. One only has to compare two national days: St. George's Day (April 23rd) in Barcelona (a public holiday marked by noisy street celebrations) and in London (where there is no holiday or celebration).

A new threat to nationalism based on language comes from globalisation. The key role of language as a means of defence for autonomous communities against the onslaught of globalisation is highlighted by Castells:

If nationalism is, most often, a reaction against a threatened autonomous identity, then, in a world submitted to cultural homogenization by the ideology of modernization and the power of the global media, language, as the direct expression of culture, becomes the trench of cultural resistance, the last bastion of self-control, the refuge of identifiable meaning (Castells, 2001: 53).

Heller (1999) highlights the related economic, political and social developments that are challenging the reproduction of the idea of a nation through language, which I believe apply to Catalonia: [1] old nations group together to produce supra-national associations, like the European Union; [2] the expansion of capitalism under corporate, rather than national auspices, creating communities of economic interest

and corporate cultural which cut across national (and linguistic) lines; and [3] economic and political migration which account for major changes in the cultural and linguistic composition of both areas from which people move, and those to which they move (Heller, 1999: 10). And whilst the effects of globalisation mean that, in many other cases, minorities are losing members who travel away to cities in search of opportunities, the opposite is happening in Catalonia: unprecedented numbers of migrants from the developing world are being *attracted to Catalonia*, threatening to dilute the number of Catalan speakers, and thus the very basis of linguistic nationalism.

To sum up section 3.1, I see Catalonia as a contested nation that is undergoing competing processes of imagination and re-imagination, in which *new* and *old* individuals and groups have different degrees of engagement, buying into different representations of different nationhoods in social, cultural and linguistic spaces: [i] the Catalan language, the flag, the eternal flame of the Catalan language, Barcelona football club, or even a national Catalan roller-hockey team³¹; or [ii] Spain, and its many icons: one nation, one language, Real Madrid football club, flamenco, bull-fighting; and [iii] everything in between. Some spaces are won, some are lost, many are shared in varying, shifting degrees of dominance. And into these spaces enter new migrants, who, through migration, are going through rapid, and often unsettling processes of re-imagination of self in new spaces: some buy into an idea of Catalan nationhood, perhaps seeing parallels in their own minority experiences, or because they fall in love with a Catalan speaker; others affiliate themselves more towards Spanish nationhood, not just because of a passport, but perhaps because they do not buy into any shared minority experience, or as a result of their personal relationships. Others take on bits and pieces here and there. And central to negotiating boundaries of minority-majority group and ethnic membership in this process is language: language use in everyday interactions that involve Latin American Spanish, Catalan and Castilian.

³¹ In 2004, the Catalan roller-hockey team became the centre of debate in the Spanish media as a result of its qualification for a world cup series in which it would possibly face a national Spanish team.

3.2 Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia: a sociolinguistic minority

In defining the three main speech communities in this study, I use the following terms: *Catalan speaker* to refer to individuals whose first or main language is Catalan; *Castilian speaker* to refer to speakers whose first or main language is an ‘Iberian variety of Spanish’; and *Latin American Spanish speaker* to refer to speakers whose first or main language is a variety of Latin American Spanish. The selection of this terminology is not without problems, as I will highlight below.

□ Catalan speaker

Referring to an individual as a Catalan speaker does not mean that they are exclusively so. Virtually all Catalan speakers also speak Castilian as an additional language or co-mother tongue. Moreover, one informant Felipe, uses ‘Catalan’ when referring to his grandparents being speakers of Valencian. Depending on ideological positions, Valencian can be described as a dialect of Catalan or as a separate language in its own right.

□ Castilian speaker

My use of the terms ‘Castilian’ and ‘Castilian speaker’ to refer to varieties of ‘Iberian Spanish’, and to their speakers, is a compromise. Firstly, use of the term ‘Castilian’ would be questioned by many in Andalusia who would describe their language as ‘Spanish’ and their variety as ‘**Andaluz**’. However, many Andalusians living in Catalonia would understand and even use the term ‘Castilian’ to describe their language, having adapted to the use in Catalonia of ‘*castellà*’/**castellano** (Castilian) to refer to Iberian varieties of Spanish in a general sense. And as is seen in this study, many also refer to themselves as ‘**castellanos**’ within the contexts of Catalonia. Although I originally started writing this thesis using the terms ‘Iberian Spanish’, ‘Latin American Spanish’, and ‘Spanish’ in a general sense, I have also adapted my terminology according to the norms of use in Catalonia. My use of the term Castilian is in this sense and should not be taken to suggest that a single linguistic variety called *Castilian* is spoken throughout Spain.

□ Speakers of Latin American Spanishes

Again, as a compromise, for convenience, and to differentiate from Iberian varieties, I use the term 'Latin American Spanish' when referring to Latin American varieties of Spanish.

Of course, there are many varieties of Latin American Spanish which have been categorised according to loose groupings.³² It is also important to note that Castilian and Catalan speakers would often be unable to distinguish between different Latin American varieties, even confusing some with Andalusian or Canarian varieties. This is because, in certain aspects, some of the key features of Latin American Spanishes have their origins in Andalusian and Canarian varieties.

There are several general features that I will focus on as characterising Latin American Spanishes.

First, as a general rule, the articulation of sounds in Latin American varieties tends to be less guttural than in Iberian varieties, with the exception perhaps of some Andalusian varieties, and Canarian.

Second, in Latin American varieties many consonants are pronounced more softly (or are omitted) in comparison with most Iberian varieties, with Andalusian and Canarian again exceptions.

Third, the intonation of Latin American varieties tends to be more varied and musical than many Iberian varieties.

Fourth, a key marker of the pronunciation of all Latin American Spanishes is that the letters 'c' and 'z' are pronounced as /s/ instead of the /θ/ of standard Castilian. Again, some Andalusian varieties and Canarian share this /s/ pronunciation.

Fifth, there are many lexical differences between Iberian and Latin American varieties, as well as between the different varieties of Latin American Spanish themselves. One piece of fruit may have many different names across the continent. Hence, the idea that there is one 'correct' way of saying things is looser in Latin America.

Sixth, there are also grammatical differences between Latin American and Iberian varieties: Latin Americans use what can appear to Iberian speakers to be antiquated, or over-polite forms of Spanish (**usted**, **ustedes**, **vos**: for 'you'); another feature is the

³² See Zentella (1997) for a discussion of Henríquez Ureña's (1940) five geographic zones of Latin American Spanish.

use of past simple forms where present perfect forms would be more common in standard Iberian varieties.

Seventh is ‘interference’ from American English, particularly in lexis. This can make Latin American varieties seem as marked to the Iberian ear as distinct phonology does. Several informants have mentioned this, particularly Venezuelans and Colombians. In data excerpt [97], Gilma will refer to her experiences with taxi drivers in this regard.

A final factor to consider is that after arriving in Catalonia, informants’ Latin American varieties may converge: firstly, with other varieties of Latin American Spanish through contact in Catalonia; and secondly, through contact with Castilian and Catalan. Such convergence is typically phonological, grammatical, and most notably, lexical.³³ Of particular interest is the fact that in Catalonia these processes of convergence can take place via complex monolingual/bilingual interactions, affected by power relations, and often involving code switching.

I will now analyse the complex minority status of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia vis à vis that of the Catalan linguistic minority within the Spanish state.

Defining majority and minority groups in Catalonia is not straightforward. Firstly, the classification of such groups involves conceptually setting them apart, and segregation, and postulates the view that the world consists of discrete and distinctive entities (Bauman, 1998: 1); it thus fails to account for the blurred boundaries (mentioned in Chapter 2) between speech communities, which can also include bilingual speakers. Secondly, minority status is not objective number-counting, but rather a subjective, socio-psychological phenomenon that is perceived and ascribed by individuals or groups of speakers, in different ways in different places (Nelde, 2000: 443). And thirdly, a clear minority-majority dichotomy does not exist in Catalonia as neither group fits tidily into existing frameworks of what may assumed to be ‘typical’ socio/linguistic minority/majority group.³⁴

³³ See Zentella (1990, 1997) for an account of lexical levelling among Latinos in New York.

³⁴ In this section, I am using the term ‘typical’ in a general sense to refer to characteristics that are commonly found in linguistic minorities in sociolinguistic studies.



□ A speech community

A starting point for the analysis of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia is the concept ‘speech community’. According to Spolsky (1998), a speech community is *a complex interlocking network of communication*, in which members share knowledge about the attitudes towards the language use patterns of others as well as themselves. Spolsky adds that the speech community represents ‘the abstract “space” studied in sociolinguistics’ where patterned variations in selection from available repertoire take place (Spolsky, 1998: 27).

Membership of a minority speech community, this abstract negotiated space, is not determined solely by number of speakers, or even the language spoken. It can also be determined according to *sociocultural* and *sociolinguistic* criteria. For example, Caldwell (1998) defines membership of the English speaking speech community of Quebec *culturally* (through participating in a culture), rather than *linguistically*, thus eliminating anglophones born outside Canada from the Quebec Anglophone cultural category. On similar grounds, a distinction could be made between Spanish-speaking Latin Americans and Iberian Castilian speakers in Catalonia.

□ Nations and linguistic minorities

Heller links the definition of linguistic minorities to the construction of nations, language, and the concept of inclusion and exclusion, creating minorities (Heller, 1999: 7). According to Boran (2001), the key defining feature of a linguistic minority is association with a *non-dominant language* as an expression of a distinct identity. Churchill (1996: 279-82) defines non-dominant national minorities according to four non-numerical criteria that have been addressed in this study: [i] *the erosion of the centralist nation state*; [ii] *the emergence of nationalism*; [iii] *nationhood*; and [iv] *a ‘people’ assuming state control in a transition to modernity*.

□ Spanish/Castilian speakers in Catalonia: majority or minority?

For several reasons, the term ‘Spanish’ or ‘Castilian speaker’ as a sociolinguistic category in Catalonia does not match the typical criteria of a linguistic minority group. Firstly, Castilian speakers in Catalonia make up roughly fifty percent of the

population, and are in the majority in many parts of Catalonia.³⁵ Secondly, they are members of the majority speech community in the Spanish state, and their language, Castilian, is the sole official language protected throughout the Spanish state by the Spanish Constitution. Even Grin's (1994) term *included minority* (a minority-within-the-minority that speaks the national majority language, such as Quebec's anglophones) does not apply, as Quebec's anglophones are a significant *numerical* minority in Quebec, unlike Catalonia's Castilian speakers. In fact, being speakers of a national state language may be enough alone to deny a speech community such as Castilian speakers in Catalonia any minority status. Maurais (1997) refers to the decision of the UN Human Rights Committee on 31 March 1993, when it was stated that English is *not* a minority language in Quebec since it is the language of the majority of the Canadian population (Maurais, 1997: 141). Furthermore, in Catalonia, bilingualism poses no threat to the continued existence of the Castilian mother-tongue: there are virtually no domains in Catalonia where Castilian/Spanish is not understood or cannot be used.

At the same time, Catalonia's Castilian/Spanish speakers do share certain features that are typical of some minority groups: within Catalonia, they need to be able to speak another language, Catalan, to access many positions of power and influence; mother tongue instruction in Castilian is restricted in the school system; and finally, certain Andalusian and Latin American varieties are often considered to be of low socio-cultural prestige within Catalonia (and elsewhere in Spain).

- Catalan speakers in the Spanish state and Catalonia: typical and atypical linguistic minority

Catalan speakers share certain characteristics that are typical of other linguistic minorities. Firstly, within the Spanish state the Catalan language and its people have experienced a long history of suppression, leading to social stigmatisation, relegation to a diglossic position, and to language use limited to oral communication (Hoffman, 2000). Secondly, the co-official status of the Catalan language is limited to the Catalan Communities; Catalan speakers living outside of the Catalan Communities

³⁵ *Castilian-speakers*, it should be noted, also have varying degrees of competence in Catalan. For example, the Linguistic census of 2001 gives the following figures for all groups: 94.48% in Catalonia understand Catalan, 74.46% can speak Catalan, 74.21% can read it, and 49.70% can write it (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 2005).

have few, if any, mother-tongue rights. And thirdly, within the Spanish state, and in parts of Catalonia, Catalan speakers are in the numerical minority.

However, the Catalan linguistic minority does have certain characteristics that are *atypical* of many other linguistic minorities. Firstly, at the level of the Spanish state, Catalan is recognised as the co-official language of Catalonia and other Catalan-speaking Communities, a protection which many other linguistic minorities lack. Secondly, whilst many typical linguistic minorities in the world are also minoritised socially, culturally and economically, this cannot be said of the Catalan language and most of its speakers, at least those in Catalonia. In addition, Catalonia has traditionally had a mainly non-native working class of Castilian-speaking manual labourers from the poorer regions of southern Spain. Finally, the Catalan language and its people have a strong cultural and political history from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, and a language that was standardised in the early twentieth century (Hoffman, 2000).

□ Spanish-speaking Latin Americans: groups and sub-groups

It is also important to note that the Spanish-speaking Latin American speech community in Catalonia is not a single monolithic group. An umbrella speech community does exist, but is a fluid one in which members share some features and differ in others according to a wide range of factors: for example, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic, ethnic, and social class.

Significant *differences* exist *within* national groups (for example, between coastal and Andean Peruvians/Ecuadorians/Colombians); *similarities* also exist *between* groups from different nations (for example, Colombian *costeños* [from coastal areas, often of mixed African and European descent], Venezuelans, Dominicans). Moreover, these differences live on after migration. Within any single Latin American diaspora exist sub-groups based on national, non-national, cultural and linguistic links. The Dominican bar where I made recordings was one such site where the social networks of a sub-group were maintained. Although there were customers who were speakers of Castilian on the tables outside on the day I visited, the inside of the bar was mainly the terrain of a Latin American sub-group: Dominicans, and Ecuadorian *costeños* from Guayaquil on the Pacific coast.

□ Spanish-speaking Latin Americans: a *sociolinguistic* minority

To sum up, my definition of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans is, in a general sense, as a *sociolinguistic minority*, whose minority status can only partially be connected to the *typical* and *atypical* characteristics above. Four additional factors characterise many Spanish-speaking Latin Americans as having a distinct, sociolinguistic minority status: [i] allochthonous rather than autochthonous; [ii] socio-economic position (in many cases); [iii] varieties of Spanish often associated with socio-economic disadvantage; and [iv] identifiable difference through physical appearance and/or accent, in most cases. These factors set most Spanish-speaking Latin Americans apart, not only from Catalan speakers, but also from Iberian Castilian speakers. On the same grounds, Spanish-speaking Latin Americans would also be considered a sociolinguistic minority in Madrid.

3.3 Language rights and group rights

Before beginning my discussion of language policies and linguistic normalisation, I will first present a brief discussion of two closely-related concepts: language rights and group rights.

Skutnabb Kangas and Phillipson describe *linguistic human rights* at two levels (collective and individual), which correspond with the ‘territory’ and ‘identity’ models of language planning that I will discuss in the next section of this chapter. *Individual* level implies the following: that everyone can identify with their mother tongue, and have that identification respected by others; the right to learn the mother tongue and to use it; and the right to learn at least one of the official languages in one’s country of residence. At a *collective* level, linguistic human rights support the following: the right of minority groups to exist; to enjoy and develop their language; to establish and maintain schools; guarantees of representation in the political affairs of the state; and autonomy for groups (Skutnabb Kangas & Phillipson, 1994: 2, in Mar-Molinero, 2000: 68).

In terms of *group* rights, a distinction is made by Kymlicka (1995) between *national minority* and *polyethnic* rights. *National minority rights* apply to groups who have always lived in a particular territory, but who have been subject to *conquest*, *colonisation* or *confederation*: indigenous peoples, and national minority groups such as the Quebecois, the Welsh, and Catalans. Kymlicka’s view is that these groups can

legitimately demand as of right formal civic inclusion of their languages and cultures in the nation-states in which they live – alongside majority languages. However, other ethnic minorities who have settled voluntarily within a host nation-state can only claim *polyethnic rights*: the right to continue to maintain their first languages and cultures in the private domain (Kymlicka, 1995; May, 2000: 380).

The case of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, however, would appear to bring out key weakness in the concepts of *linguistic human rights* and *group rights*.

Firstly, regarding linguistic rights, Latin Americans enjoy the right to use their mother tongue, to representation (if legal residents), and to exercise the communicative and expressive functions of their linguistic rights, as in the definitions of Skutnabb Kangas & Phillipson (1994). However, many are often exercising their linguistic rights from social positions of inequality. Put simply, their linguistic human rights do not always equate with their social position and social rights.

With regard to group rights, Kymlicka's distinction between national and polyethnic rights would grant certain rights to Catalans and deny them to allochthonous new migrant groups in Catalonia. According to May (2001), this is already the case with one *autochthonous* group in Catalonia: May cites the long-established (autochthonous) Roma community's lack of rights as an example of how the promotion of Catalan 'does not as yet extend to the *active* recognition of other minority languages and cultures within Catalonia'. Thus, 'the pressing claims of particular national minorities have meant that wider polyethnic or multicultural claims have been given far less priority'. (May, 2001: 249-251). In the case of (allochthonous) Spanish-speaking Latin Americans, an additional point to consider is that as the 'polyethnic group' in question, they also share the criteria for 'national minority rights': *histories of conquest and colonisation*. There is an evident overlap between the perceived criteria for equal recognition, which challenges Kymlicka's binary paradigm. In fact, rather than continuing the refutation of Kymlicka's distinction in the language of academic discourse, I will refer back to the Prologue to this study, and the eloquent words of a 15-year-old Latin American in Barcelona:

In class and outside they say that the foreigners, especially the *moros* and *sudacas*, come here to take away and steal work from the Spaniard, who has every right to be here and to have more privileges than anyone else from abroad. They'll have forgotten that in most cases these people come from places that years ago were exploited from countries in the North and which are still exploited economically and

that are still trying to recover; they can't because the rich want to get richer and keep the poor poorer.

We're all people, we all want to live in decent conditions. Does it matter where we're from to deserve it?

('Un Cambio' (A Change) short story by Ana Isabella Byrne Bellorin, aged 15, Barcelona 2001 [my translation])

3.4 Language policies

In line with my framing of this study around 'structure' and 'agency' (Giddens 1984), I will focus here on the ongoing construction and re-construction of Catalan at the 'structural' level of language policies.

I will follow the definitions of Mar-Molinero, which, put simply, see language policy as the ideas, and language planning as the measures taken (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 74). The distinction is important as one does not necessarily involve the other: a policy objective may be formulated at state-level, but may not be implemented due to lack of resources (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 77).

Three key stages of language planning can be mentioned: [i] corpus planning, for example, involving the formulation and standardisation of alphabets and between dialects; [ii] status planning, involving the promotion of the language's status, its use in a wide range of domains, including public authorities, and improving attitudes toward the language through campaigns; and [iii] acquisition planning, involving the development of aspects of status planning, focusing on language learning/acquisition, for example, through education and the media (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 78-9).

□ Language Policies: *Identity* (individual) and *Territory* (collective)

Two key ideologies are the basis of much of the debate in the field of language policy and linguistic minorities: policies based on *language and identity* refer to the ideological position, or language policy, promoting individual rights to use the mother tongue; *language and territory* ideologies emphasise the rights of a linguistic majority based in one territory to favour their language as the original, regional or national language of the area.

Commentators favouring a language-and-territory model (Strubell, 2001; the majority of other Catalan commentators; Woolard, 1989; Atkinson, 2000) argue that Catalonia, as a political and cultural entity and a nation in its own right, has the right to normalise use of the Catalan language in a wide range of social and institutional

spheres. Mar-Molinero seems also to pin her flag to the territory mast, albeit more cautiously, arguing that ‘minorities can only be protected and supported by viewing them as a collective whole rather than as individual members’ (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 69). Both Myhill (1999) and Atkinson (2000) criticise what they consider to be inconsistency in the work of proponents of language and identity models (Fishman, 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins 1988). Myhill (1999) criticises what he sees as inconsistencies in Skutnabb-Kangas adopting language-and-identity as a philosophical position, but abandoning it when she advocates a particular programme. Similarly, Atkinson (2000) offers a critique of Fishman in a follow-up article to Myhill’s:

Fishman is highly supportive of efforts to encourage greater use of Catalan by L1 Castilian speakers, in a way which contrasts markedly with his impassioned defence of the ‘right’ of, say, minority language users in the United States to resist the hegemony of English there (Atkinson, 2000: 185-186).

However, I believe that it is possible to support a territory model in Belgium or Switzerland, whilst at the same time favouring an identity model for the Navajo in the US. And, in the case of Catalonia, where many paradigms are challenged by the sociolinguistic situation, and where I believe an exclusive adaptation of either model is inappropriate, a compromise, or middle ground, between the two would appear to be the only realistic option.

Various suggestions can be found in the literature on how such a middle ground approach could be conceptualised. One is an asymmetrical integration of the two, in an attempt to overcome the limitations inherent in each, which gives precedence to territorial autonomy and supplements it with the personal [identity] model, in order to avoid relational inequalities that exist between groups (Boran, 2001). A middle road is also cautiously suggested in a careful wording by Turell (2001), who focuses on the right of every citizen, indigenous or immigrant, to continue using their language, and to be given equal opportunity to learn the language of the new host country/community (Turell, 2001: 15). Turell’s emphasis on the importance for immigrants and their children to have access to equal opportunities in education is linked the view that additive bilingualism in minority group children, particularly from new migrant communities, is better attained when their schooling occurs via their L1 (Cummins, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1983). In Catalonia, on paper, this opportunity is only offered to speakers of Catalan and Castilian/Spanish; no mention

is made of Arabic, Portuguese, and other allochthonous minority languages. And whilst such L1 Castilian instruction was originally limited to two years before a gradual shift to Catalan, Catalan immersion is now the norm for pupils of three years of age onwards. I will develop the discussion of *policies in schools* at the end of this chapter.

□ Levels of planning

Rulings at different levels on the status of the Catalan language are often contradictory, interpreted differently, and frequently challenged by competing interest groups. An EU ruling may not be seen as legitimate by the Spanish government; a Spanish constitutional ruling may not be seen as legitimate by Catalonia's autonomous government; a policy ruling of the Catalan government may have little impact on the street. In this regard, Schiffman distinguishes between policy as stated (the official, *de jure*, or overt policy), and policy as it actually functions at a practical level (the covert, *de facto* or grass roots policy) (Schiffman, 1996: 2). The following example of mother tongue instruction in schools in Catalonia illustrates these contradictory interpretations, with the distinct actors highlighted in bold.

Opponents of Catalan-medium instruction in schools have claimed that the **UNESCO** right to be educated in the mother tongue was being denied by Catalan immersion programmes, and that the individual rights of the Castilian speaker should take precedence over the collective right of Catalonia to pursue policies that defend its territorial entity (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 165). On the same issue though, **Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights** refers only to the right to receive education in a 'comprehensible' language (**European Court of Human Rights** ruling of 1989) (Milian i Massana, 1994). This ruling has been seen as the basis of the **Generalitat's** challenge to **central government in Madrid** over the right of **parents/pupils** bestowed in the **Spanish Constitution** (Article 3.1 'the right to use Castilian) to select either official language as a medium of instruction in **schools** (Milian i Massana, 1994). It is argued that although Catalan may not be the mother tongue or habitual language of certain Castilian-speaking children, due to the linguistic similarity and the bilingual setting, Castilian soon becomes comprehensible. **Teachers** may need to codeswitch in classrooms, pupils may alternate between codes with classmates, and revert to monolingualism with their **families**.

□ Catalan and the EU

At European level, the issues of inclusion (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1996: 292) and equality (Nelde, 2000: 442) are central, yet not always dealt with equally. An example of this is the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which has great symbolic value, but excludes migrant languages; the countries signing it can decide which minorities they want to apply it to (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1996: 302). Furthermore, 'pro-multilingual' international bodies do not necessarily promote Catalonia's version of language policy. The paradox is well-illustrated by Mar-Molinero, who states that many international bodies firmly committed to the teaching of community languages to the children of immigrants are precisely the same international bodies to whom Catalans look for support and approval in their campaign to promote their own (minority) language (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 168). As stated by Hoffman in more direct terms, 'the question arises as to how far a region within a multilingual member state of the EU can go in promoting monolingual language policies' (Hoffman, 2000: 425).

Nonetheless, a key international aim of Catalan policy-makers has been for Catalan to gain official recognition as a *working language* at EU level, which would raise the status of Catalan to the same level as Castilian within the EU, and allow Catalonia to circumvent Spanish national interest (Hoffman, 2000: 438). Despite attempts to gain official status, the key argument being that Catalan has many more speakers than other official languages such as Danish, its status is only as a *working language in bilateral communications*. The chances of Catalan, which unlike Danish lacks a nation-state, gaining higher status have been hampered in recent years by the unlikelihood of support from Madrid (Mar-Molinero, 2000, 196). However, in 2004, the new Socialist government in Madrid began to appear to support moves by the new leftist tripartite coalition government in the Generalitat, dominated by fellow Catalan Socialists, to improve Catalan's status within the EU.

□ Catalan: the Spanish State and Autonomous Community

Within the Spanish state, the status of languages is stipulated and guaranteed in Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution (see Appendix 2), although in vague and uneven terms. Although minority languages are granted co-equal status in their autonomous communities, the only language that the constitution requires citizens to know, as a duty, and guarantees their right to use, is Castilian (Ferrer, 2000; Mar-Molinero, 2000;

Woolard, 1989). However, the Constitution does refer to the official language as *Castilian* rather than *Spanish*, challenging the Francoist view that there was only one language in Spain, namely, Spanish; and the official language is attached to a *state* not a *nation*, suggesting that other nations with other languages may co-exist in Spain (Mar-Molinero, 2000).

The status of Catalan and Castilian is also recognised in the 1979 Catalan Statute of Autonomy (Article 3) (see Appendix 2), in which both languages are given co-official status, again though, in rather ambiguous terms that are open to interpretation. Woolard (1989) is among several authors who refer to the vagueness in the Statute, due to the lack of clear definitions of key terms and of the roles of each language: I would highlight terms such as ‘own language’ and ‘normal use’ as particularly vague and contentious.

□ Linguistic normalisation in Catalonia

According to Mar-Molinero, linguistic normalisation consists of three tasks: [i] to empower minority languages in order to make it possible for [them] to satisfy the communicative needs of a modern society (a strong form of status planning); [ii] to increase the number of speakers/users and increase the communicative competence of current users (acquisition planning); and [iii] expand the geographic scope of the language within a given geographic area (a [social] form of status planning) (Cobarrubias, 1987: 60, in Mar-Molinero, 2000: 80).

The original 1983 Law of Linguistic Normalisation, which set the framework for re-establishing the Catalan language institutionally and socially, gained widespread support in Catalonia, from Catalan and Castilian speakers alike. However, the 1998 Language Policy Law (*Llei de Política Lingüística*) (see Appendix 2) was more controversial, failing to gain unanimous support in the Catalan parliament, and igniting the age-old dispute between the Catalan government and centralists in Madrid.

The central aim of the 1998 Language Policy Law is the promotion of the use of Catalan in all significant sectors of society: public administration, the legal system, the mass media, culture and entertainment industry, business and commerce, and education (Ferrer, 2000: 192). The Law represents a shift toward a more territorial, more Catalan model, with previous concessions to Castilian speakers being tightened,

and Catalan being given preferential rather than equal status in many institutional spheres.

Article 2 of the Law, sets the tone for the shift toward a more exclusive model: (2.1) 'Catalan is Catalonia's own language and distinguishes it as a people'. This definition creates a much clearer defining role for the Catalan language as a key marker for belonging to the Catalan nation by adding to the original reference to 'own language' in Article 3 of the 1979 Statute of Autonomy. This dominant role for Catalan can also be seen in statements such as (2.2a) 'The language of all institutions of Catalonia' and (2.2b) 'The language preferentially used'.

There are also notable contradictions: whilst it is stated that (21.2) 'Children are entitled to receive their initial education in their usual language, whether this be Catalan or Castilian', in reality Catalan immersion is today the norm for pupils from the age of three onwards. Similarly, whilst the Law stipulates that individuals should (4.1e) 'not to be discriminated against on account of the official language they use', this is soon followed by the declaration that (20.1) 'Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also that of education, at all levels and types of schooling' and that (20.2) 'Educational establishments at all levels shall make Catalan the vehicle of normal expression in their educational and administrative activities, both internally and externally'; this includes medium of instruction, official communication, and parents' meetings, for example.

In terms of *linguistic human rights*, the general tone of the Law would appear to be balanced, addressing the linguistic rights of all citizens of Catalonia: (4.1) 'full equality', (4.1e) 'not to be discriminated against'. However, viewed within the wider contexts of the law, Catalan speakers are accorded the same rights, but preferentially. In certain institutional settings, rights are only granted on request (9.1).

My interpretation of the law is that it is a shift from a previous mode of positive discrimination aimed at bringing Catalan to an equal status in a bilingual Catalonia, to a model in which Catalan is also given the status as *the* preferential language, and *the* required language to be considered part of the Catalan nation, in order to give an extra push towards reaching that equality. The law is, as stated by Ferrer, 'highly interventionist, heavily skewed in favour of Catalan, and clearly in line with Catalan nationalist prescriptions' (2000: 192). And this is occurring in a time of unprecedented social and cultural change in a Catalonia in which the agents of late-/post-modernity are competing for cultural production and reproduction in an

increasing number of spheres, and affecting the concepts of ‘normality’ that should be the fundamental root of normalisation.

Perhaps a practical, rather than ideological, means of addressing the issues is to ask the following question: does the Catalan language stand a better chance of ‘full normalisation’ by embracing the new challenges of late-/post-modernity (which mostly find expression in Castilian/Spanish) in a more liberal, inclusive, bi/multilingual framework? At present, the law seems to be failing to bridge a division in linguistic culture: not a division on social or ethnic grounds, but one in which *institutional linguistic practice* has increasingly less to do with *social linguistic practice*: arcane language in examinations that has little to do with language on the street; Catalan in the office, the library and the classroom, and Castilian in the street and the playground. Or, as the expression goes, with reference to schools, particularly in and around Barcelona: ‘**ganamos el aula, pero perdimos el patio**’ (we won the classroom but lost the playground). The issue of such unintended outcomes of structural constraints (Giddens, 1984) will be developed further in Part 2, where I will present informants’ descriptions of their own experiences and of how they see an *institutional linguistic – social linguistic* divide.

Although the main focus here is linguistic normalisation and Spanish/Castilian speakers, it has to be noted that linguistic normalisation is also directed at Catalan speakers. This raises the issue of another divide in linguistic normalisation that emerged from my interview data: the divide between the type of language associated with the ‘idealised native speakers’ (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997) that language planners are aspiring to, and the everyday varieties of Catalan that are spoken on the streets by native, non-native, allochthonous and autochthonous speakers. Leung, Harris, & Rampton base their critique of ‘idealised native speakers’ on the associated assumptions in the school sector in England that ESL (English as a Second Language) students are ‘linguistic and social outsiders and that there is a neat one-to-one correspondence between ethnicity and language’, which conceptualises L2 learners as a linguistically diverse group but one which has similar language learning needs (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997: 543). Leung, Harris, & Rampton focus on shifting ethnicities and changing inter-relationships between ethnicity, social identity and language use in postcolonial diaspora, arguing that contemporary ESL students cannot be easily understood in term of fixed concepts of ethnicity and language, This challenges what are seen as the reified ethnicities attributed to L2 learners by TESOL

pedagogies (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997). It will be seen in interviews that several Catalan-speaking informants argue that the level of Catalan being aspired to by language planners, especially in examinations at school, is unrealistically difficult, perhaps an idealised abstraction.

□ *Tu ets mestre* (You're the teacher)

The preferential shift to Catalan described above, in institutional settings and as a marker of membership of the nation, is occurring in a period of globalisation and mass migration in which new allochthonous speech communities are competing for social and linguistic space with the autochthonous Catalan speech community, itself a minority within the Spanish state. It is also taking place in a period in which fears exist about a lack of Catalan being used socially, particularly in Barcelona.

This has not gone unnoticed by policy makers. To this effect, in March 2003 the Generalitat began a TV and press campaign called 'You're the teacher' (*Tu ets mestre*), one in a chain of status planning campaigns. The stated aim is to facilitate the linguistic integration of immigrants by encouraging Catalans to address others in Catalan, to 'help' the efforts of the more than 65,000 immigrants and foreigners per year who learn Catalan. Central to the programme is the recognition that many Catalans do not usually use Catalan to address those whose appearance suggests that they are not from Catalonia, 'which can make immigrants who learn Catalan feel that their efforts to have been of little use, or feel excluded and discriminated against (*la qual pot provocar que els immigrants que aprenen el català trobin poc útil el seu esforç o se sentin exclosos o discriminats*). Three everyday situations are presented in the campaign: in the market, the kitchen in a restaurant, and a conversation between two youths (novesSL, 2003).

When I read the article that I received through the *novesSL* mailing list, I naturally thought of how this campaign relates to my study, and I reached the following conclusion. My first reaction was that it was another campaign doomed to fail as it was based on a top-down view of structure and agency. I did, however, feel a sense of satisfaction that such a campaign should be focusing on daily life paths of new migrants, and on their interactions involving Catalan, as I am doing in this study.

The campaign raises two interesting questions: can Catalan speakers rise to the challenge of taking on the role of agents for change by changing their own long-established practice, and are there really immigrants out there who feel excluded and

discriminated against because Catalan speakers address them in Castilian rather than Catalan? In terms of the latter point, the campaign seemed to contradict my initial findings from informants: no new migrant informant had expressed feeling excluded or discriminated against on the grounds that a Catalan speaker has spoken Castilian to them. But I had not been asking informants about this specific policy. When I did ask informants how they felt about Catalans not addressing them in Catalan, mentioning the *Tu ets mestre* campaign, I was to find that the aims of the campaign would ring true among some Latin Americans: some did feel excluded by never being addressed in Catalan, but others did not.

3.5 Language policies and education

Central to the success of the linguistic normalisation programme in Catalonia is the need to create more Catalan speakers. As stated above, an estimated 65,000 immigrants learn Catalan every year. Up to 15,000 of these are adults who study in the learning centres of the '*Consorci per la Normalització Lingüística*' (a government-backed consortium for teaching Catalan), in other adult learning centres, and in universities. All basic level classes by the Consorci are now free to all nationals, and the Consorci also arranges free voluntary conversation hours for immigrants (novesSL, 2003).

In terms of adult learners, a useful analytic perspective is presented by Norton (1997), who analyses language learners' relation to target languages by focusing on the intersection between the right to speak and language learners' identities, and uses the term *investment* 'to signal the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it' (1997: 441). Kanno and Norton (2003) suggest that a learner's investment should be understood within the context of the relationship between a learner's 'imagined community' and 'imagined identity' (Norton, 2001: 166, in Kanno and Norton, 2003: 246). In this sense, the term 'imagined' is referring to whether or not individuals can see themselves as being a member of the community. Norton highlights the link between immigrant learners' experiences in their native countries and their experiences in the new country, across multiple sites (Norton, 1997: 412). I will address this issue in Part 2, where I will analyse informants' descriptions of Catalan as a language worth learning, or not.

Nonetheless, the majority of immigrants learning Catalan every year are young people who study in schools (novesSL, 2003). The debate over medium of instruction in Catalonia's schools has been one of the most contested issues in Catalan language planning. Schools can be seen as central to language planning as key sites of social and cultural reproduction; and for state control and political agendas, and bureaucratic constraints (Heller, 1999: 18). Heller & Martin Jones (2001) argue that education is a key site for defining *legitimate language*, as linguistic practices are central to struggles over controlling the production and distribution of resources and over the legitimation of relations of power.

The key point of contention in Catalonia has been the 'withdrawal' of the parental right to choose Castilian as a medium of instruction in state schools. On paper, Castilian has lost its institutional status as a legitimate medium of instruction in schools in Catalonia (even though in practice many teachers have no choice but to use Castilian, or to codeswitch, in classes).

A central tool in this use of education as a site for Catalan's place as the legitimate language of Catalonia has been the use of Catalan immersion programmes in schools. Whilst immersion programmes were originally introduced gradually to areas with high concentrations of Castilian speakers, by March 1992 a decree by the Generalitat stated that immersion programmes were an essential part of the community's education programme (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 162). A 1993 decree stated that Catalan was to be used as the 'vehicular' language of instruction in compulsory infant, primary and secondary education. This decree represented a key step away from parental/pupil choice embedded in the 1978 Constitution and in the 1983 Normalisation Law (Milian i Massana, 1994: 352). This shift led to perhaps one of the (much-cited) fiercest critiques of the Catalan government and its linguistic normalisation programme in September 1993, when the Madrid right wing newspaper ABC (previously Francoist) published an editorial titled, '**igual que Franco pero al revés: persecución del castellano en Cataluña**' ('The same as Franco but in reverse: the persecution of Castilian in Catalonia). The article compared the 'imposition' of teaching in Catalan in Catalonia's schools to the suppression of the language in schools during the Franco dictatorship (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 163).

As mentioned earlier, immersion is the norm for all schooling of children from the age of three onwards. Whether or not these Catalan immersion programmes are really *immersion* or *submersion* programmes is open to question. Vila (2002)

highlights three key criteria for defining programmes as immersion: [i] they should be voluntary; [ii] they should involve a conscious choice on the part of parents/pupils to change language of instruction; and [iii] teachers should be bilingual, with knowledge of students' L1. From perspectives [iii] and [i], what are called immersion programmes are in effect *submersion* for children of immigrants whose mother tongue is not Castilian/Spanish: there is no choice and teachers are not bilingual in their mother tongue. For Castilian/Spanish speakers, however, the programmes do meet the linguistic criteria of immersion programmes but not, technically speaking, the criteria of choice. Moreover, immersion is also a less than suitable term for native Catalan-speaking pupils, for whom the medium of instruction is in fact their mother tongue.

An interesting point related to the question of cultural production and reproduction in schools is the following: what kind of bilinguals are produced by immersion programmes and are the outcomes intended? Heller (1999) refers to the production of bilinguals in a French-language minority high school in Toronto, Canada, who are in effect 'double monolinguals': they can act like monolingual francophones as well as monolingual anglophones (Heller, 1999: 19). Such dual monolingualism would also be common in some cases in Catalonia where individuals select or negotiate code and then carry out monolingual interactions. And whether such Castilian-/Spanish-speaking 'bilinguals' are inclined to actually use Catalan in such instances remains open to question.

3.6 Identity formation

Closely linked to discourses and perceptions of nationhood, and to language planning in general, are the identities that policy-makers have in mind to maintain and create, and those which individuals construct through their daily lives.

In this section, I will discuss a number of aspects of identity formation from a general perspective and in terms of the specific contexts of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia. I have centred the discussion in this section around specific concepts and typologies in the literature on identities that relate to three key aspects of informants' lives: [i] their varying, and complex, processes of identity formation; [ii] how these processes may relate to their senses of belonging to/imagining themselves within a Catalan 'nation', or not; and [iii] how these processes may relate

to their sociolinguistic agencies where Latin American Spanish (allochthonous), and Catalan and Castilian (autochthonous) intersect.

□ Defining identity

Hall (1992) links identity formation to Freud's discovery of the unconscious, arguing that it can be understood as an unconscious process over time rather than innate at birth:

Identity arises, not so much from the fullness of identity which is already inside us as individuals, but from a *lack* of wholeness which is 'filled' from *outside us*, by the ways we imagine ourselves to be seen by others (Hall, 1992: 286-7).

Giddens refers to self-identity in modernity as 'a reflexively organised endeavour, involving a dialectical interplay of the local and the global' (Giddens, 1996: 5).

Giddens also focuses on biographies and narratives of the self:

Self-identity is *the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of his or her biography*...A person's identity is not to be found in behaviours, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity *to keep a particular narrative going*...the ongoing story of the self (Giddens, 1996: 53-54).

Norton's definition highlights individuals' understandings of the world and the future, and construction across time and space:

how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future (Norton, 1997: 410; 2000: 5).

Norton also links identity to access to resources, power and privilege in a society. Thus not only should the question 'Who am I?' be asked, but also 'What can I do?' (Norton, 1997: 410). Pavlenko and Blackledge also suggest a link between identities and social opportunity, with their focus on the following:

social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social space and social prerogatives (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 19).

Of relevance to informants' constructions of Catalan is the view that identity is 'particularly salient in contexts where multiple interpretations or meanings collide, resulting in a power struggle as to whose interpretation prevails' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 19). And finally, processes of identity formation in multilingual settings can be seen as recursive (Giddens, 1996, in Bailey, 2000). Bailey cites Giddens' structuration theory (1984) in his study of Dominicans in the US, arguing

that the ongoing negotiation of identity contributes to the transformation of existing social identities, and the constitution of new ones (Bailey, 2000: 578).

□ Typologies of identities

Three general concepts of identity are introduced by Hall (1992): first, the *Enlightenment subject*, based on a conception of the human person as a fully centred, unified individual, with a *centre* consisting of an inner core emerging when the subject is born, and remaining essentially the same throughout the individual's existence; second, the *sociological subject*, where identity is formed in the 'interaction' between self and society, 'stitching' the subject into the structure; and third, the *post-modern subject*, whose identities are fragmented into several contradictory or unresolved identities, and conceptualised as having no fixed, essential or permanent identity, assuming different identities at different times, which are not unified around a coherent 'self' (Hall, 1992: 275-7). Hall links this latter concept to structural changes and transformations which have fragmented cultural landscapes, leading to a loss of a stable 'sense of self', which he describes as the dislocation or de-centring of the subject. This process is presented as a set of 'double displacements' – the de-centring of individuals both from their place in the social and cultural world, and from themselves (Hall, 1992: 274-5).

Several similar categorisations, and reformulations, can be found in the literature: Pavlenko and Blackledge refer to: [i] imposed identities, which are not negotiable in a particular time and place; [ii] assumed identities, which are accepted and not negotiated; and [iii] negotiable identities, which are contested by groups and individuals (2004: 21). Meanwhile, Castells offers *legitimizing identity*, introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalise their domination; *resistance identity*, generated by actors in devalued or stigmatised positions or conditions; and *project identity*, when social actors construct new identities according to whatever cultural materials are available to them, redefining their position in society, thus seeking the transformation of overall structure (Castells, 2001: 8).

□ National identity & perceptions of nationhood

With the positioning of Catalan as a/the distinguishing marker of the Catalan nation in the 1998 Language Policy Law, individuals' perceptions of nationhood are of interest.

National identity is defined by Guibernau as being based upon ‘the sentiment of belonging to a specific nation, endowed with its own symbols, traditions, sacred places, ceremonies, heroes, history, culture and territory’, which allows people to imagine the community they belong to as separate and distinct (Guibernau, 2001: 257). Hall argues that the national cultures which we are born into are one of the principal sources of cultural identity in relation to systems of cultural representation (1992: 291-2). According to Hall, a national culture is a discourse, that is, a means of constructing meanings that influences and organises our actions and our conception of ourselves. In this sense, national cultures construct identities by producing meaning about ‘the nation’ with which they can be identified, through the stories which are told about the nation, the memories that connect its present with its past, and the images which are constructed of it (Hall, 1992: 292-3).

One means of measuring national identity is to ask people if they feel Spanish or Catalan, and whether they feel exclusive or dual national identity. One such study in Moreno, Arriba & Serrano (1998: 75-6) found that the majority of citizens in Catalonia expressed a dual sense of nationhood (up until 1995). The authors refer to a study of the Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Social (CIRES), which found that for the period 1990-1995, informants expressed the following feelings of national identity: (1) ‘Only Catalan’ 12.5%; (2) ‘More Catalan than Spanish’ 18.9%; (3) ‘As much Catalan as Spanish’ 38.9%; (4) ‘More Spanish than Catalan’ 9.8%; (5) ‘Only Spanish’ 16.7%; (6) Don’t know/No answer 3.1%. When I asked informants, both allochthonous and autochthonous, similar questions in interviews, their responses painted a far more complex picture, as I will illustrate in Part 2.

□ Migration, globalisation, and hybrid identities

In the contexts of this study, the processes and typologies presented above need to be understood in terms of identities that are developing and changing along identity paths which are running parallel to paths of migration.

With specific reference to identities and migration, global, cultural, political and economic processes, Rassool (2000) offers a ‘post-modern’ perspective on identities, in which different waves of transmigration represent ‘discursive and multilayered narrative of social displacement’. According to Rassool, the dynamic reconstitution of group and individual identities within adoptive societies that results from migration, ‘engenders new sets of social relations that fracture previous certainties within the

nation-state' (Rassool, 2000: 391). Identity formation is thus understood as an 'organic process of self-identification', which involves the 'cognitive reappropriation of the categories of subjectification, and the process of encoding these with empowering meanings as part of the struggle to maintain control over everyday life' (Rassool, 2000: 392).

Globalisation and migration may also be fracturing the *fixity* of individuals' identities, and offering them new choices. Rapport & Dawson (1998: 21-22) analyse identity and fixity from an anthropological perspective, looking at the need to find 'a stationary point in the environment from which to engineer one's moving, perceiving, ordering and constructing', which in anthropology is traditionally a fixed home, and in cultures rooted in time and space. Mathews describes identities as not fixed, but available from 'the global cultural supermarket' (Mathews, 2000: 1). Mathews advocates an approach to analysing *self* and *culture* in a common phenomenological framework based on how people experience the world (Mathews, 2000: 12). Hall suggests that *globalisation* would appear to have the effect of both *contesting* and *dislocating* the centred and 'closed' identities of national cultures, producing a variety of possibilities and new positions of identification; this is seen to make identities more positional, more political, more plural and diverse; and less fixed, unified or trans-historical (Hall, 1992: 309).

Hall's focus here is on the link between time-space relations and identity formation, as time and space are also considered to be the basic coordinates of all systems of *representation*: 'the shaping and reshaping of time-space relationships within different systems of representation have profound effects on how identities are located and represented' (Hall, 1992: 301). Hall suggests three possible consequences of globalisation: first, the *erosion* of national identities due to the growth of cultural homogenisation and 'the global post-modern'; second, the *strengthening* of national and other 'local' or particularistic identities by the resistance to globalisation; and third, the decline of national identities and their replacement by *new* identities of hybridity (Hall, 1992: 300).

The articulation of cultural hybridity is linked by May (2001: 38) to 'the post-modern politics of identity', and the works of British theorists Hall (1992), Bhabha (1994) and Gilroy (1993). May emphasises the ability of hybridity to 'subvert categorical oppositions and essentialist ideological movements' (2001: 38), citing Gilroy (1993):

Out with the old singular, in with the new plurality — a plurality of cultures, knowledges, languages, and their continuous interspersions, where ‘ethnic absolutism’ has no place, “where ‘race’ will no longer be a meaningful device for the categorisation of human beings” (Gilroy, 1993: 218).

Associated with this is the view that ‘multiple, shifting and, at times, nonsynchronous identities are the norms for individuals’ (May, 2001: 39).

May highlights what he sees as a weakness in ‘hybridity’, the way in which it is seen by some theorists as the automatic result of a world in which identities are fragmented and fractured:

The world *is* increasingly one of fractured, and fracturing identities. But these identities are generally *not* hybrid; just the opposite in fact [...] In short, hybridity theory might sound like a good idea, but it is not in the end consonant with many people’s individual and collective experiences (2001: 42-43).

I will illustrate in interview data in Part 2 that some informants describe identities which could be seen as having characteristics of hybridity (I use the term ‘multiple identities’), whilst others describe identities based on ethnic absolutism.

□ Identities and language: the link?

Most of the sociolinguistic literature on language and identity recognises that language can be a component of identity. Edwards (1985), nonetheless, questions the view of language as a key component of identity, suggesting that the essence of group identity is *individual* identity, and that the essence of individual identity, ultimately, is *survival, personal security and well-being*. He goes on to suggest that if language hinders these ‘essential factors’, it will be deemed a negotiable commodity (1985: 98).

May (2000) offers a view which is more common in the literature: that language can be ‘a contingent marker of ethnic identity’, and in some cases, a key factor. He suggests that the link encompasses political and cultural aspects, as individual and social identities are mediated through language (May, 2000: 373). Similarly, Gumperz (1982: 66) sees the association between communicative style and group identity as a symbolic one, not one that can directly predict actual usage.

In the recent literature, authors focus on particular aspects of language and of identity formation. For example, Pavlenko and Blackledge’s (2004) comprehensive work on negotiation of identity in multilingual settings, is based upon the premise that language choice and attitude are linked intrinsically to political arrangements,

relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors' views of their own and others' identities. Pavlenko and Blackledge support a post-structuralist framework to situate the negotiation of identities within larger socioeconomic, sociohistoric, and sociopolitical processes, arguing that this is more context-sensitive than approaches offered by social psychology (Giles & Byrne, 1982) or interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) (2004: 3). They argue that their approach captures the complexity of identities in postmodern societies, where languages may be both 'markers of identity' and sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination (2004: 3-4).

Pavlenko and Blackledge also critique the approach of Scotton (1983, 1988), who analyses language and identities via a markedness model, in which talk is seen as a negotiation of rights and obligations between interlocutors, based on the assumption that speakers have knowledge of 'indexicality', that is of marked and unmarked language choices: unmarked choice is seen as recognising the status quo as the basis for the speech event, whilst the marked choice is interpreted as representing a negotiation of rights and obligations (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 7). They highlight a weakness of indexicality that I will highlight in interviews and recordings of interactions in Part 2 of the study: that individuals may construct identities around the language practices of groups they do not belong to by crossing codes (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 9).³⁶

Gal (1988) focuses on groups' linguistic exchanges and codeswitching, along with other social practices, arguing that the construction of *self* and *other* is negotiated within a broader political, economic and historical context (Gal, 1988: 247). Reid (2002) also highlights as salient a self-other dichotomy in the analysis of interactions between (*self*) *autochthonous* and (*other*) *allochthonous* minorities.

In stressing the role of language as 'constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity', Norton (2000) emphasises the manner in which relations of power in the social world impact on social interaction between second language learners and target language speakers (Norton, 2000: 4-5).

Schechter & Bayley (1997) focus on the relationship between language and *cultural identity* in the language socialisation practices of four Mexican-descent families in the US: their informants defined themselves in terms of their Mexican or

³⁶ I will discuss 'code crossing' (Rampton, 1995) in more detail in the next chapter.

Mexican American cultural heritage, but were oriented differently to the Spanish language as a vehicle for affirmation of their group identity.

Bailey (2000) focuses on language as a key determiner of self-identification in his study of Dominican immigrants in the United States who describe themselves as *Spanish* and *Hispanic* to counter what Bailey refers to as the 'phenotype-based' racial terms "Black" or "African American" that are ascribed to them by others in the United States (Bailey, 2000: 555). Of course, the likelihood of either Bailey's Dominican informant, *Wilson*, or of my Dominican informant *Claudia*, describing themselves as *Spanish* to counter racialised terms in the contexts of Catalonia is remote. Yet Bailey's conclusion is of interest to today's new migrants in Catalonia, particularly in terms of how identities are ascribed to new visible minorities. Bailey concludes that everyday enactment of a Dominican American identity involves the negotiation of disparities between self-ascription and other-ascription of identity (Bailey, 2000: 556), and that such linguistic identities can be ascribed via bilingual *and* monolingual interactions, both points of relevance to this study.³⁷

With specific reference to what he sees as the importance of language in the definition of *Catalan* identity, Castells (2001) argues that, over hundreds of years, language has been the sign of identification of being Catalan, together with democratic political institutions of self-government when they were not suppressed. He suggests that whilst Catalan nationalists define as a Catalan anyone who lives and works in Catalonia, they would also add that this person should *want* to be a Catalan. And, according to Castells (2001, 48-9), the sign of wanting to be a Catalan is speaking the language, or trying to, which is interpreted by Catalans as a real sign of willingness. Castells also cites political factors: language, it is argued, is the easiest way 'to expand, and reproduce, the Catalan population without resorting to criteria of territorial sovereignty that would necessarily collide with the territoriality of the Spanish state'. Finally, he offers, an additional, more fundamental answer, related to language as a system of codes that crystallises historically 'a cultural configuration that allows for symbolic sharing without worshipping of icons other than those emerging in everyday life's communication'. These three reasons, Castells suggests,

³⁷ The Colombian islands of San Andres and Providencia come to my mind as an interesting comparison of language as a key determiner of self and other identity. Despite being an outsider, I was greeted and welcomed as an insider '*You is my broda*' by native islanders on several occasions, due simply to the fact that I was not a *shark-head*, a Spanish-speaking Colombian mainlander. This acceptance was even the case when I struggled with the local Bendé variety of English Creole and switched to Spanish.

are the reasons why nations without states may be organised around linguistic communities, even though the common language itself does not make the nation.

I would add that the process works both ways, and from the *outsider's* perspective the reasons do not necessarily hold water. Firstly, I would accept that nationalists may consider anyone who speaks or wants to speak Catalan as being Catalan; this, however, has traditionally been the case regarding less 'visible', and 'culturally-closer', Iberian Spanish migrants. Today's new migrants are often visible minorities, and from very distinct cultural backgrounds; in many cases their mere physical appearance results in Catalans ascribing them non-Catalan identities, and speaking to them in Castilian, even if they are able to speak Catalan. In this case, new migrants' ability, or willingness, to speak Catalan does not necessarily lead to inclusion. Moreover, from the outsiders' perspective, attempting to speak Catalan as a sign of wanting to be Catalan does not appear to make much sense. I personally have attempted to speak Catalan and not felt in the least Catalan. Similarly, my most Catalan-sympathetic informant, Claudia, speaks Catalan but describes herself as 'more Dominican' as years go by. Moreover, Castells' reference to the linguistic expansion and reproduction of the Catalan population is a simplistic, dated view, based on an essentialist view of language being the key determiner of national identity, although it may be an option given the extremely low 'Catalan' birth rate in Catalonia.

To sum up, I follow May's view (2000) that language can be a contingent marker of ethnic identities (and others) and sometimes a key factor when considering the role of language in identity formation in Catalonia. Catalonia evidently represents an example of a society where there *is* a complex inter-relationship between self/group/other identity formation and language, culture, politics, and nationhood, all of which are negotiated, and competed for, in social and cultural spaces that are often linguistically charged.

□ Conclusion to Chapter 3

In this chapter, I have discussed nationhood, minority group status, language policies and processes of identity formation.

Within these aspects, Spanish-speaking Latin Americans fit awkwardly: a broad sociolinguistic minority, and speakers of Latin American varieties of the official language of the Spanish state. Added to this is the view that I have stated that the

position of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia highlights weaknesses in the concepts of ‘linguistic human rights’ and ‘national/polyethnic group rights’.

Behind the issues and contradictions surrounding the position of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans vis à vis Catalan linguistic normalisation is a factor that is out of the control of language policy-makers: globalisation. Consequently, linguistic normalisation finds itself at a key juncture, no more so than in the decisions that policy-makers take about how to meet these new challenges. Globalisation has brought new agents into the language planning arena, who can either be welcomed and embraced, or perceived as a new threat to Catalan’s status as the exclusive minority language, and culture, to be protected by law in Catalonia.

My discussion of identity formation was of relevance not only to language planners aiming to create or consolidate certain preferred identities; it is also of relevance to individuals’ sociolinguistic agencies. In Part 2, I will analyse informants’ interview responses to questions about their identities. I will also develop further my view that it is along informants’ paths of migration, and of identity formation, that epistemologies develop in many different ways, and that these epistemologies can play a part in determining how individuals construct Catalan: decisions about whether or not to learn Catalan, or to use it in interactions, and their conflicting interpretations of being addressed in Catalan.

I described Catalonia not as a ‘nation without a state’, but as a contested nation, with some characteristics of statehood. Such a description raises important questions, and even questions the legitimacy of a nationalist project which is attempting to form/consolidate a Catalan nation based around a language during a period of increasing multicultural and multilingual change in Catalonia. At the heart of this debate around legitimacy is the contradiction of a Catalan linguistic minority within the Spanish state promoting a programme of linguistic normalisation that limits not only the institutional position of Castilian, the official language of the Spanish state, but also the rights of new allochthonous minority groups.

The issues that I have discussed in this chapter raise two key questions that I will return to as part of my data analysis in Part 2, and as part of my answers to my two main research questions:

[i] Are language policies meeting their aims, and the needs of all the people living in Catalonia?

[ii] Is a model that positions Catalan in institutionally preferential positions justifiable or even tenable?

4. LANGUAGE AS RECURSIVE SOCIAL PRACTICE

Having discussed key macro-structural issues in Chapters 2 and 3 above, I will now change the focus to individual sociolinguistic agency. In this chapter, my focus is on the following: the defining characteristics of bilingualism and codeswitching; norms of language use in Catalonia; and the reasons why conflicting constructions of Catalan may arise. I will end the chapter by presenting the analytic approach that I will employ to bring together the macro and micro strands of the study: *language as recursive social practice*.

The issues raised in this chapter will serve toward answering my first micro-level research question: [i] *How are Spanish-speaking Latin Americans constructing Catalan, and why are individuals constructing the language in conflicting ways?*

4.1 Bilingualism and codeswitching

□ What is bilingualism?

Traditional definitions of bilingualism specify ‘native-like control of two languages’ (Bloomfield, 1933: 56), ‘the practice of alternately using two [or more] languages’ (Weinreich, 1953: 1), and ‘complete meaningful utterances in the other language’ (Haugen, 1953: 7) (in Romaine, 1989: 10). Edwards (1994a), meanwhile, appears to suggest that, theoretically, virtually every one could be described as bilingual; even a speaker with a passive understanding of a number of terms in another language. Edwards also mentions the importance of accent and dialect, suggesting that ‘we are all bidialectal, multi-accented, and have available a range of speaking styles’ (Edwards, 1994a: 78).

Other features of bilingualism are that it can be *passive* or *receptive* when individuals understand utterances in a language but have no productive ability (Romaine, 1989: 10), and can involve a *functional division of speech repertoire* (Spolsky, 1998: 26), for example, speaking in one language but writing in another. Bilingualism can also be *subtractive*, where the host community language is learnt at the expense of the L1, particularly where the L1 is not prestigious (Lambert, 1975, in Turell, 2001: 14), or the opposite, *additive*.

I have selected Skutnabb-Kangas’ definition of bilingualism (1984: 90) as a good example of what I believe bilingualism *is* and *is not*:

A bilingual speaker is someone who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or bilingual communities, in accordance with the sociocultural demands made on an individual's communicative and cognitive competence by these communities or by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able positively to identify with both (or all) language groups (and cultures) or parts of them.

My first argument is that such definitions can never be viewed as definitive in such a multi-faceted phenomenon as bilingualism. I believe that the definition above is typical of academic definitions that do not represent what something is, but rather what an author believes something should ideally be. I believe that definitions of what bilingualism *is* can only be understood in relative terms, as reflections of specific sociolinguistic settings and individuals in them. And I consider definitions of what bilingualism *should be* to be essentially political and ideological. And in terms of language policy, I believe that policies based on what bilingualism *is* are more likely to succeed, but may be less likely to please voters than those based on what planners believe bilingualism *should be*.

Where I would differ most strongly with Skutnabb-Kangas' definition above is in the view that a bilingual speaker should be able to perform in two or more languages at the same level as native speakers. This clearly takes us back to the outdated definitions of Bloomfield and Weinreich from the 1930s and 1950s. Such a defining feature does not allow for differing competences in the different skill areas in different languages. It would also exclude many in the world who could be defined as, or who would consider themselves to be, bilingual.

I do, nonetheless, believe that Skutnabb-Kangas offers several aspects of bilingualism that relate directly to the focuses of this study, and which are lacking in many other definitions. Firstly, Skutnabb-Kangas mentions bilinguals functioning *either in monolingual and bilingual communities*; this is very relevant to many bilingual settings – some bilinguals in Catalonia, as in Québec/Canada, operate in certain settings as double/dual monolinguals (Heller, 1999; 2001), functioning in two languages but often in discrete monolingual environments with less mixing or switching of codes. Secondly, the above definition mentions the importance of functioning *in accordance with the sociocultural demands made on an individual's communicative and cognitive competence by these communities or by the individual herself*; this is of relevance to informants in this study in terms of going through the processes of code selection, and interpreting being addressed in one code or another.

I will now offer a definition of the term 'bilingual/ism' for this study. Firstly, my use of the terms 'bilingual' and 'multilingual' should be understood as being generically related in the sense that bilingualism is a form of multilingualism that involves two languages. My use of the term 'bilingual' can refer to interactions where two languages are being used, or where speakers of two different languages communicate monolingually by negotiating the code for interaction; I use 'multilingual' when more than two languages are involved.

As the basis of my definition, I see bilingualism as a multiplicity of individual social practices, not something that is; it is something that can be, or should be, or something that is in degrees rather than an all-encompassing totality. However, within the degrees, I see certain general principles.

Bilingualism can be characterised by, but does not require, 'native-like control of two languages' (Bloomfield, 1933), 'alternate use' (Weinreich, 1953), or 'complete meaningful utterances in the other language' (Haugen, 1953). On the contrary, bilingualism can involve less than native-like control in one of the languages, particularly where it is passive or receptive. Moreover, bilingual speakers can express themselves in interactions with speakers of other languages monolingually without alternation, particularly in 'dual monolingual' settings. And regarding meaningful utterances, they can never be completely meaningful in an objective, constant sense if it is accepted that meanings are negotiated intersubjectively by both interlocutors and affected by wider societal phenomena or by tone of voice, for example.

In terms of the view that virtually everyone could conceivably be considered to be bilingual (Edwards, 1994a), I would draw the line when it comes to individuals whose understandings of a few terms are limited to what I will call 'objective dictionary definitions'. In other words, I consider that the tourist on holiday in Spain who can merely understand 'por favor' is not bilingual. Wider pragmatic meanings of the term that relate to use in everyday life should also be understood: for example, depending on who is speaking to whom, where, for what purpose, in what tone.

With specific reference to Catalonia, bilingualism can also be functionally divided (Spolsky, 1998): for example, older generation Catalan speakers who only write in Castilian. And, importantly in new migrant contexts, bilingualism can be subtractive or additive. Nonetheless, I see the term 'additive' as a relative one. Whilst knowledge of Catalan is without doubt additive for Castilian/Spanish speakers in Catalonia, this is linked to whether it is perceived as such. For those not intending to stay in

Catalonia, for those living and working within a sociolinguistic enclave community where Catalan is not needed (many exist), or for those unlikely to gain access to the resources of progress associated with bilingualism, the additive benefits of learning Catalan may be less tangible.

□ What is codeswitching?

Codeswitching has been described in a number of ways: codeswitching (Gumperz, 1982; Heller 1988a, 1992, 1995; Romaine, 1989); code alternation (Auer, 1995); code crossing (Rampton, 1995); and code mixing (Haugen, 1972; Heller, 1992).

Romaine defines codeswitching as ‘the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems’ (Romaine, 1989: 111). Codeswitching can be conversational, situational, and metaphorical. Gumperz uses the term conversational codeswitching, which involves the juxtaposing of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems within the same speech exchange (Gumperz, 1982). Whilst this may be quite common in many multilingual settings, it may be less so in Catalonia, particularly after the initial negotiation of code choice. Situational codeswitching (Blom and Gumperz, 1972) suggests that specific social situations, and their related role relationships, are linked to specific varieties in the linguistic repertoire of communities. It is argued that certain varieties are used in certain settings, and associated with separate types of activities or categories of speakers. Metaphorical codeswitching refers to the use of a linguistic variety in contexts which call into question its associated meanings in conventional situations. In such cases, an unexpected variety is seen to represent a metaphor for the social meanings that the expected variety has come to symbolise (Heller, 1988b: 4-5), involving a ‘suspension of meanings’.

One form of metaphorical codeswitching is code crossing. Rampton (1995) analyses the code crossing of youths in the UK involving the following codes: Panjabi, English Creole, and Stylised Asian English. Rampton defines crossing as follows:

Crossing [...] focuses on code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ. It is concerned with switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you. This kind of switching, in which

there is a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries, raises issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate (1995: 280).

According to Rampton, crossing occurs in many forms, which are influenced by socio-historical factors, local social relationships, and specific interactional dynamics, impacting upon normal social relations:

The ethnolinguistic boundary transgression inherent in code-crossing responded to, or produced, liminal moments and activities, when the ordered flow of habitual social life was loosened and when normal social relations could not be taken for granted (Rampton, 1995: 281).

Finally, it may not always be easy to attribute clear meanings to codeswitching, particularly to what has been described as ‘code mixing’. Haugen suggests that code mixing implies the creation of ‘an entirely new entity and the disappearance of both constituents...suggesting a jumbling of a more or less haphazard nature’ (1972: 80). The interpretation of meanings in such instances may be problematic, as two linguistic varieties may alternate in an interaction, particularly in fast speech, without creating meaning through the code changes themselves (Poplack, 1988; Heller, 1992).³⁸

In this study, I will use the term ‘codeswitching’ in an extended sense as used by Heller, ‘to refer not only to inter-sentential switching, but also to less structurally integrated instances of language alternation or language choice’ (Heller, 1995: 59). In an extended sense, I would also use the term ‘codeswitching’ to refer to changes of code in interactions between speakers of distinct varieties of Spanish/Castilian. An interesting point here is what is meant by code. In Romaine’s view, which I follow, a code also refers to ‘varieties of the same language as well as styles within a language’ (Romaine, 1989: 111).

My definition of ‘codeswitching’, therefore, refers to the use of more than one language, or variety, within the same interaction, but not necessarily in the same passage of speech or utterance. Under such a definition, codeswitching may involve ‘code alternation’ between distinct interlocutors, for example when an individual addresses some group members in Catalan and others in Spanish/Castilian. I will use the term ‘code selection’ to refer to the process of deciding which code to speak. This distinction is important, as code selection does not always involve a change of code

³⁸ The term ‘mixing’ often came up in discussions with informants; their usage did not refer to this jumbled form, but rather to codeswitching in a general sense. In such cases, I use ‘mix/ing’ as a translation of the Catalan *barrejar* or the Spanish *mezclar*. If referring to Haugen’s ‘mixing’, I will use ‘code mixing’.

between interlocutors. At times, code selection may be negotiated through limited switching, before Spanish/Castilian or Catalan is selected, whilst on other occasions the process of selection, cued by physical appearance for example, does not involve any switching.

In many interactions in Catalonia, there is little or no ‘conversational codeswitching’ or ‘code mixing’ after code selection has been negotiated. It was argued by Woolard (1988) that the lack of conversational codeswitching in Barcelona is for two reasons: first, the prestige of in-group Catalan, which reduces the usefulness of switches to Castilian to invoke power, authority, formality etc.; and second, because the predominant interlocutor cue for code choice is seen to be linked to generalised anxiety about ethnic boundaries. The anxiety may be related to how ‘conversational’ switches might be interpreted or misinterpreted. For example, an other interlocutor’s switch to Catalan, say, in the middle of an utterance, may be interpreted as having wider political connotations by a Castilian or Spanish speaker who feels that their appearance or accent readily identifies them as non-Catalan. In Part 2, I will present the example of José Luis, a Colombian informant, who forms negative interpretations of such conversational switches.

Rampton’s crossing could be applied as ‘excluded’ new migrants, perhaps with negative perceptions of Catalan, or a sense of not belonging, move across their perceived boundaries and negotiate the social legitimacy of using Catalan. However, Rampton’s usage can be understood in terms of, for example, crossing from Panjabi to creolised forms of English (neither code being an institutionally powerful UK variety); in contrast, crossing in the contexts of my study would involve crossing from a variety of Latin American Spanish into Catalan (Catalan being an institutionally powerful variety). In Part 2, I will illustrate how the crossing of two informants, Mariana (Venezuelan) and Iliana (Colombian) highlight this particular form of crossing. My data will illustrate that instances of metaphorical codeswitching are common in Spanish-speaking Latin Americans’ interactions in Catalonia. Two examples are [i] unexpected uses of Catalan in mainly-Spanish/Castilian interactions (in-group and inter-group), for a number of pragmatic-rhetorical effects; and [ii] incorporation of very marked Latin American Spanish into mainly-Catalan interactions (inter-group).

4.2 Micro approaches

A clear divide can be found in the literature on social practice, reflected in the literature on bilingualism and language use, between so-called macro and micro approaches.

At a micro level, individual agency is emphasised. Interpretive, hermeneutic approaches to the analysis of human actions focus primarily on action and meaning from the perspective of the cultural and historical experience of individual actors, who are seen to be separate from, and to outweigh, social institutions and constraints upon individuals' behaviour. Such approaches to communication and social practice, based on the individual, or subject, are seen to have their origins in the Lockean model of communication, in which language consists of the acts of free individuals, and where communicational agents determine the significance of their own words, and those of their interlocutors (Taylor, 1992: 202). Such a view has been developed in ethnomethodological approaches, dating back to Garfinkel (1967), which focus on individual agency in communicational interaction. According to ethnomethodology, social reality is locally constructed, and communicational understanding is a 'local' and practical accomplishment of voluntary agents who are acting within particular interactional circumstances (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001: 6; Taylor, 1992: 203). Communication is thus viewed as human social action through 'the sequential architecture' of intersubjectivity, turn and adjacency structure, and sequences of conversation (Taylor, 1992: 221), rather than through the structuralist and functionalist lenses of wider social or structural constraints.

In such a linguistically-politicised setting as Barcelona, a solely micro approach would over-emphasise the choice speakers have in expressing their intentions, as well as the degree to which bilinguals can consciously monitor and control their use of language (Martin-Jones, 1989: 114). However, in some cases a micro approach may appear to be of use: couples may use one particular language simply because that is the language that they first 'met in'; or monolingual Castilian/Spanish speakers without even passive understanding of Catalan may simply have no other option than to communicate in Castilian or Spanish. In these bilingual interactions, Romaine's stated view that micro factors override macro ones, and that the bilingual individual is the ultimate locus of language contact (Romaine, 1989: 7) has some value. Yet, if a bilingual couple speak to each other in Castilian/Spanish because that is the language

they 'met in', the question remains: why did they meet in Castilian/Spanish not Catalan? Similarly, in interactions with monolingual new migrants, the question could be asked: why have they not learnt Catalan? The answers to these questions can only be found in a dual approach that combines macro and micro, as even where micro factors appear to be in the foreground, in the background, or in the mind of interlocutors, macro factors are always present. Or, as pointed out by Heller & Martin-Jones (2001), while ethnomethodology allows us to understand that social reality is locally constructed, it does not allow us to understand why people make the interactional moves that they make. Actors are thus seen as engaging in social positioning in the face of the constraints, possibilities open to them (Giddens, 1984) available resources, and in terms of their interests in the production and distribution of the symbolic and material resources that they may possess or wish to possess (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001: 6).

4.3 Macro approaches

The reference above to symbolic resources is linked to the view of human social practice operating in a symbolic market (Bourdieu, 1994). Bourdieu argues that a symbolic market is lived out and negotiated by individuals in their daily lives, and that social actors require symbolic resources (for example, cultural and linguistic knowledge) in order to gain access to the material, social and educational resources that they require to progress socially. Bourdieu's view is that the most powerful market in the symbolic economy is the linguistic market, as linguistic interactions reflect and produce social structure, particularly in exchanges involving agents who occupy asymmetric positions in the distribution of the relevant capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 145, in Roberts & Sarangi, 2001). Interlocutors, in this sense, seek and gain linguistic capital as consumers in a market (Bourdieu, 1994: 66). Dominated groups are seen to lack symbolic capital in this market, thus limiting their ability to progress. Education is seen to be the key field, a form of 'social space', due to its central role in reproducing the linguistic market.

Adaptations of Bourdieu's work can be found in several key macro-oriented texts on multilingual language use. May (2001) focuses on Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus': the social and cultural experiences that shape individuals' views of the world, which form an orientation to social action (May, 2001: 45). May highlights the recursive

nature of the habitus: recursively shaped by and shaping the objective and subjective social and cultural conditions surrounding it (May, 2001: 45), in which agents' social action will more commonly have the effect of reproducing, rather than transforming, existing norms and practice (May, 2001: 46). The collective habitus of dominant social groups is normally constituted as cultural capital of social value, whilst that of dominated groups is not (May, 2001: 48).

Heller (2001) is also influenced by Bourdieu, highlighting the concept 'legitimate language':

uttered by a legitimate speaker, ... uttered in a legitimate situation, ... and addressed to legitimate receivers; ... formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms ... except when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer (Bourdieu, 1977: 650, in Heller, 2001).

According to Heller, the essence of Bourdieu's legitimate language centres on the view that 'who we are constrains to whom we can speak, under what circumstances, and...*how*' (Heller, 2001: 382). And it is the discourse practices of dominant groups that both construct and legitimise dominant language forms. In an earlier collection of works (1988a), Heller argued that by situating codeswitching in levels of embedded contexts, codeswitching can be seen as functioning as a strategy for defining and negotiating social relations, linking this to the maintenance, creation and dissolution of social boundaries (Heller, 1988c: 265). In this light, codeswitching is seen as linked to the distribution of community resources within a community market: a 'boundary-levelling' or 'boundary-maintaining' strategy, which contributes to the definition of roles and role relationships at a number of levels. As such, codeswitching relates to 'linguistic and social processes in the interpretation of experience and the construction of social reality', and can be situated in the context of the 'community-wide distribution of linguistic resources (the community speech economy) (Heller, 1988b: 1-2).

Norton (2000) emphasises the importance of power relations between interlocutors in unequal encounters. Norton uses 'power relations' to refer to 'the socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions and communities through which symbolic and material resources in a society are produced, distributed and validated'; by symbolic resources, she refers to resources such as language, education and friendship, as opposed to material resources such as capital goods, real estate and money (Norton, 2000: 7). Norton links her definition of power to that of

Foucault (1980): power, it is argued, does not only operate at the macro level of powerful institutions such as the legal system, the education system and the social welfare system, but also at the micro level of everyday social encounters between people with differential access to symbolic and material resources. These encounters are inevitably produced within language (Norton, 2000: 7).

An application of Bourdieu's 'symbolic market' to the complex situation of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, where a symbolic market operates in many conflicting directions, is possible but problematic. In the contexts of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, distinct markets are negotiated depending on the interlocutors: between Latin Americans and Catalan speakers, Latin Americans and Castilian speakers, and within and between different Latin American groups. Moreover, whilst Catalan speakers are often portrayed as a dominant, elite speech community in Catalonia in social, economic, institutional and cultural terms, the cultural and social resources of Catalonia are by no means the exclusive reserve of native Catalan speakers. They too have to negotiate, and contest, a symbolic market in their daily lives. This often takes place in Castilian with Castilian/Spanish speakers (and often with fellow Catalan speakers), particularly in domains where Castilian has 'symbolic' dominance; in many cases, this means moving from the 'legitimate phonology and syntax' of Catalan mother tongue to what is often the marked phonology and syntax of a Catalan speaker speaking Castilian.

Several alternative macro approaches to the study of language use in multilingual settings have analysed language use according to other wider structural factors: political aspects and the nation state (Grillo, 1989); international political and economic factors and struggles for symbolic and material power (Gal, 1988); state structures and regional identities (Lecours, 2001).

□ Domains and diglossia

Two key macro perspectives on multilingual language use are 'diglossia' and 'domains'.

A number of less recent, macro-oriented works have had a lasting impact on the field of sociolinguistics (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967 & 1972a) by emphasising 'diglossia': the functional differentiation of languages in bilingual communities (Martin-Jones: 1989: 106).

The term diglossia can be dated back to Ferguson (1959: 325-340) to refer to the inter-relationship between two or more varieties of the same language in different functions, High (H) and Low (L). Ferguson argued that this relationship is governed by wider societal factors in a speech community. The scope of the term was widened by Fishman (1967) to include different varieties within different languages. Later, Fishman (1972b) established four contexts for bilingualism and diglossia: both diglossia and bilingualism; bilingualism without diglossia; diglossia without bilingualism; neither diglossia nor bilingualism (Fishman 1972b: 75). Fishman's argument in 1972 was based on the view that the use within a society of separate codes (and their stable maintenance rather than the displacement of one by the other over time) depends on each code serving functions that are distinct from those considered appropriate for the other code (Fishman 1972b: 73-4).

Despite oversimplifying the effect of structural factors on individuals' language use, diglossia as a concept is of some relevance to modern Spain. It has been argued that a form of enforced diglossia (Woolard & Gahng, 1990: 314) was perpetuated (Castilian H and Catalan L) during the Franco dictatorship; official, formal status was accorded to Castilian, with Catalan limited to the domains of the home and non-formal functions. Catalan was given the legal status of a 'mere dialect' within the Spanish state. Linguistic Normalisation of the Catalan language aims to reverse such diglossic norms of language use established during the Franco years.³⁹

In the contexts of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, a clear H-L dichotomy does not exist. As mentioned above, 'enforced diglossia' during the Franco years placed Catalan as an L code within the Spanish state. Today, however, Catalan is in many respects the H code in Catalonia, as linguistic normalisation has positioned Catalan as the legitimate language in institutional settings and as the defining feature of being a member of the Catalan nation. This does not mean, however, that Castilian has been relegated entirely to an L position. Whilst Latin American and Andalusian varieties may be associated with lower socio-economic status, Castilian remains H in many social contexts, and very present in institutional ones. Equally, Latin American Spanish carries with it considerable cultural weight and popular prestige as the global language of what has become much-commercialised Latino culture. Therefore, a diglossia framework over-generalises in terms of H and L code in a highly complex

³⁹ The concept *reverse diglossia* is mentioned in Fishman (1991: 313) in relation to Catalonia.

sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia today. A focus which would better reflect the complexities that I have described so far would be one of language as heteroglossic, and related to multiple socio-historical and ideological voices (Bakhtin, 1981). Such a focus is applied by Pujolar, who argues that the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia is characterised more by *heteroglossia*, ‘the socially stratified diversity of speech forms’ (Pujolar, 2001: 1). An additional aspect of this highly complex H-L inter-relationship is that it can be surprising and confusing for outsiders; this will be seen in Part 2 when informants describe their first contact with Catalan.

Another macro-oriented approach that has been suggested as a marker of language use is ‘domain’. Fishman (1965) defines a domain as a ‘cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules’ to account for patterns of language choice in a bilingual community (Milroy & Muysken, 1995: 5-6). It was argued by Fishman (1972a) and Hymes (1972) that in distinct social domains, specific rules or norms govern usage, and that such norms dictate that only one of the theoretically coavailable languages or varieties will be selected by particular interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics.

Saville-Troike (1989) summarises the factors determining domains as follows: [i] the topic, or general subject area under discussion (e.g. religion, family, work); [ii] the role-relationships between the participants (e.g. priest-parishioner, mother-daughter, boss-secretary, including age, sex and social status); and [iii] the setting of the interaction (e.g. church, home, office setting; including locale and time of day). Different levels of focus are also salient in different communities: e.g. societal-institutional (family, school, church, government) versus social-psychological (intimate, informal, formal, intergroup, including personality states) (Saville-Troike, 1989: 51-2; 74-6).⁴⁰ Whilst I am not suggesting in this study that domains are consistent markers of language use, the numbered factors above are of some relevance to this study. One informant referred to using Catalan for formal discussion at work but Castilian for jokes [i]; one uses Catalan with one parent, Castilian with the other [ii]; another mentioned Catalan in libraries and Castilian in bars [iii]. In terms of a societal-institutional focus, several referred to Catalan in the classroom and Castilian in the playground; and societal-psychological: using Catalan for fun (in-group and inter-group).

⁴⁰ Fishman (1972a: 443-4) mentions domain congruence and incongruence, (for example if you meet a clergyman at the racetrack).

My use of the term ‘domain’, therefore, should be understood as referring to domains as abstract discursive spaces where certain patterns of language use may be traditionally more common than others, but spaces in which individuals do not make consistent choices about which code to use.

□ Other approaches to analysing language use in multilingual settings

The work of several authors has focused on sociolinguistic ‘norms of practice’. Individuals following perceived norms of practice can be seen to be reflecting state ideologies, constructed through language, over issues such as language values, or language of privilege (Gal 1993; Heller, 1999), and may be following norms that are closely related to what are perceived to be correct and standard forms. The application and adaptation of norms/conventions in interactions is addressed by Heller & Martin-Jones, who use the term ‘ritualization’ to refer to ‘a range of conventions that organize the place of linguistic varieties (and their speakers) in discursive space’; this involves, among other factors, the construction of interactional floors and stages (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001: 9). The discursive construction of floors is seen as part of the regulation of displays of knowledge, or legitimate practices. The term ‘stages’ dates back to Goffman’s distinction between front stage and back stage (Goffman 1956, 1974, in Heller & Martin Jones, 2001). Discursive practices can be placed ‘back stage’, to avoid contradicting front-stage affairs; in other words, certain forms of social order are reproduced covertly back stage, through symbolic practices that mask their operation (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001: 9).

A collection of primarily structural-descriptive studies of multilingualism and language use in Spain can be found in Turell (2001), describing patterns of language behaviour in different contexts in Spain such as codeswitching, borrowing, syntactic calque, semantic calque, and domains of language use. Another possible structural-descriptive approach to codeswitching is to focus on constraint at sentence level. Two such examples are mentioned in Poplack’s (1988) analysis of Spanish/English codeswitching in Puerto Rico, which revealed that there were two general syntactic constraints on where intrasentential switching would occur: the free morpheme constraint, which prohibits mixing morphologies within the confines of a word, and the equivalence constraint, which requires that the surface word order of the two languages be homologous in the vicinity of the switch point (Poplack, 1988: 219).

Such structural-descriptive approaches tend to focus on describing *how* rather than asking *why*, and are thus limited in terms of answering all of the research questions for this study. One possible approach to asking *why* is to analyse multilingual language use according to *the social psychology of language* in studies such as Genesee and Bourhis (1982) and Ryan and Giles (1982), cited in Heller (1988b). These studies analyse the evaluative inferences that interlocutors make in language interactions in terms of speakers' social and personality characteristics, and also their willingness to accommodate their own conventions of behaviour to those of the interlocutor. Whilst the focus on 'accommodation' is very relevant to this study, as will be discussed below in section 4.4, such studies typically employ experimental approaches, with samples simulated and controlled (Heller, 1988b: 13), which does not match the methodological approach that I will present in Chapter 5. Giles and Byrne's (1982) theory of ethnolinguistic identity recognises language to be a salient marker of ethnic identity and group membership and focuses on the 'ethnolinguistic vitality' of languages. The assumption is that members of groups with low in-group identification, low in-group vitality and open in-group, and strong identification with other groups are more likely to assimilate and learn dominant languages (in Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 4). Again, this focus cannot address many of the issues I am addressing in this study; or, as stated by Pavlenko and Blackledge, such an approach oversimplifies and overessentialises by assuming that group members are homogeneous, uniform and bounded in ethnolinguistic communities, thus obscuring the 'hybrid identities and complex linguistic repertoires of bi- and multilinguals living in a contemporary global world' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 5).

4.4 Spanish-speaking Latin Americans constructing Catalan: my approach

Many sociolinguistic studies have discussed issues related to bilingualism, codeswitching and norms of language use in Catalonia, focusing mainly on interactions between speakers of Castilian and Catalan. Among the most notable major sociolinguistic studies on Catalonia in recent years are Woolard (1989), Pujolar (2001), and related chapters in Turell (2001).

Woolard (1989) refers to two key norms of sociolinguistic practice in Catalonia: the so-called 'accommodation' and 'bilingual' norms (Woolard, 1989). In its general sense, Spolsky defines *accommodation* as 'a common tendency for the pronunciation

of the two [codes] to move slightly closer together' or for two individuals to modify their speech in the direction of the new norm or interlocutor (Spolsky, 1998: 42). Issues of social status and prestige of individuals and their languages are closely related to accommodation; and, as stated by Edwards, accommodation can be upward and downward, towards or away from high status speech variants (Edwards, 1994a: 82-3).

Use of the term 'accommodation norm' (Woolard, 1989) with reference to language use in Catalonia refers specifically to the common practice of Catalan speakers switching to Castilian in interactions with Castilian speakers (and today, speakers of Latin American Spanish, and of other new migrant languages). Such accommodation would typically involve identification of the other speaker in terms of membership of speech community, then code selection (with or without code switching), and then often a mainly monolingual interaction in Castilian.

The accommodation norm, of course, means that less Catalan is being spoken and it also denies those who are learning Catalan real language practice with native Catalan speakers. The social use of Castilian by Catalan speakers maintained through the accommodation norm is thus viewed by some Catalan commentators as a danger to the survival of Catalan. The accommodation norm leads commentators such as Prats et al (1990: 60-2, in Strubell, 2001) to believe that Catalan is facing unprecedented danger due to the prevalence of social bilingualism in the Catalan-speaking community. Such commentators see social bilingualism as unstable, and thus a risk, as Castilian is in effect the only language of communication which is truly indispensable in all social domains, whilst there are no domains where Catalan is the only language used (Strubell, 2001: 266). Moreover, once a Catalan speaker selects or switches to Castilian with an unknown interlocutor, this interpersonal norm often sets the precedent for future interactions. As stated by Pujolar (1992), language choice can be "a process embedded in the history of each one-to-one relationship"; after the original process of negotiation, it settles and becomes a norm for interactions between the individuals concerned.

An alternative strategy may be for speakers to practise a form of *reciprocal bilingualism*, described as a 'bilingual norm' (Woolard, 1985; 1989), or 'passive bilingualism' (Pujolar, 2001), in which no switch is made: each interlocutor continues in their own language. I use the term 'reciprocal' with two key aspects of reciprocity

in mind: to refer to an *inverse* form of bilingualism, and one in which each interlocutor maintains their own code *mutually*, rather than switching.

There were hopes among policy-makers during the early years of the normalisation of the Catalan language that reciprocal bilingualism could serve as a first step toward increasing the social use of Catalan, with the Catalan government and voluntary organisations launching public campaigns to promote such a practice (Woolard, 1985; Pujolar, 2001). However, Pujolar cites studies in Catalonia in the late 1980s and early 1990s which found that little ‘passive bilingualism’ was being practised: Tusón (1990) found that Catalan was emerging in classrooms where Catalan was a medium of instruction, but that Castilian was still dominant in other domains; Bastardas (1985, 1986) and Erill et al (1992) carried out quantitative studies in secondary schools which confirmed that Catalan speakers accommodated more than Castilian speakers; Boix’s (1989) study of youth club trainees, and Pujolar’s (1993) studies of young children at immersion school confirmed the findings (cited in Pujolar, 2001: 211).

Today, informants report that among adolescents and university students who have undergone schooling in the Catalan medium, and for whom perceptions of language use and group identities may be changing, reciprocal bilingualism is perhaps becoming more common, particularly in linguistically-mixed groups of known friends/acquaintances. However, it does not appear to be as common as code alternation between distinct interlocutors in mixed groups. According to the data that I have collected, and from personal observation, maintaining reciprocal bilingualism for a whole interaction remains uncommon in the Barcelona area, especially between interlocutors who do not know each other, but is more common in other parts of Catalonia where Catalan is socially stronger. Whilst some parts of the data that I collected involved reciprocal bilingualism, it will later be seen that this was usually limited to a few turns before one interlocutor would switch.

Pujolar (2001) employs a discourse analysis approach in his study of young people in Barcelona, following frameworks set out by Fairclough (1989) and (1992). In his study, Pujolar emphasises power relations on the basis of texts, gender, and the processes that produce and reproduce social disadvantage. He focuses on gender as the key aspect of social identity in the peer-group context; he also mentions ethnicity and class as being important in understanding young people’s cultural practices, especially in their management of heteroglossia, ‘the socially stratified diversity of

speech forms'. Pujolar suggests that young people's incorporation of the ways of speaking of various social groups is part of their symbolic construction and expression of their position in relation to power relations between groups (Pujolar, 2001: 1).

Certainly, in the case of the informants in my study, class and ethnicity are of relevance to the discursive spaces in which constructions of Catalan are negotiated. In this regard, Rampton provides a useful definition of the key aspects of ethnicity for the purposes of sociolinguistic analysis:

ethnicity generally involves some combination of: a sense of place and of a common origin and destiny, shared culture and/or language, a measure of consensus on the evaluation of out-group 'other', active self-identification with the in-group, ascription to it by outsiders, and/or some idea of bio-kinship (Rampton, 1995: 297).

In terms of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, physical appearance or speaking Latin American Spanish can be an immediate identifier of ethnicity at several levels. It will be seen in Part 2 that it is common for informants to be ascribed a 'South American' (meaning Latin American) identity rather than the many national identities. And within these national identities, there are usually several ethnicities: African, indigenous Latin American, European, and others; in most cases, individuals' ethnic backgrounds are a mixture of these. In terms of social class, many informants (although not all as already mentioned) are from urban and rural working classes in their Latin American country of origin (often marginalised). These are positions which they often continue to occupy in Catalonia, particularly in terms of the unskilled work that many are involved in, their socio-economic status and their living conditions. Thus, looking Latin American, or using Latin American Spanish in interactions, would often lead to associated ascriptions of class and ethnicity by other interlocutors. This can relate to the interactional strategies of all interlocutors involved and to their interpretations of the meanings of the use of codes. In particular, for Spanish-speaking Latin Americans at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, Catalan would often be encountered in work and institutional settings which would lead to the language being understood as a language of social prestige and of the middle and upper classes.

Finally, as already mentioned, language use in Catalonia is analysed in Turell (2001). The chapter by Turell & Lavratti (2001), for example, describes patterns of language behaviour in Catalonia, focusing on interference (codeswitching, borrowing,

syntactic calque, semantic calque) and domains of language use of Brazilian new migrants.

One group noticeable by its absence in the literature on Catalonia is Spanish-speaking Latin Americans. The reason for this may be that their mass migration into Catalonia is relatively recent. Another reason is that as *Spanish-speaking new migrants in Catalonia*, they are an allochthonous sociolinguistic minority in the territory of an autochthonous linguistic minority, and speakers of the majority language of the Spanish state. As such, they do not fit tidily into the micro/macro paradigms of the sociolinguistic analysis of linguistic minorities in the general literature or the literature on Catalonia that I have reviewed above. In addition to addressing Spanish-speaking Latin Americans' unusual minority status, my analytic approach needs also to address the language use of new migrants (new agencies) within *new structures*, or *in transition between structures*, as well as several other complex factors/inter-relationships (sociolinguistic agencies that are knowledgeable and reflexive; individual paths of migration and identity formation; globalisation and the fracturing of social, cultural and linguistic practice; and intersections between diachronic and synchronic).

I have consequently aimed to employ a dual approach between the macro and micro approaches reviewed above that would also lend itself to analysis of the many complexities of the complex heteroglossic sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia today. One such dual approach is advocated by Gumperz (1982) between more structural approaches and those that stress individual action and subjectivity. Gumperz's approach offers the possibility for the redefinition of social space on the part of agents (subjective), in key specific, fixed social loci (objective) through the notions of 'contextualisation' and 'rhetorical strategies' (Gumperz, 1982). Contextualisation cues are seen to allow participants in social encounters to reach shared interpretations of meaning, whilst 'rhetorical strategies' are defined as the ways of speaking that develop out of routine interactive experiences (Roberts & Sarangi, 2001: 178). However, Gumperz's approach does not emphasise the recursive nature of language as social practice, which is a necessary focus for this study due to the specific nature of the policy-language dynamic in Catalonia. In terms of recursivity, a key issue centres on whether structures (language policies) can change the agencies of new migrants through positive discrimination or whether these new agencies will inevitably engender change in the structures.

A key theory of *social practice* which conceptualises macro and micro as a recursive duality is Giddens' *structuration theory* (Giddens, 1984). The theory joins the traditions of hermeneutics or interpretative sociology (focusing on the individual) with macro approaches of structural sociology such as structuralism and functionalism (which emphasize the pre-eminence of the social whole over its individual parts) (Giddens, 1984: xx-xxi; 1). Central to structuration theory is the inter-relationship between structure and agency. For Giddens, 'structure' is not a form of *objectivism* that is external to knowledgeable agents in the functionalist or structuralist mould; rather agents are seen to play a part in the construction of structure through their actions. Such human actions are defined as *recursive*, not brought into being by social actors, but continually recreated by them (Giddens, 1984: 2).

Moreover, Giddens' dual approach is more than a practical, even obvious, merging of two opposites. Giddens' theory rejects what is seen as the *dualism* between the concepts of structure and agency, grounded in issues of epistemology and ontology. He argues that the basic domain of study of the social sciences is 'neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time' (Giddens, 1984: 2). Whilst for Giddens the agent is central to the concept of structuration, this does not in itself imply a micro approach based on the individual agent. Instead, the oppositional *dualism* of the 'individual' and 'society' is reconceptualised as the *duality* of agency and structure (Giddens, 1984: 162):

the constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. According to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize (Giddens, 1984: 25).

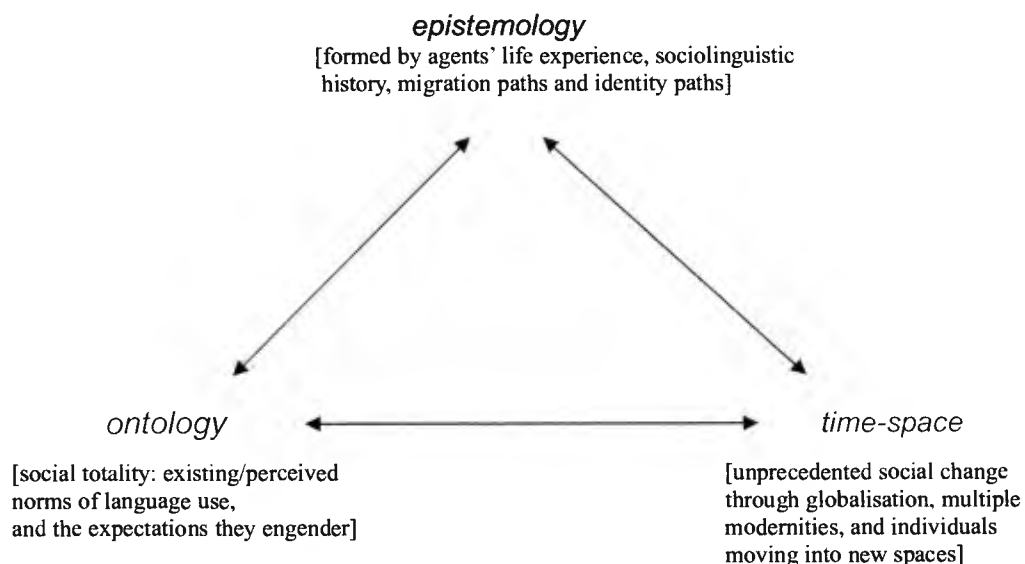
Giddens' view, however, that the basic domain of the study of social science is the ordering of social practice across space and time, rather than personal experience [epistemology] or societal totality [ontology], needs to be rebalanced for the purposes of this study in a way which gives equal weight to *time-space*, *epistemology* and *ontology*.

Giddens' main emphasis on space and time is undoubtedly relevant in view of earlier discussions on the co-existence of multiple modernities and effects of globalisation in Catalonia today. Yet a key focus of this study is individuals'

conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan; whilst the ordering of time and space may be relevant in terms of what individuals do in the daily space and time that they occupy, personal experience and development of personal sociolinguistic histories (epistemological factors) may be more so. I therefore consider that, in order to understand how Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are constructing Catalan, that is their recursive sociolinguistic practice, the cyclical view of structure and agency as a recursive duality is better understood if refocused as taking place within an equally-balanced triangular process of the following:

- epistemology [formed by agents' life experience, sociolinguistic history, migration paths and identity paths];
- ontology [social totality: existing/perceived norms of language use, and the expectations they engender];
- and time-space [unprecedented social change through globalisation, multiple modernities, and individuals moving into new and transitional spaces]

I have illustrated this triangular positioning of informants' language use below:



This view of structure and agency appears to be distinct, or less structuralist, than that of Bourdieu described above. It will be remembered that May described Bourdieu's theory in terms of agents' social action more commonly *reproducing*, rather than *transforming* existing norms and practice (in May, 2001). However, Giddens' structuration theory gives more emphasis and recognition to social actors *reflecting and changing* structures. This would be more in keeping with my key focus, and the

two research questions at the heart of this study: the effects of globalisation on ‘structures’ in Catalonia, and the attempts to mould agencies within these structures.

It is important, however, to avoid a one-sided over-simplification that would portray Spanish-speaking Latin Americans as merely encountering Catalan through their agency within the structure of their own life paths and experience; Catalan is also encountered through *Catalan speakers*, who in turn are making linguistic choices as expressions of their own “agency within structure”. Whilst both groups’ respective “agencies within structure” may converge in a synchronic sense at the level of social and linguistic interaction in daily life paths, their agencies may be based upon distinct diachronic perspectives and epistemological grounding. Many Spanish-speaking Latin Americans may be basing their agency upon sociolinguistic histories, or structures, grounded in Latin American countries where the sense of Spanish monolingualism and nationhood are closely linked, and where ‘other’ languages, in particular the indigenous minority languages of the Americas are socially excluded.⁴¹ In contrast, the agency of many Catalan speakers may be based upon very distinct diachronic perspectives, or epistemologies: those of a linguistic minority group that has undergone centuries of oppression and exclusion within the Spanish state. Thus, constructions and misconstructions of *the code of the other* may take place from both sides.

In the coming discussion and analysis, I will highlight what I see as the key characteristics of the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants that challenge existing sociolinguistic norms and analytic paradigms: the presence of new languages, new and transitional sociolinguistic practices (often based on sociolinguistic practices in other countries), and associated identities. In terms of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, the key aspect is the involvement of a third code in interactions involving Catalan and Castilian, *Latin American Spanish*, which is *allochthonous*, usually perceived as *marked*, and *comprehensible* to Catalan and Castilian speakers, often spoken by members of visible minorities, and which can have the effect of altering existing *bilingual* codeswitching norms.

⁴¹ This would be the case in many Latin American countries where indigenous and allochthonous minority languages have little institutional presence or social prestige. The position of Guaraní in Paraguay would be the most notable exception, and less so, the Atlantic coastal regions of Central American countries, Nicaragua for example, where Creole English has an institutional presence. In both of these cases, however, Spanish is the code of greater national prestige.

In terms of constructing Catalan (incorporation into repertoire and constructions of being addressed in Catalan), I will introduce what I see as two additional concepts: “knowledgeability” and “reflexivity” (Giddens, 1984). Giddens stresses that the knowledgeability and reflexivity of human agents is deeply involved in the recursive ordering of social practice.

Central to Giddens’ theory of structuration is the view that all agents are *knowledgeable* (Giddens, 1984). Participants are seen as knowledgeable in that they know a vast amount about what a system is, and about its normative procedures. In order to ‘bring off’ an interaction, participants are seen to make use of their knowledge of the institutional order in which they are involved in order to make their interchange meaningful. In a similar vein, Bourdieu argues that knowledgeable, reflexive agents assess market conditions in anticipation of responses (Bourdieu, 1994), as part of the process of engaging with ‘market forces’. And it is by invoking the institutional order in this way that they thereby contribute to reproducing it (Giddens, 1984: 330-1).

The key aspect of knowledgeability of relevance to informants’ interactions involving Catalan is their ‘sociolinguistic knowledge’, described earlier as *individuals’ existing understandings of what constitutes ‘normal’ sociolinguistic practice in different contextual settings*. In the case of new migrants, their knowledge of the normative procedures and institutional order (knowledge which is applied in interactions) can be in a stage of transition, or between *old and new structures* when they being to encounter Catalan. In many cases, newly-arrived migrants undoubtedly lack knowledge of the institutional order (the contested place of the Catalan language in Catalan nationhood, identity and institutions) and of many complex sociolinguistic norms (around codeswitching, for example). The same can also apply to Catalan speakers, who may lack experience of interacting with new migrants whose agencies may be based on *other structures*.

Such a coming together of often transitional agencies within structures can be a key factor in how individuals *reflexively* exercise their sociolinguistic agencies, particularly when selecting or switching codes. *Reflexivity* is defined by Giddens as both ‘self-consciousness’, and the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life, grounded in the continuous monitoring of action which human beings display and expect others to display (Giddens, 1984: 3). Giddens argues that actors

continuously monitor the flow of their activities and that they expect others to do the same for their own activities.

□ Conclusion: Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, I have highlighted key defining characteristics of bilingualism and codeswitching and reviewed a range of micro, macro and other approaches to the study of multilingual language use in a general sense and in the specific contexts of Catalonia.

The analytic approach that I have adopted, and adapted, is one of language as recursive social practice (constructing Catalan knowledgeably and reflexively), framed within a triangle of epistemology, ontology, and time space. This approach allows for me to address the many areas where existing analytic paradigms within the literature are challenged by the sociolinguistic situation of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, most notably, globalisation, the agencies (often in transition) of new migrants, and related migration and identity paths. The approach will, therefore, form the basis for my analysis of data and for the answers that I will provide to the research questions set out in the Introduction. Additionally, in my descriptions of how Catalan is being constructed by Spanish-speaking Latin Americans (through incorporation into repertoire in in-group and inter-group interactions, and through interpreting meanings around being addressed in Catalan), perspectives such as ‘accommodation’ and ‘bilingual norm’ (Woolard 1989) interactions (I use the term ‘reciprocal bilingualism’ for the latter), heteroglossic expressions of identity and ethnicity (Pujolar 2001), and lexical borrowing (Turell 2001) will also be of value to the analysis.

To conclude, the focus on recursivity is the key link between the macro and micro focuses of my research questions. Of key importance in Catalonia today is how ‘traditional’ recursive Catalan-Castilian relationships are being affected by the new challenges of globalisation and the agencies of new migrants. Central to this developing focus are two emerging questions: will changing sociolinguistic practice force the construction of multilingual, multicultural language policies (bottom-up), which in turn, re-inforce new social practices? Or can the positive discrimination of language policies that place Catalan in a new position of legitimacy act as a constraint and force Catalan (top-down) into the sociolinguistic repertoires of new agents? The

answer to these questions are central to my research questions, and will be answered in my Conclusion after the presentation of related data in Part 2 of the study.

5. METHODOLOGY

In this Chapter, I will address the key methodological issues that relate to the empirical part of my study.

I will begin by introducing the informants involved in the study. In this section, I will also discuss how my position as an outsider affects the study.

I will then present the qualitative, partially ethnographic methodological approach that I employed.

Next, I will explain the processes that I went through collecting the data, and how I combined semi-structured interviews and observation/recording of informants' interactions. I will also refer at this stage to how I brought in two comparative angles to address potential discrepancies: researcher constructs versus informant constructs, and self-report data versus recorded data.

I will then address the key ethical issues that I had to deal with carrying out the study.

I will end Chapter 4 with an explanation of the simple system that I used to transcribe my data.

5.1 The informants

I interviewed 44 informants and recorded the interactions of eleven of them. The informants were mostly Spanish-speaking Latin Americans living in and around Barcelona. I also interviewed members of other speech communities: two Brazilians, one Filipina; adults whose parents are Castilian-speaking established migrants from elsewhere in Spain (whom I refer to hereafter as *castellanos*), and native Catalan speakers. I felt that interviewing other new migrants, Catalan- and Castilian-speaking informants, would enable me to understand the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia in a broader context. It would also allow me to hear the 'other side' of many of the issues that I was analysing, in particular, language policies, perceptions of identity, and codeswitching practices.

In Appendix 5: List of Informants, I describe the 44 informants involved in this study. I have placed this Appendix towards the end of the study to make it easier for readers who may wish to refer to it as they read Part 2. The gender split was 34 females and 11 males. There was no particular reason for this other than my finding a

greater reticence among males to participate. The youngest informant was 11 years old and the oldest 50; most were adults (not all adults gave me their age). The descriptions are not consistent in the sense of describing exactly the same features for every informant. In the descriptions of each informant in Appendix 5, I include details from the following areas: personal information that individuals have chosen to report; information that I feel is of relevance to understanding individuals' distinct constructions of Catalan to be described later in this study; my relationship to informants if friends; their language abilities in Catalan; in some cases, their appearance (I discuss this issue in the next paragraph); and how and where I interviewed them or recorded their interactions.

Unusually, I also describe the physical appearance of some Latin American informants. I do this when informants have referred to their appearance in interviews as related to (or when I feel that their appearance may be related to) the code selection of other interlocutors, others' interpretations of informants' use of Catalan, or to episodes of racism and discrimination. The term that I use is 'Latin American' appearance in a general sense for informants who would readily be identified as Latin American by unknown interlocutors. Where black or mixed-race informants have referred to their own African origins, appearance or skin colour, as relevant to their interactions, or where I believe this may be so, I use the term 'African' appearance. Having an idea of what informants look like will help readers to interpret certain constructions.

More unusually, I also have to describe my own appearance, as I was present, but not usually participating, in some recorded interactions. In fact, I am often addressed in Catalan in Barcelona; I illustrate this (non-scientifically) in the following interview excerpt of Sara, a Catalan informant who claims to have an innate ability to carry out ethnolinguistic identification:

SM: a mí muchas veces en Barcelona me han hablado en catalán [people have often spoken to me in Catalan in Barcelona]

Sara: [laughing] podrias colar por catalán [you could pass for a Catalan]

When presenting and analysing data, I will remind the reader of any information from the List of Informants, for example, country of origin, or information related to appearance or linguistic ability, which may be relevant to my analysis.

In Appendix 6, the reader can find a table with information about the eleven informants whose interactions I recorded: name; gender; approximate total length of

all the recordings that I made with each informant (including recorded data not presented in this study); place where excerpts were recorded; other interlocutors in excerpts; whether I was present and/or interacting; when recordings were made; whether or not I specifically asked informants to use Catalan; and the informant's academic/professional background. I will discuss how I selected informants in 5.3.

5.2 A qualitative, partially ethnographic approach

I describe the methodological approach that I have employed as qualitative and partially ethnographic. I will first explain why I employed a qualitative approach, and second, what I mean by partially ethnographic.

I believe that employing a qualitative approach was most suitable for this study as my aim was to gain 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) of contextualised behaviour, and attributions of meaning that are continuous and which evolve (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 137-8), in a sociolinguistic study that would analyse informants' behaviour in everyday contexts, rather than under controlled conditions created by the researcher (Hammersley, 1998: 2). By employing such a qualitative approach, I aimed to challenge the positivistic view that an objective reality exists independent of myself (the researcher), and that accounts could be produced which would correspond to such a reality; a qualitative view was more in keeping with my view that it is people (my informants, myself, and others) who were constructing the social and linguistic world that I was studying, 'both through their interpretations of it and through the actions based on those interpretations' (Hammersley, 1995: 43-4).

Before explaining what I mean by partially ethnographic, I will present a useful definition of 'ethnography' from the American Anthropological Association (2004):

Ethnography involves the researcher's study of human behavior in the natural settings in which people live. Specifically, ethnography refers to the description of cultural systems or an aspect of culture based on fieldwork in which the investigator is immersed in the ongoing everyday activities of the designated community for the purpose of describing the social context, relationships and processes relevant to the topic under consideration. Ethnographic inquiry focuses attention on beliefs, values, rituals, customs, and behaviors of individuals interacting within socioeconomic, religious, political and geographic environments. Ethnographic analysis is inductive and builds upon the perspectives of the people studied. Ethnography emphasizes the study of persons and communities, in both international and domestic arenas, and involves short or long-term relationships between the researcher and research participants (American Anthropological Association, 2004).

The quotation above highlights the aspects of ethnography that I employed in my study, as well as those that I only applied in part. In terms of the aspects of ethnographic enquiry that I employed in this study, I was involved, as is stated in the quotation, in the study of *human behaviour in the natural settings in which people live*, and in *the description of cultural systems or an aspect of culture based on fieldwork*. Equally, my enquiry focused on what could be described as ‘sociolinguistic’ *beliefs, values, customs, and behaviours of individuals interacting within socioeconomic, religious, political and geographic environments*. My relationship with informants ranged from long-term relationships with informants who are friends and who I have known since prior to their migration to Catalonia, to short-term relationships with informants who I met by chance in bars, or via other informants, and who kindly agreed to be interviewed.

However, one common aspect of ethnographic data collection, *living with*, or being *immersed in* a community, only partially applies in my case. For professional and family reasons, I was unable to move to Catalonia, let alone permanently live with, or immerse myself in the Latin American communities in and around Barcelona. My visits were regular, usually coinciding with university holidays in the UK; thus my investigation of the *ongoing everyday activities of the designated community for the purpose of describing the social context, relationships and processes relevant to the topic under consideration* was not continuous, but the product of repeated visits. Although my engagement with many informants and their circles of friends was close, particularly in terms of my three main contacts in Barcelona, my position was always as an outsider, or someone visiting.

Another key aspect of ethnography mentioned in the quotation above that only applies partially to my approach is the description of ethnographic analysis as *inductive and building upon the perspectives of the people studied*. This was only partially so in my case. From the very outset of my study, in fact from my very first basic research proposal, I had a diagram on paper and in my mind of a cyclical relationship between language policies and Spanish-speaking immigrants’ language use, albeit with California in mind rather than Catalonia in its first stages. Thus, I had a very basic, but nonetheless very clear, analytic framework within which I intended to frame my analysis. In this respect, my analysis was deductive first and inductive second, and if anything, the deductive framing of the study was accentuated during my initial review of the literature, during which I came across the works of Anthony

Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu, which described the ‘recursive’ essence of what I had had in mind at the outset.

However, once I started to collect data, which was after the review of the literature, a key shift in focus emerged (to be discussed later in this section), and new constructs began to emerge from interviews with informants and recordings of their interactions. I built upon these through further reading, and through a flexible approach to data collection that allowed me to test the emerging constructs.

□ Ethnography: addressing criticisms

There are, it has to be noted, some common criticisms of qualitative/ethnographic research methodologies, from researchers who favour more quantitative, ‘scientific’ approaches, which need to be addressed. Hammersley (1998) highlights three such common criticisms, which I will address in general terms and in terms of the contexts of this study.

The first criticism is that ethnography lacks scientific rigour. Hammersley’s answer to this, which I support, is that ethnography does not reject quantification outright, and that quantification can be used as part of ethnography, albeit with less precision. In fact, in this study, I cite quantitative studies on language use in Catalonia, which I consider to be valid, and I also bring in useful quantitative data such as immigration statistics. Whilst such data is quantitative and may be influenced by positivism, this does not mean that it cannot be read with a qualitative eye. As stated by Giddens, ‘All so-called ‘quantitative’ data, when scrutinized, turn out to be composites of ‘qualitative’ – i.e. contextually located and indexical-interpretations produced by situated researchers, coders, government officials and others’ (Giddens, 1984: 333).

The second criticism is that ethnographic observation and interviewing are subjective and unstructured, which reduces the chance of replication. My answer to this criticism is that I have not aimed to produce data and findings that could be verified or built upon through replication. This would be particularly unlikely bearing in mind the interpretive nature of much of the data. However, I would argue that replication of the approach of this study could be possible with other groups for cross-comparison: other new migrant groups in Catalonia, or Spanish-speaking Latin Americans new migrants in Madrid are two possible examples.

The third criticism levelled at ethnography is that by studying very small samples, ethnographers produce findings that cannot be generalised. Just as the replication of my data and findings are not an aim of the study, nor are representativity and generalisability. My criteria for sampling were very flexible and did not aim to bring together a group that could be said to represent Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia as a whole. My data-gathering involved flexible, non-representative sampling that was recursive and ad hoc rather than fixed at the outset, and which changed and developed over time (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 143). As such, generalisability of findings was never considered as an aim. Instead, my aim was to gain in-depth data on a smaller group of non-representative informants, sacrificing breadth for depth (Hammersley, 1998: 9-11). Whilst originally intending to carry out a very in-depth study of a small number of informants, the data collection grew as new themes emerged. Thus, I ended up interviewing 44 informants and recording the interactions of eleven of them. Whilst I do not claim that the group of informants is representative, I did find that as I carried out more interviews and recordings, the same issues came up again and again. With regard to breadth, however, the opinions of 44 informants, and the recordings of eleven of them cannot be scientifically generalised to other groups. I believe, nonetheless, that certain issues that emerged about language use, schooling, and identity formation, for example, are issues that are shared by many other Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, although I have not built in any quantification to back this up.

With regard to depth, I did build into the methodology a means of obtaining more in-depth data from key informants. Hence, my three main contacts in Barcelona, Mariana, Claudia and Andreína, all agreed to be interviewed, to have their interactions recorded, and in the case of Mariana and Andreína, to carry out detailed follow-up interviews in which they analysed the transcripts of their recorded interactions and shared ideas with me. Claudia, on the other hand, allowed me to record her language use at home with her family so that I could gain more insight into her language use. In this way, I managed to focus on key informants to gain in-depth analysis, whilst also bringing in new informants for interviewing and/or to record their interactions in order to broaden the study, and to test out emerging constructs.

□ Shifting the focus

My approach also gave me the flexibility to bring in new areas and shift focus during the data collection process, while making initial findings. My early findings from interviews showed me that most Latin Americans were outside of the national polemic surrounding the linguistic normalisation of Catalan, in particular, Catalan-medium education and Castilian language rights.

I did find, nonetheless, many differences in individuals' self-reporting of how they were constructing Catalan: how informants were building Catalan into their lives and how they were interpreting being addressed in Catalan in different ways.

I struggled to find reasons why some were constructing Catalan in so positive a manner, whilst others were not. I pondered over possible variable factors: individuals' levels of education, their integration into Catalan-speaking circles, changing levels of competence, for example, in order to throw some light upon the differences, but I could find no pattern that drew any consistent correlation. Nor did issues that are widely referred to in the literature, such as gender, ethnicity and social class. For every case that matched a key variable factor, another did not. Nonetheless, all informants (those constructing Catalan positively and negatively) impressed me by their levels of knowledge of how they use language, and of how they monitor situations and develop strategies to deal with varying interactional challenges. It was then that I shifted focus to look at how Spanish-speaking Latin Americans were constructing Catalan reflexively and knowledgeably: through use (or not) in daily repertoire (in-group and inter-group), and through interpretation of being addressed in Catalan, at different stages of their paths of migration and paths of identity formation. I therefore gave more emphasis to migration paths and identity paths in interviewing, and broadened my reading in these fields in order to develop these emerging constructs.

I felt that this construction was occurring at two levels: at the level of structure, where the structural history behind many of the established sociolinguistic norms of language use (both Latin American and Catalan) can be found, and at the level of agency, where individuals reflexively and knowledgeably decide how to use language and how to interpret situations. This not only affected my literature search but also my data collection. I soon found that it was easy to record endless hours of all-Spanish/Castilian interactions of Latin Americans in central Barcelona, but beyond describing how the lexis, grammar and accents change, I felt that such an approach

had little to offer the emerging themes. Where I felt that all of these factors intersected was in the negotiation of the social and linguistic space in individuals' daily life paths where the two languages came into contact in-group and inter-group, and hence I shifted the focus to recording interactions that specifically involved Latin American Spanish and Catalan (as well as Castilian when other interlocutors selected Castilian from the outset or switched from Catalan).

□ Asking informants to use Catalan

Whilst I was finding interesting *self-reports* on incorporation of Catalan into repertoire in interviews, as mentioned above, early *recordings* of interactions showed that in the areas in and around Barcelona where I was collecting my data, little Catalan was being used. Perhaps the key reason for this was the long-established and pervasive 'accommodation norm' by which Catalan speakers switch to Castilian with unknown interlocutors who do not look or sound like Catalan speakers. Hence, I found the need to set up interactions which would actively meet this challenge.

I explained my shift of focus to informants and asked them specifically to use Catalan in some of the recorded interactions, even though this may not be the normal code that they would select. This was despite my aim at the outset of the study to avoid any purposive manipulation of study variables (LeCompte & Preissle, 1982: 31-2). The informants whose interactions I recorded had already been interviewed (with the exception of one informant, Martín) and were thus familiar with the aims of the study. I had first explained that I was aiming to record their interactions in and around Barcelona in order to see how they use language. I specifically mentioned that I would like informants to try out their Catalan as I was interested to see how they would use Catalan and how Castilian/Catalan/other Latin American speakers would respond. I explained the discussion in the literature about Catalan speakers switching to Castilian based on a cue of ethnolinguistic identification.

I left informants to their own devices when they were carrying out the recordings without me being present. Where I was present, or waiting nearby, I also tended to let informants decide when and where they felt it would be appropriate to use Catalan, but in some instances, I did direct them before interactions. This was the case mostly when I wanted to try out emerging concepts, for example, shop assistants following switches made by customers. I will highlight my role in guiding informants' choices before each data sample in Chapter 9.

Certainly this approach takes the methodology away from an ethnographic approach which aims to record and analyse ‘naturally’ occurring language, moving it somewhat in the direction of more experimental approaches. The most important implication that this manipulation has is that the recordings cannot be said to represent ‘naturally occurring’ incorporations of Catalan into informants’ repertoires in instances where Spanish would normally have been the code of choice rather than Catalan. I will suggest in Part 2 that where I ‘constructed’ the data in this way, my findings can be understood as how Catalan can *hypothetically* be incorporated into repertoire if norms of practice are to change in the future. When presenting data excerpts, I will clearly state if, how and when I asked informants to use Catalan.

Finally, such an approach of ‘constructing’ data by asking informants to use a code which would not be the norm is not common in the sociolinguistic literature. During my literature review, I found no other studies in which informants were asked to go out and try to use an ‘other’ minority language in-group and inter-group where they would normally have used their own. In many respects, the still pervasive nature of the ‘accommodation norm’ in and around Barcelona means that researchers have to innovate if they are to go beyond mainstream approaches such as measuring and analysing how well or not immigrants are learning Catalan in the school system. An interesting example of research involving a certain degree of researcher innovation/manipulation is Moyer and Carmona’s (2004) work with immigrants obtaining health service cards in Cuitat Vella. Their approach involves the researchers posing as employees of a health centre in the Raval, Ciutat Vella, and participating in interviews with immigrants using visible microphones.

□ An outsider researcher

Finally, an important issue to consider in such a qualitative approach is my position as an *outsider researcher*. This not only relates to how informants and I constructed each other, but also, some would argue, to the validity/credibility of the data: in other words, as an outsider, who does not speak Catalan, my findings could be considered less insightful, or less valid than those of an insider. The main weakness of such critiques, of outsiders by insiders, is very well presented by Hammersley (1995), who argues that, whilst closeness to, and involvement with the phenomena being investigated may have some relevance for the validity of findings, the epistemological assumption that sometimes underlies this argument – that

knowledge comes from contact with reality – is unsound. Hammersley bases his argument on the view that all knowledge is a construction, and not direct knowledge of the world (Hammersley, 1995: 143).

I would also refute the view that outsiders may not understand the minority experience, that outsiders' actions can represent cross-cultural theft or appropriation, and that a "value-free position may mean lack of concern for the minority language groups under study" (Spolsky, 1989, in Edwards, 1994b: 15). Despite the possibility that I may lack expertise and knowledge of certain subtleties of the lives of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, and the long-term experience of the sociolinguistic environment that insiders have (Hammersley, 1995), I feel that overall, my position as an outsider has had more benefits than drawbacks. Perhaps the key advantage to my outsider status is that I share this status with most of my informants, which I believe has enabled me to elicit particularly valuable responses from my informants. Moreover, I believe that my position as an *outsider* has helped me to *re-problematise* from new perspectives the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia, which has been traditionally (though not exclusively) constructed and dominated by practitioners/insiders.

5.3 Collecting the data: interviews, recordings and follow-ups

I collected my data in three main stages between 2000 and 2004. In spring and summer 2000, during the first stage of data collection, I made two visits to Barcelona in order to establish contact with possible informants, and to collect information from organisations and institutions related to Catalan language planning and to new migrant groups in Catalonia. My second stage comprised several short visits of around two weeks a time between 2001 and 2002, during which I started semi-structured interviews with members of Latin American and other new migrant communities. The third stage of data collection involved several visits to Barcelona in 2003 and 2004, when I focused on making recordings of the interactions of a number of the interviewees in their daily life paths. I also used this third stage to carry out follow-up interviews with informants in order to share my interpretations of their interview responses and recorded interactions.

□ Interviews

Interviews were carried out one-to-one and in groups, and in many sites: at the apartments where I stayed, in bars and restaurants, and at people's homes. This worked very well in most cases although there was not always a clear line between interviews and recordings of interactions. At times, an interview recording in a bar also included recordings of informants' interactions with surrounding people; recordings of interactions led at times to general discussion or impromptu interviewing of friends and acquaintances; and in one instances during my final visit, recordings were made first, with immediate follow-up questions, and then an interview over a coffee.

My use of semi-structured interviews is based on an understanding of the interview as a construction site of knowledge, where data are neither objective nor subjective but intersubjective and interactive (Kvale, 1996: 42).⁴² My focus is on the interview as a social, interpersonal encounter, on the social construction of reality in an interview, and on the constructive nature of the knowledge that is created via the interaction, and interrelations, of partners in the interview situation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 279; Kvale, 1996: 11; 38). I thus made a conscious effort to recognise that both myself and interviewees were constructing each other in many possible ways, also recognising that such constructions can impact upon the data itself.⁴³

Interviews were carried out primarily in Spanish/Castilian, with Catalan- and Spanish/Castilian-speaking informants. In the case of Catalan speakers, the reason was my poor Catalan, although towards the end of my data collection I was able to maintain reciprocal bilingual conversations with no switches either side when Catalan speakers used Catalan. Some interviews were carried out in English, where informants were English speakers. In such cases, informants had the final say as to which language to use.⁴⁴

I did not attempt to find a group of informants that could in any way be described as representative of Latin Americans in Catalonia in order to reach generalisable findings. My main means of selection of all informants for interview was through the

⁴² see Appendix 3 for the interview question sheet adapted from the 'Linguistic Minorities Project (1985) *The Other Languages of England*. London: RKP'.

⁴³ see Jorgensen (1991) for a description of changing interviewer-interviewee constructions.

⁴⁴ see Koven (2001) for a discussion of the language of quoted speech and the ranges of registers in which narrated characters are quoted.

personal social networks of key informants; this turned out to be the only practical way for me to collect this data during my short repeated visits. The interviewees ranged from close friends who I had known for several years, and their friends, with whom the level of familiarity was also high, to those who I interviewed in passing and have had little or no contact with since. An example of the latter were three impromptu interviews that I carried out in a Dominican bar where I recorded the interactions of one informant, Mariana.

□ Recording interactions

My second stage of data collection was to record the interactions of eleven informants' in their daily life paths, with two key aims: first to present data that would illustrate the many ways in which Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are constructing Catalan; and second, to present this data as a complement to self-report interview data, with an aim to addressing discrepancies in self-report information (Gumperz, 1982), conflicts and contradictions (Pujolar, 2001: 25).

The recording of interactions started off as what could be loosely described as semi-structured observation, with an agenda of issues but not necessarily pre-determined or systematic (Patton, 1990: 202, in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). Although recordings were originally hypothesis-generating rather than hypothesis testing (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000), later recordings were slightly more structured in order to test certain hypotheses based on emerging constructs. As already mentioned, this involved asking informants to try to maintain or switch to Catalan in some in-group and inter-group interactions. Where such manipulation occurred, it is clearly stated in the presentation of the data excerpt.

The sites for recordings depended entirely on what informants needed to do, or suggested doing, on the arranged day. On most, but not all occasions, I accompanied informants, often waiting nearby. At times I could not avoid joining in the interactions although I tried to avoid this, as my unusual Spanish accent, and presence, could affect unknown interlocutors' code selection. In excerpts of recordings of language use, I will state if I was present or not.

In terms of criteria for selection of informants to carry out recordings of interactions, which I found to be a time consuming and difficult task, my first means of selection was to ask informants (who could speak or understand Catalan) in interviews if they would be willing to allow me to record their interactions. The

eleven who agreed to be recorded are in the table in Appendix 6. As can be seen, most who agreed to be recorded are women; as stated earlier on page 101, in many cases I found it difficult to persuade male informants to participate, and in a more general sense to communicate their experiences to me, a fellow male, for the study. Most informants whose interactions I recorded were also educated professionals, and most were at times using Catalan when Castilian would normally be the code of interaction (as discussed above on page 107-108). These factors naturally have an impact on the data and affect any analysis based on it. Not only is the data illustrating construction of Catalan as incorporation into repertoire less 'natural' where informants may be using Catalan based on my request, this data is also primarily the language of educated professional women who are able to speak Catalan in varying degrees. Consequently, no assumptions can be made about this data representing wider social groups.

In total, the recordings of the eleven informants make up 900 minutes, or fifteen hours. Needless to say, the samples that I have presented in this study make up a fraction of this total. Moreover, in the case of Josep, a Catalan, who I recorded with his Peruvian wife Karina, I decided only to include Karina's interactions in order to keep the focus on Spanish-speaking Latin Americans. I did not, therefore, include a set of interactions involving Josep alone, and Josep and Karina together, attempting to maintain Catalan in shops and locutorios where immigrants were serving them. I carried out these recordings in order to ascertain how long they could maintain Catalan in reciprocal bilingual interactions, as I had heard Catalans complaining that it was impossible to maintain Catalan in service encounters in central Barcelona.

□ Two comparative angles

Another important aspect of my data collection and analysis was my attempt to give the data greater validity and credibility by bringing in two comparative angles: first, a comparison between my interpretations of informants' recorded interactions and informants' own analyses of their recorded interactions (researcher constructs versus informant constructs); and second, a comparison between self-report data and recorded data. Whilst there was only room in this study for a brief comparison at these two levels, making any generalisable findings impossible, I do feel that this exercise helped me to deal with two questions that I had been asking myself prior to carrying out these comparisons: what if informants have interpretations of their

language use that are completely different to mine? And, what if informants do not actually do the things in interactions that they say they do in interviews?

My first step in addressing these two potential areas of discrepancy was to arrange follow-up interviews with two informants, Mariana and Andreína (after recording their interactions), which would allow me to share my interpretations with them, thus making use of participant constructs to structure the research (LeCompte & Preissle, 1982: 31-2). In this respect, my aim was to introduce an *emic* angle, aiming to catch ‘the subjective meanings placed on situations by participants’ (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 139), and to focus on ‘culturally based perspectives, interpretations, and categories used by members of the group under study to conceptualize and encode knowledge and to guide their own behavior’ (Watson-Gegeo, 1988: 580).⁴⁵ I also carried out some follow-up discussions with some other informants immediately after recordings were made when I knew that it may be difficult to arrange formal follow-up interviews.

The second step was to compare one informant, Claudia’s, self-reporting on her language use at home in her Dominican-Catalan family with recordings of interactions made with her family. My aim was to see the extent to which what she was describing about her own language use and that of her other family members would be borne out in a recording made at her home, and by interviewing other family members. I will address the issues that these comparisons raised in Chapter 9.

Another important methodological issue that I had to consider when collecting and analysing the data was to take into account the distinction between informants’ encounters with known and unknown interlocutors. In terms of norms of practice, and agencies within structures, familiar, repeated encounters would involve informants applying sociolinguistic knowledge based on more interpersonal norms. In contrast, first, or one-off encounters would involve more processes of ethnolinguistic identification, code selection and negotiation, and would have greater potential for mis-construction of the meanings of others’ language use. In interviews, I asked informants specifically about strategies with known and unknown interlocutors, which I felt gave balance to the data. However, a considerable amount of my recordings of informants’ interactions were with unknown interlocutors, often in service encounters. This was for two reasons. Firstly, Catalan played little or no role

⁴⁵ This contrasts with *etic* approaches, ‘where the intention is to identify and understand the objective or researcher’s meaning and construction of a situation’ (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 139).

in most in-group, and many inter-group, interactions that were familiar or repeated as interlocutors tended to use Spanish/Castilian, following previously-established interpersonal norms. Therefore, and secondly, service encounters provided a useful context for informants to use Catalan with unknown interlocutors, and also fitted in conveniently with informants' daily schedules.

5.4 Ethical issues

From the outset, ethical issues were given great consideration when drawing up plans to interview informants and to record their interactions. In this section, I will address the key ethical issues that I had to deal with in this study, adapting five key ethical issues from Kvale (1996: 119-20) to the contexts of my own data collection.

The first of these issues to consider is what the beneficial consequences of the study were to the informants. In terms of concrete tangible benefits to informants in their daily lives, there may be few; ultimately, this study can only aim to provide consciousness raising on all sides, and hopefully to allow individuals to become more reflective in their understandings of their own social practice and that of others. In a more general sense, I aim to highlight the position of new migrants in Catalonia today as valuable social actors and positive contributors to social life. I should also note here that informants were made aware that copyright of the material would pass to me/any future publisher should the data be published.

The second issue that I considered was how I should gain the informed consent of the participating subjects. Firstly, I gained the informed consent of all 44 *informants* involved in the data collection by providing them with information about the overall purpose of the study, and by giving subjects the right to withdraw at any time (Kvale, 1996: 112; BAAL, 1994). When interviewing adolescents under the age of sixteen, I gained informed consent from parents.⁴⁶

As my main focus for recordings was the daily life paths of informants, many recordings took place *in passing* in shops, in bars, at market stalls, and in the street: in places and doing things that informants had planned to do on the agreed day. It was, therefore, unavoidable and essential that the other *anonymous interactants* acted as interlocutors in these shared spaces. Consequently, on several occasions, I recorded

⁴⁶ When children under sixteen are acting as main informants, it is also necessary to obtain the consent of parents or other adults acting *in loco parentis* (BAAL, 2003).

the language of *anonymous interactants* (stallholders, shopkeepers, customers) and did not gain/was not able to gain their informed consent beforehand or after.

Firstly, on a practical level, it was usually not possible to gain consent beforehand or after: *informants* were in each case very busy with their work, study and family lives, and made a special effort to carry out the far from normal task of going about their daily lives with a visible microphone on their lapel wired up to a minidisc player in their bag, pocket or in their hand. I, therefore, had to make the exercise as natural, easy and stress-free as possible for informants by asking them to just go about their activities as normal, often without me present. Equally, many recordings of *informants* and *anonymous interactants* were made in very fluid, noisy, crowded, and busy situations, where the *anonymous interactants* were often busy at work. It was not practically feasible to interrupt *anonymous interactants* either before or after recordings to explain the purposes of the study and to ask for their informed consent.

Secondly, I wanted to make recordings that were as natural as possible, and felt that had *anonymous interactants* been informed of the nature of the exercise beforehand, they would have produced very different language. In this regard, the BAAL code of practice does recognise that in some research ‘concerned for example with phonological variation and pragmatic variation in naturally occurring speech - there are compelling methodological reasons for *informants* not being fully informed about the precise objectives of the research’ (BAAL, 1994; *my italics*), where participants may change their behaviour because they know they are being studied (BSA, 2000). Whilst I see this as a clear defence of my not asking for consent beforehand, I should add that in my case, all of my *informants* were fully informed at all stages. Equally, I believe that references to ‘covert research’ that involves deception of *informants*, thus violating the principle of informed consent and the right to privacy (BAAL, 1994; BSA, 2000) do not apply either. The *informants* were wearing visible microphones on their clothing (usually a lapel), and *were* fully informed at all stages.

Informants were prepared in case it became necessary to negotiate ‘post-hoc consent’ should they have been challenged by a member of the public (BAAL, 1994). Firstly, the minidisc microphone used for recording was visible on the informant’s lapel, or clothing, on all occasions, allowing anonymous interactants to question its presence. If questioned, informants would have described the purposes of the study,

asking for consent thereafter. Should consent have been refused, the data would have been recorded over.

Irrespective of whether the interlocutor was an *informant* or an *anonymous interactant*, all identities have been completely disguised and confidentiality guaranteed to all informants and other participants in observational and interview data by changing information in order that no individual can be identified: by the removal of identifiers, the use of pseudonyms, and other technical means for breaking the link between data and identifiable individuals (BSA, 2000). In the case of all *anonymous interactants*, I have paid particular attention in this regard, also omitting any information or statements which could identify the person or place, or which could incriminate the person in any way.

The fourth issue that I had to consider was whether any negative consequences, or harm, could affect the participating subjects. The protection of participants from any harm, both *informed informants* and *anonymous interactants*, was an important issue.⁴⁷ In certain cases, where informants were in precarious legal situations in Catalonia, and where there was a clear disparity of power and status, I aimed for a research relationship characterised by trust and integrity (BSA, 2000). As all identities were disguised, no individual harm can come to anyone through publication. On the contrary, I would hope that reading of real people's responses to life in multilingual Catalonia would have only positive effects across the board.

The final ethical issue that I had to deal with was how my role as a researcher would affect the study. As part of the process of gaining informed consent, I explained in appropriate detail, in terms meaningful to participants, what the focus and aims of the research were, who was financing it, and how it would be disseminated and used (BSA, 2000). I presented myself as an outsider, with no sponsors other than my employer (an academic institution that paid fifty percent of my tuition costs), studying for a PhD at the Institute of Education at the University of London, and also as a teacher of English as a Foreign Language at University College London. I explained my interest in Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia by mentioning my own background details as presented above in the Introduction.

Finally, in terms of any potential overidentification with subjects, where I have a personal relationship with informants as friends or family acquaintances, I am

⁴⁷ Sociologists have a responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of research participants is not adversely affected by the research (BSA, 2003).

naturally sympathetic to them – I have known one family since my days teaching English in Venezuela, prior to their moving to Barcelona. I recognise that such a role relationship can manifest itself through distinct register, tone of discourse, and greater trust and confidence, and any such relationship with informants has been clearly stated in the list of informants.

5.5 Transcription of data

I transcribed most of the interviews and recordings myself. I had to seek the assistance of two very competent friends, who transcribed Catalan sections for me for a small fee. I also gained their assistance for parts of text where I could not hear clearly what was being said in Spanish/Castilian. The data that I analyse in Part 2 of the study is a small part of the transcribed material, and an even smaller part of the interviews and recordings that I made; it is thus by nature selective and subjective. My main criteria for selection were to meet my stated aims and to answer the research questions set out in the Introduction in an interesting and effective way.

In the main body of the thesis, transcriptions are presented translated into English; original text can be found in Appendix 4. As stated above, in translated and original transcriptions, Spanish/Castilian is in standard font, and Catalan in bold and italics. The transcriptions have many interesting examples of non-standard language use, and what would be seen as errors or interference from Spanish, Castilian or Catalan. Some of these may be relevant to interactional turns and to individuals' constructions. In the translated transcriptions in the main text, such examples are indicated by an asterisk*. Readers of Spanish and Catalan can find explanations in the original transcripts in Appendix 4, if interested.

In the transcripts, I use the following simple conventions:

- [...] shows that I have edited out sections of text
- ... shows that a speaker has stopped abruptly in the middle or at the end of a word
- ... shows a pause of between two and five seconds
- [7 secs] longer pauses over five seconds are indicated numerically in brackets
- [inaud.] indicates that I could not hear clearly what the speaker said
- [comment/description of setting or manner] my comments about the language, the situation, or the manner of speech are presented in brackets.

I have not punctuated the transcripts according to conventions of written language. Hence, commas have two functions: to indicate pauses of less than two seconds, and indicate breaks between chunks of language (as would full stops and commas in written text when there is no notable pause). Simultaneous speech is transcribed in parallel position.

PART 2

In Part 2 of the thesis, I will analyse the data at three levels: [i] according to the opinions, experiences, and perceptions of informants as discussed in interviews; [ii] according to the recordings of informants' interactions involving Catalan; and [iii] according to the theories, issues and questions that I discussed/raised in Part 1.

My data analysis will also serve three more functions: to weigh up any new angles emerging from the data; to give my own critical evaluation; and to build towards answers to the my two main research questions.

6. PATHS OF MIGRATION AND OF IDENTITY

I argued in Chapters 2 and 4 that it is along individuals' migration and identity paths that their epistemologies evolve and change. I suggested that individuals' epistemologies along these parallel paths can be related to linguistic agency at the level of interaction. In other words, individuals' life experience can be an important factor in how they apply sociolinguistic knowledge with other interlocutors, in particular when their agencies are in transition between old and new structures.

In this chapter, I will first present interview data that will give the reader information about the following important aspects of individuals' own experiences of migration: ancestry, reasons for coming to Catalonia, family links, sadness and regret, perceptions of discrimination/racism, and narratives of transition. I will then shift the focus to identity paths: terms of ascription, and informants' descriptions of their identities.

6.1 Migration paths

□ Ancestry

Several informants brought up their ancestry, and family background, when discussing their migration. Claudia refers to the painful history of Hispaniola and sees parallels between the suffering of the Catalan and Dominican people's under the Spanish, exempting Catalan colonists of any blame:

Claudia: I believe that, the Catalans, have gone through a lot, a lot, they've had a a bad time, and, like us Latin Americans, the Spaniards arrived with that identity, I think if they hadn't taken black Africans over I wouldn't be here, because the mix is there, do you understand?

SM: mm

Claudia: um, the indigenous people were there, eh, from the Orinoco to the Caribbean when the Spanish arrived, wiped out, they forced them to speak.. [...] they asked the queen for black slaves to work, because the Indians fled to the mountains, and when they hunted them down they killed them, and that's why, that's what's in the history ... well, OK I say, I haven't got anything against one or the other, but, the Catalans didn't do that, yes, the Catalans went over to do business, right?.. [1]

At a later date, over lunch, I heard about the complex family backgrounds of Claudia and her husband Miquel:

Claudia: *my great-grandmother was from here and she spoke Catalan in the Dominican Republic*

Miquel: *my father was Galician and my mother was from La Mancha, from Albacete, but in spite of everything she felt very Catalan, because down there in her town, where she was born, she spent her infancy surrounded by war, and all that, all the civil war and all that, and she says that she stopped being hungry the day she came* to Barcelona, Barcelona is where everything changed, yes, she worked, but she ate every day here*

[...]

Miquel: *I remember that my mother was more Catalanist than anyone, even though she actually didn't speak Catalan very well, but she defended it, any person who spoke badly of Catalonia, she'd say.., because she was very grateful to Catalonia [2]*

Jairo's sociolinguistic history is also one in which Catalan had a place in the Americas, and in which great effort was made to maintain it outside of Catalonia:

SM: you speak Catalan with Cristina [his mother]?

Jairo: yes, always Catalan

SM: and Cristina is from Venezuela, right?

Jairo: but she's maintained Catalan because of my grandparents, they're Catalan speakers they lived in the United States for many years, and she returned here when she was fourteen, right in the middle of the Franco period

SM: mmh!

Jairo: and the problem was that the help that my grandparents gave her to maintain Catalan turned on them, you know?, because for example, my younger uncle only spoke Catalan and English, and at school it was beating after beating, because Catalan was prohibited at that time [3]

Marta refers to a sociolinguistic history in Peru, in which her grandparents also made a conscious effort, in her case, *not* to use their minoritised mother tongue, Quechua:

Marta: my father knows Quechua, but he's made no effort to teach me nor have I to learn it [...] in my country, I'm talking more about the people of Lima who live around where I do, it's like, like shameful if your parents speak Quechua, because it's like, they're Indians, yeah? that idea is still there that people despise the Indians, yeah? my great-grandfather prohibited my grandparents from speaking Quechua, Quechua won't help you anywhere so you have to learn Castilian [4]

□ Reasons for coming to Catalonia

Andreína pointed out a key distinction to make between those who come to Catalonia to work and those who come to study:

Andreína : immigrants are people who come to work, to live in Catalonia, not those who come to study [...] because I think that they create different identities, a person who only comes to study knows that they're going back to their country, I think they keep a large part of their

identity but the other tries to assimilate into the new culture because they want to live in that country [5]

A key distinguishing feature in individuals' distinct migration paths is the reason for coming to Catalonia, and the extent to which expectations are met. This relates to whether individuals create plans to stay, return or move on elsewhere, and to the extent that they may or may not engage with the Catalan language.

Political and economic instability was cited as a prime reason by informants; in the case of José Luis, a Colombian working in a hardware shop, expectations have not been met:

SM: and did you come for economic, political, cultural reasons?

José Luis: yeah, for economic reasons, and, but more than anything political, because I was fine in my country, and seeing the situation that the country was in, every day it's going backwards, I decided to come over here to see if I could start up a business here, and it's been difficult as everything's complicated here, here it's, it pains me not to have chosen the US, it's very hard here, life's more complicated [6]

For others, the reasons are more political and cultural, and less economic. Political problems at home, and the quality of life and people in Catalonia are cited by Amadeu and Marisa:

Amadeu: well, not directly political because we're not like political activists, but um, economic development is really stuck in Venezuela, and yes the hegemonic attitude of the government annoyed us, right? [...] and with the quality of life

Marisa: and it reminds us a lot, or it, it brings back a lot of memories of how we've always wanted our country to be, doesn't it? [...] it brings us back memories of what Venezuela once lived and what we'd like Venezuela to live again [7]

A new type of migration can be seen in individuals, also emigrating for political and economic reasons, but arriving with enough capital to set up a small business. A Bolivian shopkeeper (an anonymous interactant in a recording of an interaction with Martín) explained her reasons for coming as follows:

X: my country is very beautiful but bad luck that we've got so many problems, and even more so now that they've taken out so much money, and they've plunged us into more poverty, there's no way [8]

Martín compared his migration from Argentina with that of individuals such as the shopkeeper above:

Martín: it's like another kind of immigration, for example that lady I bet she, she probably sold her house or something to come here, it's not the same case as for me, no, [...] I came here to look for work, if I didn't find any work over here I was going back, to work there [9]

According to Josep, a Catalan, quality of life in Catalonia is the key determining factor in migrants deciding to stay (he is referring in less than sympathetic terms to established migrants from the south of Spain) despite strong cultural attachments to their old lives:

Josep: the people who've come here, from Seville, from Extremadura, from arid places where there's no work, their Virgin's the best, their **chorizo** [Spanish pork salami], etc., [...] all that fanaticism they've got down there, well go back, if now you've, you have money, everything's paid off, well go back and enjoy Seville, well no, no, they stay here, they see a quality of life that they don't have there [10]

□ Migration paths: family links

Prior to the imposition of visa restrictions on a large number of Latin American nationals, the first stage in the migration path was often a visit to a relative already in Catalonia, with sufficient cash in a wallet to get an automatic tourist visa on arrival at the airport in Spain; this would then followed by a return home to organise the necessary immigration documents (e.g. Karina), or overstaying on a tourist visa (e.g. Mar & Iliana):

Karina: I first came as a tourist, you know? my sister has lived here for many years, but she brought me over, I started to work looking after elderly people, I say to myself I've got to do something else, you know? well I went back to Peru to sort out all my papers, I started studying Catalan and I started to look for another type of job and I stayed, I think the idea of every foreigner when they come is first to save money to buy a house to give some security to your family in you country, but it changes when you meet a partner, when you find, when you see the quality of life here [11]

Mar: my family says to me "come over, come over on holiday, and if you like it you can stay", well let's do that, but, to be honest, I started to enjoy it once I'd been here [12]

Iliana: I got in in 2000, in 2001 there was an amnesty, I got in by the skin of my teeth [13]⁴⁸

□ Migration paths: sadness and regret

The following interview excerpts illustrate how some informants' descriptions, perhaps those whose expectations have not been met, are tinged with sadness and regret. Sol is Brazilian and Manuela Filipina:

Sol: and I always try and say, look I was fine in my country, fine, I lived well, I ate well, cos there are lots of people who say "what are you doing here? were you suffering from hunger in Brazil?" I say in my country I've never eaten badly, never, do you understand?

Manuela: and why are you here if you don't eat badly in you country ?

Sol: and I say, and "cos I'm stupid", I'm stupid cos now I can't go back to my country because I've sold my house, I haven't got a job, I can't go back to my country and stay at my father's house, but that's something else, but now I, I want to stay here like you for 15 years, I don't want to stay for ever

Manuela: no, you know why? you're different from me, cos my son was born here, he studied here, and he says he's staying

Sol: my son also tells me that but he should shut up [14]⁴⁹

Manuela also reflects on her emigration with sadness:

Manuela: when I came here to Spain I'm crying, a month without going into the street cos I don't understand Castilian or Catalan, I don't know how to speak, crying for a month, I, I,

⁴⁸ The amnesty for overstayers was actually in 2000, although individuals' processes of regularisation ran into 2001.

⁴⁹ Sol mixes Spanish and Portuguese; Portuguese words, or words created with Portuguese interference, are in italics in the original transcriptions of Sol's speech.

mum, when the baby is small, small the baby, my mum spoke to me in Tagalog [...] one month without going outside into the street, in my room, all I did was write letters to my country, to my brother and I'd talk to my mother, when mother got home from work then I'm happy, cos I only see her [15]

For José Luis (Colombian) the experience of migration has been much tougher than he had expected:

SM: how do you feel as an immigrant here?

José Luis: I feel bad

SM: why?

José Luis: I feel bad, like, I hadn't had an experience of being like this in another country, so I didn't know that, that being an immigrant is so hard, it's something that I haven't lived in my country [16]

Mar (Ecuadorian) puts it more bluntly:

Mar: no, come over, everything's great here, you get here, I dunno, they paint this beautiful picture, but it's not, because you come to suffer, whether or not they hold out their hand to you, you come here to suffer, do you understand? [17]

□ Conclusion to 6.1

In the interview samples above, informants reflect upon their ancestry, family links, and the emotional states that they have gone through by migrating. All can be linked to altered time-space relations: people, episodes and emotions from their past and present.

I will focus on the interview samples related to ancestry in order to revisit issues raised in Part 1. Firstly, in my chapter on sociolinguistic backgrounds I stressed that the historical relationships and boundaries between Spain, Catalonia and Latin American countries and peoples are neither clear nor exclusive. I also referred to the Spanish Civil War, the Franco period, and to the effects of Castilianisation as being distinct in the construction of the national identities in each case (Mar-Molinero, 1997: 16). The interviews involving Claudia, Jairo and Marta above illustrate how these factors remain in informants' present lives, in different ways.

A complex combination is presented by Claudia, who describes an ancestry of which black Africans and Catalans are a part. She also draws parallels between the effects of Castilianisation in the Dominican Republic and in Catalonia, which ends with her exempting her own distant Catalan ancestors from responsibility. Her husband, Miquel, meanwhile, describes the Spanish civil war, poverty in the south of Spain, emigration to Catalonia, and pride in being Catalan.

Jairo also describes an equally complex ancestry: grandparents who made a conscious effort to maintain Catalan in Venezuela and the US, which continues as he

uses Catalan as a family language; his uncle returning as a teenager to Catalonia during the Franco period, speaking Catalan and English, but not Castilian.

Marta's description is the opposite of Jairo's in that a conscious effort was made by her grandparents *not* to maintain the mother tongue, Quechua, due to associated low prestige.

6.2 Discrimination and racism

I asked informants if they had ever felt discriminated against, or been the victims of racism, since arriving in Catalonia. I present below a selection of informants' perceptions, and descriptions of racism and discrimination.

It is important to note first that individuals' perceptions may be different according to time, place and emotion, as stated by Gilma:

Gilma: the things that immigrants often complain about, which aren't serious either, they don't complain about them when they're in their own country [...] sometimes I feel they're doing things to me, but because they're doing it in Catalan then they're discriminating against me, but if someone does it to me [laughs] a, someone from my country then it's not dis..., like it's not discrimination so it's not serious, no?, but it's the same thing isn't it? [18]

Iliana, who is Colombian of mixed African and European appearance, described what she felt were humiliating episodes serving customers in restaurants and bars, and then described the most shocking example of racism that I came across among informants, a violent street attack by a skinhead:

Iliana: I think the Catalanist⁵⁰ Catalans are, they've even got racism in the language OK? but because of skin colour I don't see them as so racist when it comes to skin colour, I've had some bad encounters with some, I don't know if they were Catalans, yeah cos they're talking in Catalan a lot, and there was one, the woman wanted to hit me and everything, cos I didn't want to clean the floor for her on my knees, I was working in a restaurant, she had spilt a glass of cava [Catalan champagne]

Somewhat ironically, bearing in mind the nature of the conversation, we are interrupted at the bar by a Latin American beggar (X), whom Iliana, a Colombian, describes to me in one word, **ecuatoriano**:

X: excuse me, enjoy your meal, have you got twenty cents or something? so that I can buy a sandwich or something
Iliana: oh come on, I haven't got any
X: please, I'm, I'm
Iliana: I haven't got any
X: OK, now I, excuse me
Iliana: it's OK
X: enjoy your meal, excuse me

⁵⁰ 'Catalanist' is used to suggest 'Catalan nationalist'.

lliana: [to the beggar] thanks... [to me] Ecuadorian... [...] and I bent over a bit to keep her quiet, but the woman wanted me to get on my knees, she called me "black this" I should get on my knees, and well insulting me, I was earning a living in this country, I dunno, you shit immigrant, all that, and then one day I was walking with Pati around Hospital Clínico, which is a nice area, at eleven at night, I'd been here for six months, I was dressed a bit crazy wearing a white coat, a white scarf, and I was really brown, and a guy comes up and starts insulting me, but I, I couldn't tell what a 'skin' was, insulting us, my sister was nervous [...] I was still new in Barcelona, and the guy booted me, he kicked me with his boot, he booted me, bam, and I ended up, when he hit me, yeah, I tried to step forward and he got his face right up close to my face, like that, and he told me that I was abnormal, he says, "you're abnormal you daughter of a whore", I got depressed, I was down for a week and everything, you know? [...] it's an experience I'll never forget [...] the words really hit me hard, right? the way he said it and his face so near to mine [...] I usually work at night, a guy comes up to me and says "all the South Americans here should be working as prostitutes, there's nothing for you to do behind the bar, you have to go out into the street and.." swearing and everything, you know? like that, but like, I'm really violent, I grab a knife and I almost.. cos he says "go and prostitute yourself, you can't do anything behind a bar, you know we're Spanish, you have to earn your living that way" [...] one of those who goes to Cuba, you go to Cuba and for twenty-five pesetas over there you can screw all the women you want, then you come and talk about all women [inaud.] and the thing is, what moral right do you have to tell me that I shouldn't be in your country? if you're exploiting my people, right? you're taking advantage of my people, I'm not taking advantage of anyone here, I'm working here, I haven't taken advantage of anyone [19]

Mar, also identifiable as a visible minority, perceives being discriminated against in bars, but as a customer:

SM: and have you had any experiences of discrimination here?

Mar: [sighs] uufff

SM: yeah?

Mar: of course, for example look, I go into a bar, a bar restaurant, and of course I sit down, and they say to me "no no, you go and sit in a certain place", and I'm like, "I want to sit here, I'm going to pay"

SM: really?

Mar: of course [20]

Sol and Manuela brought up situations of close physical proximity, in queues and in the metro, where they perceived racism/discrimination:

Sol: I talk a lot, I like talking, but if I'm waiting to be seen at the doctor's there's a really long queue, and when the person sees me saying something, "mm mm" they don't talk, right?

SM: and why don't you think they talk?

Sol: racism!! I think it's racism cos I'm not badly dressed, if it's someone who's badly dressed..

Manuela: yeah [agreeing]

[...]

Sol: when I got into the train [in the metro] [...] me with one of those hair extensions that I've put on I was like those hippies and the people in the metro go like this with their bags

Manuela: ah, they do the same to me, [...] with their bags like that, I, they thought I was going to rob them, that I was going to rob them [21]

Marta also referred to negative experiences in the metro:

Marta: I felt discriminated against for example when, eh, if I was in the metro or in the bus, when I, when you were forced to get close to someone because you have to pass, then I felt that, that, that they were watching their bags, right? um, things like that

SM: and how did you feel?

Marta: I felt bad bad bad, I know I know that because of my physical appearance, right? they, she's Peruvian, or South Ame..., sudacas as they say, right? [...] but in a way I

understand it, eh? cos there are lots of Peruvians who, who basically have come here to, to steal [laughs] yeah, sadly that's how it is [22]

Speaking over the phone with a Latin American accent is another factor perceived as triggering prejudice, particularly when Latin Americans try to get accommodation.

One example has already been mentioned in the Prologue:

"I say he was lucky to find a decent flat so quickly because no one wanted to rent him one because he had a *sudaca* accent, as they say there"

Tania adds her experience, with echoes of 1960s Britain:

Tania: then I started to understand, that well, it was difficult to get an apartment, things like making a phone call, and if you're Latin American the apartment's not for, rent

SM: did that happen to you?

Tania: yeah yeah it happened to me, of course it did, I, um, I actually saw advertisements which said "students or Latin Americans not accepted", sorry "students or foreigners" [...] that really shocked me, so I tell you my first days were particularly tough in Catalonia [23]

In contrast, Celia, who is Dominican and of African appearance, answers that she has not experienced any discrimination or racism in a general sense:

SM: and have you had any bad experience of discrimination

Celia: no no no, no

SM: or of racism here?

Celia: no [24]

With reference to *linguistic* discrimination, Emi and Diana mention what they see as anti-Colombian prejudice, whilst refuting that there could be linguistic discrimination:

Emi: when they discriminate against you is when they start talking about all Colombians are like that, that's all

Diana: but not because of the language, no

Emi: not because of the language [25]

Similarly, Carmen (a castellana), and Amadeu and Marisa (Venezuelans), explain that they have never experienced 'linguistic' discrimination:

Carmen: I've never felt discriminated against in a group of Catalans if I spoke Castilian, no, I don't perceive it that way [26]

Amadeu: up to now with Catalan we haven't had, we haven't suffered any form of Catalanist chauvinism, not at all

Marisa: not at all [27]

Claudia refers to perceiving discrimination, but exclusively from people from other parts of Spain, linking it to socio-economic factors:

Claudia: no, no, truly never, no, never, never, from the rest of Spain, from other places, yes, yes, and they were speaking Castilian, but it was their way of behav..., of speaking to me as a foreigner and more because of the colour of my skin, in that sense yes [...] but here, the, I've

been here in Catalonia for nineteen years and a Catalan-Catalan⁵¹ has never, so to speak, they never make you feel like, at least like what they've made me feel like, what someone from elsewhere in Spain has made me feel like, because they fear that they'll take their jobs, Catalans have never had that need or that fear that they'd take their jobs [28]

When I later recorded the language use of Claudia's family having lunch, unelicited, she once again repeated the views above, on this occasion with specific reference to Andalusians:

Claudia: the people from Andalusia! they all keep to themselves, all to one side and I'm not saying it's all of them, but I swear, they're so racist [...] if they're the ones who've emigrated most and the ones who've come here to Catalonia, and if the Catalans have received you well, why do you want to take a kick at people who are coming [now], later, when you can't do that work any more or you're tired of it, or because you're living well and you don't need it [29]

However, Reyes, a castellana, brought up and educated in Figueres, a predominantly Catalan-speaking town north of Barcelona, offers a very distinct construction, portraying Andalusians as being the *victims* of linguistic discrimination on the part of *Catalan* speakers:

Reyes: I think the discrimination [from Catalans] when you speak Spanish, it depends, it has different levels of discrimination, one is if you are from the Basque Country for instance, you are not that discriminated, OK?, if you are from Castilla, you are a bit discriminated, but you are especially discriminated if you are Andalusian

SM: what do you put that discrimination down to?

Reyes: pocket [money] [English interview]

Jairo (the son of a Bolivian father and Venezuelan mother) and Belén (a castellana) refer to discrimination *against Catalan speakers outside of Catalonia*. And, at the same time Jairo refers to Granada, in Andalusia, as 'nearly Africa', a common 'northern' stereotype in Spain:

Jairo: because when you move outside of Catalonia,

Belén: once I ...

Jairo: people give you bad looks, it's like you were going to rob them or something

Belén: the thing is there's been a very strong campaign against Catalonia, in Spain

Jairo: they've carried out brutal politics against us

Belén: they can't look at us

Jairo: oh, the Catalans!

[...]

Jairo: we're more cosmopolitan, we're nearer to Europe, Granada is almost Africa, and there's a concept of Spanish, a harsh one ...,

Belén: it's like they can't stand us

[...]

Belén: when I was younger I used to go there on holiday with my parents, to my mother's town in Huelva, Andalusia and they'd say to me "wow, you must be happy" and I'm like "why?" and they'd go on "cos you've gone abroad on holiday", and I'd say "what?", "yeah, you've left Catalonia, you're not in your country Catalonia", the things they'd say to me [30]

⁵¹ The term 'Catalan-Catalan' was used by several informants to refer to Catalans who were both Catalan speakers, and not recent descendants of immigrants from elsewhere in Spain.

And when racism and discrimination are perceived by members of new diasporic communities, this can also strengthen *new migrants'* identification with their home country. The following response of Mar is of interest in that it illustrates the dual impact of diasporic migrant communities that can have an effect on the nationalist discourses of both sides, as raised in Part 1 (van de Veer, 1995):

Mar: just like there are Catalan nationalists, and nationalists from Spain itself, I mean, from certain parts, I'm an Ecuadorian nationalist too, oh yeah [31]

It is also important to recognise that stereotypical and prejudiced views also exist between, and within, different new migrant communities, as the following conversation between Sol (Brazilian) and Manuela (Filipina) illustrates:

Sol: my son hasn't got any Catalan or Spanish friends, his friends are um Indian, how do you.. [...] I've never seen a Pakistani in a bar drinking

Manuela: no no, I've seen in Pakistani bars they all look the same to me um their faces, you can't tell if it's a Hindu [from India] or a Pakistani, there are some who drink, and also moros who drink, they say they don't drink or smoke but they drink and smoke hidden away

Sol: some do

Manuela: they tell lies, sometimes I see a moro buying a chorizo, and they say they don't eat pork, yeah yeah yeah, the thing is the ones here don't work they only steal, you can't live a life of luxury eating steak every day, you have to eat sandwiches too, right? [32]

Another example is the perceived racial prejudice between Ecuadorians from the Pacific Coast, *costeños*, and those from the Andean region, *serranos*, as described by Paulo, a *costeño*:

SM: have you got any Ecuadorian 'serrano' friends here?

Paulo: (curtly) no, I haven't ... in my country it's called regionalism, it's like, like Nazi you know kind of racist, and things like that, they're they're whiter than us, they're, they do things their own way, they stick to themselves, they don't talk to you much

SM: that that still go on here in Barcelona?

Paulo: it's the same [33]

José Luis refers to a softer rivalry in Colombia between *costeños* from the Atlantic coast and *cachacos* from the Andean regions:

SM: how is a *costeño* accepted in Bogotá?

José Luis: well, they're accepted mockingly, with laughter, it makes them laugh, the way *costeños* speak, it makes them laugh, those people from the interior

SM: and do you think there's any discrimination there against *costeño* Spanish?

José Luis: no, not direct discrimination, I don't see it that way, what I do see is, is, there are rivalries, rivalries, the *costeño* winds up the *cachaco*, and the *cachaco* winds up the *costeño*, like that, rivalries [34]

□ Conclusion to 6.2

The responses above represent a complex collage of conflicting perceptions. Firstly, as stated by Gilma, central to perceptions is changing space along migration paths: what may not seem rude in the home country can in some instances be perceived as racist or discriminatory in the new host country. Moreover, several

informants explained that they have perceived no discrimination or racism during their time in Catalonia. However, others did refer to perceiving discrimination or racism in Catalonia, although it was not always clear if the ‘Catalans’ being described were *people in Catalonia* or *Catalan speakers*. Moreover, the fact that an episode may have taken place in Castilian or Catalan does not mean that the perpetrator was castellano or Catalan, as either code could have been selected by other interlocutors who spoke both.

The references to Andalusians exemplified the already complex dynamic that Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are arriving into:

[i] Andalusians, or their children, may perceive discrimination from Catalans, in a way that does not affect other Castilian speakers who are higher up the socio-economic ladder;

[ii] People in Catalonia may express negative sentiments about Andalusians whilst referring to established migrants or to their own negative experiences during visits to Andalusia;

[iii] Latin Americans may be perceived negatively by Andalusian established migrants as a result of a social and psychological pecking order.

Added to this, it was illustrated that, when arriving into this complex dynamic, Latin Americans may bring with them prejudices and divisions that exist between or within national groups in Latin America. Equally, as illustrated, stereotypical and prejudiced views about *other new migrants* also exist: Manuela, a Filipina spoke in disparaging terms of North African ‘moros’ who drink alcohol and eat pork.

6.3 Narratives of transition

Several informants produced narratives of what I consider to be turning points early on in the adaptation period in Catalonia, often when individuals’ sociolinguistic knowledge is in transition, or firmly rooted in what is usually a pre-migration sociolinguistic environment.

In interviews, several informants referred to their first contact with the Catalan language. A typical case is Paulo, who first heard Catalan on arrival in Barcelona; his answer went no further:

Paulo: oh yeah when I arrived here in Barcelona, I arrived and the first thing they said to me was in Catalan [35]

José Luis' first contact with Catalan was one of confusion; he did not even know that a language called Catalan existed prior to arriving in Catalonia:

José Luis: well I felt strange, what are they speaking? it seemed strange what they were saying because there were words which sounded very clear, which are, they say it in Catalan but they sound clear in Spanish, or in latino, in Castilian, as they say, and I started to ask, then they said to me "no, it's because they're speaking in Catalan" and then they started explaining to me about Catalan because I didn't have a clue [36]

Andreína expressed her surprise at the extent of the social and institutional use of Catalan, which exceeded her original expectations:

Andreína: when I heard it was when I arrived in Barcelona [...] I'd heard Catalan in the street, and then in the university I began to realise that it was a language that was used inside the institution because I had assumed that Catalan was only used inside Catalan families [37]

Mar reports early contact with Catalan that she directly linked to the mainly negative constructions of Catalan that she was presenting to me in the interview:

Mar: um, well, I started working in a bar, and of course they only spoke to you in Catalan, I wasn't familiar yet with the language [...] when they're Catalan nationalists, not even to be polite will they change language, they know you don't speak it so they don't change [38]

Early contact is also described as an uncomfortable experience by Marta, for whom an early link between language and discrimination appears to have formed as a result:

Marta: when, when I arrived and went into a shop and they asked me what, what, if I wanted something in Catalan and I didn't understand anything, but I, I'm sure these people knew that I wasn't, that I couldn't speak Catalan because if they see me it's, um, I'm not from Catalonia, right?

SM: and how did you perceive it when that happened to you?

Marta: I felt uncomfortable, I felt uncomfortable because it's a bit, um, them feeling nationalistic, and knowing that, it was clear that I wasn't from here, that they should speak to me in that way, I felt bad, like, a bit like discrimination against people who aren't from Catalonia [39]

Tania referred not to *her* first contact, but to a friend's experience of trying out Catalan and being rebuffed by Catalan speakers, leading to his forming a negative perception of Catalans:

Tania: the friend I wanted to tell you about was our Italian friend Mario, he'd ju..., he'd made an attempt to speak Catalan and they asked him not to because he was doing it badly, yeah, then he

Jorge: [laughs]

Tania: from that day he got a related phobia, like nothing, he was really angry with the Catalans, he didn't want anything to do with them [40]

A far more complex response, almost a short story in itself, was given by Pati, for whom the first contact with Catalan took her on an unusual cyclical journey:

SM: when was the first time you heard Catalan?

Pati: in Colombia

SM: oh, yeah? how was that? that's unusual isn't it?

Pati: yeah yeah yeah, a strange thing happened to me, I was working in a baker's shop, and, as a shop assistant, and well I told my boss that I was leaving, in two weeks I was leaving, and a man used to go there to buy bread, and he said he was Spanish, and it turned out that

my boss was building an apartment block, and this man was in charge of the site, but he looked like a, poor, a bit like a beggar, you know? and Carlos? I can't remember his name, he said to me, he says to me "I've told the Spaniard that you're going to Spain and if he's going to come round here, he say she wants to talk to you", and he came, and I went with him to a bar to have a drink with him in a bar, and he says to me, and he started talking to me in Catalan, he was Catalan, he told me where he lived, um, I showed him where I was going to go, I was going to live near Plaza España, he told me it was a very nice area, he gave me the address of his sister

SM: oh, really?

Pati: yeah, but the thing is he didn't give me any photos, nor any letter, and he [inaud.] with everyone, he'd lost contact with his family many years back, and when I got there, because he lived in the barri., in the Old Town, his older sister, she was an artist, when I got there, and I told her that I'd spoken with her brother, that her brother sent regards, because her brother had asked me to, well, the woman started to., she had to, she had to sit down, she almost, she suddenly became ill, ill [4 seconds] and she didn't believe me, she told me, no, no it couldn't be so, that she thought her brother was dead

SM: I can't believe it

Pati: yeah yeah, the woman went all., I went with a friend and, and we had to put something here [pointing to her back] because she was about to., and she didn't believe me, and then, after that I don't know if she rang me or I rang her, I can't remember and she told me in no uncertain terms that she had no proof and I say to her "look, I'm not looking for anything", you know, I, what her brother asked me to do and I felt under a bit of an obligation, right? like a kind of duty, because the man seemed like a good person, and I never went back again because I think she thought I was looking for something, I think [41]

Several informants were keen to share personal anecdotes of misunderstanding that had usually taken place early on in their time in Catalonia. Iliana, told an anecdote of the *tallat*, an espresso coffee with a shot of milk, called a *cortado* in Spanish:

Iliana: I ended up on my own on my first day [working in a bar], and you can imagine I didn't know anything, and a girl arrives and orders and says to me "*a tallat please*" and I start *a tallat*, I couldn't remember what a *tallat* was, yeah? and I started *tallat tallat* looking on all the bottles *tallat tallat* I couldn't find one, I'd opened all the fridges looking for a soft drink called *tallat*, nothing nothing, when I realise that that I can't find it I go to the girl and say "sorry, we're out of *tallat*" and she had understood that I hadn't understood what she ordered and she said "sorry, it's a *cortado*", but I mean, if you've disembarked two days ago, you don't understand anything, nothing [42]

Mar also mentioned the *tallat*:

Mar: when I was working in the bar, um, someone arrives and orders, at that time I didn't know what a *tallat* was, it's a *cortado*, a *tallat*, and I say "just a moment" "but *señorita* take my order" but saying everything in Catalan, you understand? you know I'd only been there three days [43]

Mar went on to describe another episode, the first time that she was told by a stranger that, because she was in Catalonia, she had to speak Catalan:

Mar: one day I took some orders, for some tables and some other things and the only thing I understood, was two or three words from ten, I say "could you speak to me in Castilian please?" and well she didn't say anything, and just before she left the shop she says to me "you have to, you're here in Catalonia, you've come here", I mean, she did it so pejoratively, so pejoratively [44]

Pati talked about a similar experience:

Pati: I used to work, here they say, 'facing the public', um, in a music bar at night [...] once a young guy said to me, sometimes you don't expect it from young people, they have a more open mentality, he ordered, a juice, I dunno, and I couldn't understand what he said, I'd only, just arrived, and he said to me that, he says "you're here, you eat from us, you have to learn Catalan", and I was, I don't know, you could expect it from an old person, but a young person? but then I realised that yes the young people are also Catalanists [45]

Josep, on the other hand, with his Peruvian wife Karina, gave an opposite perspective, one of a Catalan speaker who is very frustrated at not being able to even order a coffee in his mother tongue:

Josep: usually if I, if I go into a bar I say something in Catalan

Karina: but lots of times it's happened to me, they say "um, what?"

Josep: and normally normally I have to translate straight away because.., anything, a coffee *un cafè sol*, [a black coffee] "what?" "*un cafè sol*" [with emphasis] not even that, they don't even understand that or they don't want to understand, you know

Karina: it annoys them

Josep: because it annoys them or they don't like it they say "what was that you said?" "*café sol*"

[...]

Josep: lots of South Americans, yeah OK, if it's their first month OK, but if you say "*un cafè sol*" they don't understand, the companies don't..

Karina: don't demand it of them

Josep: not to force them, but to tell them something, look there's a language here and you have to learn it [...] you know you go to any of those small cafes, chain ones and they're South Americans, there's no way round it [46]

To sum up sections 6.1 to 6.3, I have presented informants' narratives of ancestry, transition, migration, discrimination, and misunderstanding.

Of particular interest were excerpts in which informants referred to issues discussed in Part 1: Castilianisation in the Americas and Catalonia, the Franco period, nationalism and prejudice, the emotions that accompany migration into Catalonia, use of Catalan and physical appearance, lack of knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia on arrival, and negative constructions of being addressed in Catalan. Many of these narratives represent individuals' looking back to family histories, key episodes and turning points where the social and psychological boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, between allochthonous and autochthonous, were being formed, explored and negotiated. Equally, these narratives of transition can be understood as key stages, or turning points in some cases, in the 'ongoing story of the self', in which the self is understood in terms of individual biographies (Giddens, 1996).

Before moving from paths of migration to paths of identity formation, I will discuss a theme that links the two: changing terms of identity ascription.

6.4 ‘Latinos’ and ‘sudacas’

Two opposite terms of identity ascription, ‘latino’ and ‘sudaca’, often came up in general discussions or during interviews.

Several informants used the term ‘latino’ to describe themselves and others, a term which is commonly used for self-ascription by Latin Americans in ‘Anglo’ North America, to mean in an oppositional sense ‘from Latin America, not “Anglo-Saxon” America’. In terms of Spain and Catalonia, I understand the term as a similar positive affirmation of a shared identity that is Latin American, but non-Iberian. The term ‘latino’ is used primarily in Catalonia by Latin Americans when describing Latin American people or culture, as in the US, where ‘latino’ is also generally favoured by community members, with the term ‘Hispanic’ commonly used by others.

The use of the term ‘latino’ could in certain instances be attributable to claiming solidarity and negating the range of differences between Latin American groups in Catalonia. Nevertheless, in most instances informants appeared to be wanting to assert their difference from other national groups by identifying themselves by country of origin. In this regard, Zentella points out that in the US the terms Latino and Hispanic ‘obscure differences in the historical, political, economic, and linguistic histories of nearly two dozen groups’, and that groups prefer to be identified by their national origin (Zentella, 1997: 167). And in the sense of obscuring difference, the equivalent of the term ‘Hispanic’ in the US would be ‘South American’ in Catalonia, which is used extensively, even for those from Central/North America and the Caribbean islands, rather than ‘Latin American’.

Gilma’s interview response reflects a desire to be identified as a Venezuelan, not a South American:

Gilma: I identify myself straight away as Venezuelan [...] they’d say to me “are you Colombian? are you Cuban? are you Dominican? are you..?” Venezuela, Venezuela, what’s that? what’s Venezuela? yeah? so South American is for everything everything isn’t it? [...] a man in the bar there, um, very nervous about street crime and that, then he was talking about someone, he was attacked, got robbed, I dunno, yeah? [...] when he was going to say South American he tried to identify a South American country to say he was a South American from, Mexican for example, yeah? but as he knew me maybe he let it slip, you know? he said “he was Venezuelan” so, um, and I said to him like with as much certainty as he said it to me “and how do you know he was Venezuelan?” “OK, he was South American” and I said to him “it could be that he was South American but I’m sure that he was *not* Venezuelan” [laughs] we Venezuelans have fewer, fewer problems than other South Americans, in that sense, you know? [47]

Gilma's reasoning illustrates not only a desire to be recognised as Venezuelan rather than South American, but also what she perceives to be a pecking order within the 'South American' category on which she places Venezuelans above others.

In an interesting contrast, Tania explains how arriving in Catalonia made her begin to identify *with* Latin America, rather than just Venezuela:

Tania: they made me feel different here because of my accent, like you're from South America or questions like "are you Ecuadorian?" "no", "are you Argentinian?" "no", "I'm Venezuelan", "ah it's the same", when you say "it's not the same" because you're not talking about just anyone, homogeneous Latin Americans, because we're not homogeneous, part of the richness that we have is precisely our diversity, I realised that, and on the other hand I realised here, of course they see me as a Latin American so it was odd because I was like, or like, they forced me to identify with Latin Americans [48]

As stated by Tania, any idea of 'Latino identity' also has diversity as an integral part: European, indigenous, and African origins; coast and mountain, and endless other social, economic, and cultural differences. Differences exist within countries just as similarities exist between countries. In this regard, the Ecuadorian *costeños* explained that they had more in common with Dominicans than they had with their fellow Ecuadorians from the Andean region. Over a beer at the bar, Paulo describes the affinity he has with Dominicans:

Paulo: cos we're from the coast from the beach, we're more, we're more open also, to chatting
[...]
SM: don't you have anyone here?
Paulo: no, no one, I have my friends who are like my family, my Dominican friends [laughs dryly]
SM: your friends here are mostly from the Caribbean
Paulo: my friends are all Caribbean, *costeños* from Colombia, Dominicans, our own people [49]

Jorge, from the altitude of Bogotá, also sees something in common with certain other Latin Americans, who remind him of Colombians from the 'Atlantic Coast':

Jorge: and when I arrive and find myself here with people, I dunno, from the Caribbean, like people from Venezuela, it seems as if I'm not, as if they were from the Atlantic Coast [in Colombia] or if, like, they weren't, that it was the same country, that border doesn't matter either, that's why I say the Colombia part is because of the passport [50]

But there are breaks in key cogs in the chain. Colombian *costeños* may have a certain affinity with both Venezuelans and Ecuadorean *costeños*, but this does not necessarily extend to a direct affinity between Ecuadorian *costeños* and Venezuelans.

Whilst Latino may be a new positive term for self-ascription, the pejorative term *sudaca* was also mentioned as a term that was being used by others to refer to Latin Americans, and in some cases being appropriated by Latin Americans themselves. The term *sudaca* is a combination of the stem **sud**, meaning south, and **aca**, an

unpleasant pejorative suffix [added to **libro**/book, forming **libraco**, it signifies that the book is boring or worthless] (Collins Spanish-English English-Spanish Dictionary, 1985). Marta and Cristina described an ironic in-group appropriation of the term ‘sudaca’: in self- and other-identification among unknown Latin Americans:

SM: did you ever hear that word ‘sudaca’?

Marta: oh yeah, of course

SM: in what situations?

Marta: among sudacas, which was really funny, among Colombians or Peruvians who saw me “hey sudaca” they’d shout, no?

SM: yeah?

Marta: and I’d go up to them and say “hi”, yeah? asking them how they were, and that kind of thing

SM: who to?

Marta: to the, to my, to my countrymen, like to Peruvians or ...[51]

Cristina: for me it’s like for fun, we do have the doctors that come in for training, we do have some South Americans, there are quite a lot of Venezuelans, Peruvians, Argentinians, Chilenos, sometimes if you get friendly with them I call them “eh sudaca”, and with those I’m a bit careful cos you don’t wanna offend them, do you? [English interview]

Cristina also referred to instances where she describes *herself* according to two ‘oppositional’ identities: as sudaca-catalana:

SM: I remember that you used this term

Cristina: **‘la sudaca catalana’**, cos they always say “¿de qué pueblo eres?” [what town are you from?] they’re assuming me I’m a Spanish or I’m from a town, in Catalunya, and I always surprise them by saying “soy sudaca” [I’m sudaca] and they get a bit shocked, cos I am not, I don’t look, and I don’t behave myself like a South American, cos I work in the public sector, so what they do is they normally say “¿de qué pueblo eres tú?”, [what town are you from?] “pero ¿de qué pueblo eres?” [but what town are you from?] “¿eres de Jaen, de Jaen?” [are you from Jaen, from Jaen?] “¿eres de Málaga?” [are you from Malaga?] “pues no, eh, cerquita, cerquita” [well no, um, quite near, quite near] [laughs] “soy sudaca” [I’m sudaca] “¿eh? no puede ser, pero si yo te he oído hablando catalán” [eh? you can’t be, I’ve heard you speaking Catalan] “ah, es que yo soy sudaca-catalana” [ah, the thing is, I’m sudaca-Catalana], that’s what I always say, that’s why they get a shock cos they don’t put me in that, they have a box for sudacas and I’m not fitting in matching that box, but around, around where I live it doesn’t matter, cos nobody’s bothered [English interview]

Cristina’s appropriation of the term sudaca can be understood part of her ‘cognitive reappropriation of the categories of subjectification’ (Rassool, 2000: 392), and as *political* and *positional* (Hall, 1992). In a different context, Hall refers to use of the term ‘black’ in the formation of new identities of Asians and Afro-Caribbeans in the UK due to sense of being treated as ‘the same’ (i.e. non-white, ‘other’) by the dominant culture:

‘Black’ is thus an example, not only of the *political* character of new identities – i.e. their *positional* and conjunctural character (their formation in and for specific times and places) – but also of the way identity and difference are inextricably articulated or knitted together in different identities, the one never wholly obliterating the other (Hall, 1992: 309).

And interestingly, the particular box that Cristina does not fit into is one for Latin Americans of Catalan descent, for example, Cristina and Felipe. In Cristina's case, her Catalan family, from Catalonia, vigorously maintained their Catalan identity, using Catalan at home in Venezuela and in the US; in Felipe's case, his family was Valencian-speaking, from Alicante, but they did not maintain Catalan in Venezuela.⁵²

I will now move the discussion from terms with which identities are ascribed to informants' descriptions of their own processes of identity formation.

6.5 Paths of identity formation

In Part 1, I described a range of defining features and typologies of identity, and argued that language could be understood as a contingent marker, and sometimes a key factor in identity formation in Catalonia. I also suggested that informants' epistemologies evolved and changed along their paths of migration and of identity formation, which would in turn relate to how they constructed Catalan at the level of interaction.

I will now present and then discuss my informants' responses to questions where I asked them to define themselves in terms of their identity: in general terms and in terms of national identity. I have framed their responses around the concepts 'here' and 'there'. I have also included the descriptions of three non-Latin American informants in order to illustrate how Spanish-speaking Latin Americans' identities compare and fit in with those of other groups in Catalonia.

1. Identities of 'here'

Martín (Argentinian) and Amadeu (Venezuelan) described identities which are being, or have been, consciously constructed away from 'there' and towards 'here'.

Martín: it's the identity of someone who lives here, [...] we're here now [...] you have to construct a togetherness wherever you are [52]

Amadeu: we've had, another kind of self-awareness, but that doesn't only come with the spatial but also decisions that we've taken in with lives [...] we want to integrate more into Catalan society by, um, we almost only eat Catalan food, we still allow ourselves the occasional Venezuelan thing at weekends but generally the week is nearly all Catalan [53]

Patricia, a Venezuelan teenager who moved to Barcelona as a young child, described a very urban identity of 'here':

⁵² Valencian is commonly regarded as a Catalan dialect, although some Valencians regard it as a separate language.

Patricia: I don't feel Spanish or Catalan, but I feel like I belong here in Barcelona

SM: what does that mean?

Patricia: (laughs) um, I don't really feel like I'm of the nationality here but I just feel like I belong in this city [English interview]

[in a later interview in Spanish, Patricia referred again to her 'Barcelona identity']

Patricia: and he said "but where are you from?" because, I would say from Barcelona and then he got annoyed with me "oh yeah let's make Barcelona an independent city like Hong Kong", but it's not, it's not about that, it's just that I can't relate to the rest of Catalonia because I don't know the rest of Catalonia, and the rest of Spain very little, so that's why I identify with Barcelona, generally speaking, Barcelona is where I'm from [54]

□ An identity of here: Catalan identity, Castilian language

Carmen, a castellana, refers to a dual identity of here: Catalan by identity and Castilian by language:

SM: how would you define your identity

Carmen: mmm, I don't know, well I'm, Catalan or castellana, the thing is [laughs] *xarnega*⁵³, they call us *xarnegos*, so *xarnega*, I don't mind, I don't know, the thing is I consider myself Catalan and cast.. and Spanish, or Cata.. or castellana, both

SM: yeah? one more than the other?

Carmen: mmm, no, the thing is in terms of my identity I feel more Catalan, but in terms of my language, probably more castellana, but both, really both

SM: you mean, have you've got two competing identities, one linguistic and one national? is that what you're saying?

Carmen: yeah, [laughs] something like that, yeah, but there's a generation like me, eh? in, in Catalonia like me, I think we're the 'bridge' generation [laughs] [55]

□ An identity of here: Spanish-Catalan

Some informants expressed an 'identity of here' but one which is more Spanish than Catalan. Manuela, a Filipina, described feeling Spanish but not Catalan:

SM: you've been here quite a while, do you feel

Manuela: Catalan?

SM: a bit Spanish or Catalan?

Manuela: I feel like Spanish, not Catalan-Catalan [56]

A relatively pragmatic view of Catalan nationalism within the Spanish state is offered by Jairo (with Latin American parents, and born and educated in Catalonia) and Belén, a castellana, although it is one which questions the essentialist icons around which nationalisms are identified and constructed; they also question the will of nationalists to go all the way in establishing Weber's' *monopoly of violence* (discussed in Chapter 4 as a key defining feature of statehood) that full statehood and sovereignty would demand:

Jairo: and shit, I'm Spanish, right? I'm Catalan, I used to be a really radical Catalan and now I recognise that yeah, we're in Spain, and first is my region which is Catalonia and then comes a state that's called Spain, but I'm incapable of carrying a Spanish flag [...] yeah, I'd like it

⁵³ *xarnega* is a term, which sometimes is interpreted as pejorative, used by Catalans to refer to Castilian-speaking immigrants from elsewhere in Spain.

one day if the Catalans are so radical and federal and so independent, and I dunno, if they said, OK, from now on we're going to have a Catalan army, let's see who'd sign up
Belén: no one
Jairo: [smiles] who'd sign up? eh? a professional army, that would be the same as ...
Belén: no one, no one [57]

□ An identity of here: Catalan-Catalan

Josep describes himself as Catalan, and after further questioning as Catalan-Catalan:

SM: and how do you define yourself Josep, what are you?
Josep: I'm Catalan
SM: are you Catalan-Catalan, or Catalan?
Karina: [laughs]
SM: or Catalan-Spanish?
Josep: no
SM: or more Catalan than Spanish? only Catalan?
Josep: I feel Catalan-Catalan
SM: Catalan-Catalan?
Josep: Catalan-Catalan
SM: do you feel at all Spanish?
Josep: no, no, I don't feel anything, not traditions or anything, no Spanish traditions at all, nothing nothing, no eh?,
Karina: [laughs]
Josep: nothing nothing [58]

Informants' responses above describe identities that are either fixed in a sense of 'here', or being constructed in the direction of 'here'. As a concept, nonetheless, 'here' is multi-faceted:

- [i] 'here' as consciously constructed (Amadeu, Marisa, Martín);
- [ii] 'here' as the urban space that is Barcelona (Patricia);
- [iii] 'here' as Castilian [language]-Catalan (Carmen);
- [iv] 'here' as Spanish [country]-Catalan (Manuela; Jairo and Belén, Manuela)
- [v] 'here' as Catalan-Catalan (Josep).

These distinct facets of 'here' as an identity concept reflect several issues discussed in Part 1: conscious agency within new structures, as in example [i]; new urbanism in globalisation [ii]; the inter-relationship between language and identities in heteroglossic Catalonia [iii]; degrees of nationalism [iv and v].

2. An identity of 'there'

In contrast to the descriptions above, several informants described identities of 'there', in which little space is allocated to being Catalan or Spanish. Paulo refers to his exclusively Ecuadorian identity:

SM: and your identity?
Paulo: what's that about?

SM: are you European, French, Catalan, Ec..?

Paulo: [abrupt] I'm Ecuadorian, I'm Ecuadorian

SM: more than ever or is it changing? lots of Latin Americans say "well, over time I feel a bit Spanish Catalan.."

Paulo: no, I don't feel at all like that [59]

□ An identity of there: the notion of return

José Luis links his feeling more Colombian than ever to his longing to return home one day.

José Luis: it's tough, yeah? the beauty that is your own country, yeah? yeah, I realised over there, I said "my God my country is marvellous" that's how I realised

SM: so you feel more Colombian than before?

José Luis: uuuffff [nodding] I feel so much more [60]

Celia describes her identity as more Dominican than ever, also referring to the love of, and longing for, her homeland.

SM: and your identity, over time, do you feel a bit Spanish, or Catalan?

Celia: always more Dominican than ever, because yes, you never forget your homeland, and you're always with that, that love of your homeland [...] I always long for my country, my family [61]

□ An identity of 'there': the Spanish passport

I went on to ask Celia if she had a Spanish passport, as I was interested to learn how this formal 'regularisation' on paths of migration may affect perceptions of identity:

Celia: I still haven't got it, it's going through

SM: and when you've got it, will you feel, um..

Celia: OK then I will, I'll feel like I'm Spanish [62]

When I asked Mar, an Ecuadorian, about the importance of a Spanish passport, her response was distinct, arguing that she could not be a Spanish citizen as she was not born in Spain, leading to animated discussion with two others around the bar (Mariana, a Venezuelan, and a Dominican member of staff, Sadia), who had been listening in on the interview:

SM: and are you going to get a Spanish passport later?

Mar: no, no, no, no

SM: you say no now, but maybe later?

Mar: maybe later but up to now no [...] to be a citizen you have to be born in a place

Mariana/Sadia: no, no

Mariana: not necessarily

Sadia/Mariana: no, no, no, no

Mar: not necessarily I understand, but I was born in Ecuador and I don't want to change nationality

Sadia: no, you can have both nationalities..

Mar: .I can't betray my country like that

Sadia: no, but it's not betraying your country because you, the thing, you come here to work and you get residency for five years, and if you get the chance to get a Spanish ID card you do it because it's easier to live and to have the same rights as the Spanish people here [63]

Iliana is also pragmatic about getting a Spanish passport, which she sees as not altering her sense of national identity:

Iliana: Colombian, one hundred percent pure Colombian stock, absolutely, and even with the nationality [Spanish] I know it's a piece of paper [64]

□ An identity of 'there': with a little bit of here

When I asked Hilda, Emi and Diana if they would one day feel a little Catalan or Spanish, they could not withhold their laughter, but described how their Colombian identities are being fragmented slightly:

SM: now that you're speaking Catalan, thinking in Catalan, writing in Catalan, do you think one day you're going to feel a bit Catalan or Spanish?

[Hilda/Emi/Diana laugh out loud]

SM: how would you describe your identity?

Hilda: me, Colombian, well, a little bit of both, just a little Spanish, because we..., maybe if we'd been born here maybe Spanish

Diana: or if you'd come when you were younger but they came when they were old

Hilda: smaller I feel more Colombian, and a bit Spanish, but only a tiny bit, not much

SM: and you Emi?

Emi: the same, Colombian as well

Diana: but with her, when she, when she was, she speaks with the accent [65]

The examples above show that 'there' as a fixed concept, or one toward which identities are being constructed, is also a multi-faceted concept:

[i] Paulo's sense of 'there' is constant and firmly fixed in a national Ecuadorian identity;

[ii] Celia's and José Luis' sense of 'there' is one that is growing through longing.

[iii] Celia, Iliana and Mar give three angles of a key turning point in citizenship on migration paths, how a Spanish passport can alter or not an identity based on a sense of 'there': for Celia, a Spanish passport would make here feel more identification with 'here', for Iliana it would not, and for Mar, a Spanish passport would represent betrayal.

[iv] Hilda and Emi, both teenagers attending Catalan-medium school, describe identities of 'there' with a little 'here' beginning to be taken on, particularly when Colombian Spanish starts to become Castilianised/Catalanised.

The descriptions of identities of 'there' would appear to reflect certain issues discussed in Part 1, as did my conclusions around informants' descriptions of identities of 'here': nationalism [i]; the emotion of migration [ii]; nationhood and citizenship [iii and iv].

3. Returning identities: here, there and nowhere

While describing their identities, three Venezuelan informants referred to being the sons of immigrants, and a consequent lack of fixity. Felipe described an identity of 'there and here', as the son of Spanish immigrants whose own parents had been Valencian speakers from Alicante:

Felipe: I was brought up in Caracas, but when I was a child I was singled out as Spanish because my parents were Spanish, and I had serious identity problems all my life yeah? but I feel that as I've got older I'm from the human race and a citizen of the world and if I identify with anything I'm American from Latin America [66]

Pablo and Marco, described identities which identify with no specific nation or place:

SM: I'm looking at identity, yeah? if you identify with this land
Pablo: no, no
Marco: I'd never identify with any
Pablo: no because, because I haven't even identified with my own
Marco: me neither mate
Pablo: and also, we're the children of immigrants
SM: so are you Italian?
Marco: no, not Italian either
Pablo: no, I don't feel Italian either [...] we're nationless
Marco: well that's a bit.. [67]

Felipe's description is that of a Latin American who is a returnee of sorts (the son of Valencian speakers who migrated to Venezuela during the Franco dictatorship); whilst Pablo and Marco are also the sons of immigrants to Venezuela, Italian in their case, their description lacks any description of any fixity, reflecting perhaps identities based on perspectives of post-modernity and transmigration as described in Part 1 (Rassool, 2000).

4 Multiple identities: citizens of the world

The fourth group of identity descriptions were from informants who described multiple identities that were not fixed primarily around a sense of 'here' or 'there' but instead were multiple, less fixed identities.

Interestingly, Sara, who is perhaps linguistically the most Catalan-dominant of the informants, describes one of the most multiple identities:⁵⁴

SM: are you Catalan?
Sara: um, yeah, I'm Catalan
SM: are you Catalan-Catalan?
Sara: I'm Catalan, I'm Spanish, I'm European, I'm a citizen of the world [68]

⁵⁴ By Catalan-dominant, I mean Catalan-speakers who speak Castilian with a notable Catalan accent.

Carolina (Venezuelan) also refers to her multiple identity as a citizen of the world, describing how it has developed over the years, and focuses on food as a playing a central role therein:

Carolina: a multiple identity, and, now, twelve years ago, I've got Spanish nationality, so um, imagine, it's, it's, from, ay, let's see, it's so, more complicated, isn't it? because you know, I think they'd have to invent a new word, yeah? which could take in that reality

SM: and is that identity the same identity you had twelve years ago?

Carolina: no, it's an identity that's been constructed over the last twelve years, and um, I'm sure of it

SM: and what part does language play for you in that construction?

Carolina: God!! in, in my case it hasn't taken place so much through language, [...] because I eat cous cous, because I make a tamal⁵⁵, I make a moussaka because.. [69]

Maya also describes herself as a citizen of the world but as part of a complex, non-fixed identity which is not Catalan:

Maya: come on, what kind of identity?

SM: I don't know, identity who you are, how you feel

Maya: the thing is I don't feel entirely Mexican but I don't feel entirely Spanish, I feel like a citizen of the world, and that's something that other people don't understand because, you're not Spanish or Mexican, the thing is it's a problem because here in Spain I'm a foreigner, Mexican, but in Mexico I'm also a foreigner, I'm Spanish

[...]

SM: and do you feel a little Catalan?

Maya: no, Catalan I don't feel [Patricia laughs] no, I don't know why always..., you notice that slightly reactionary attitude toward.. [70]

Luz also describes a non-fixed identity, but one that *does* include cultural aspects of Catalonia and Spain:

Luz: I'm Peruvian, I'm Peruvian, but now I have Catalan and Spanish and European cultural elements [laughs] [...] but I couldn't identify with the Peruvian nation, I'm not nationalist but, not with the Peruvian nation, nor the Catalan nation, nor the English nation, nor the Spanish nation, I'm anti-nationalist

SM: how would you define yourself then?

Luz: I'm from the Andean zone, if you like, from the Peruvian regi..., from the Latin American region, I identify myself more as a Latin American than Peruvian

SM: and do you think that it's changed over the last ten years, your perceptions of identity?

Luz: yes, a lot, it's changed because I've been able to see other realities, other cultural aspects, so it's helped me to relativise the term nation [71]

Claudia refers to her multiple identity, and to herself as a citizen of the world, but one in which she sees links between the peoples of the Dominican Republic and the Catalans, through suffering under Castilianisation:

Claudia: well I feel, normally I fee..., only, you know? maybe it's, it's a bit much saying it, but citizen of the world, and whether I feel Catalan, cast. Spanish, of course, I, I feel very Dominican, do you understand? so, yes I, I feel really good here, so now, but yeah, um, let's say Catalan because, because, the thing is it's different from the rest of Spain, it's a, it's really, they're special [...] they won't make you feel, you won't feel that hypocrisy, I, I don't know, it's like something..

SM: and since you came do you see that your identity has changed?

⁵⁵ A tamal is an Andean dish, a mass of corn meal and meat wrapped in corn leaves.

Claudia: mm, I feel more Dominican because I miss my homeland [...] from seeing what's going on here, do you understand? things I didn't know, from studying history more, in more depth about my country, and what happened in another way with Catalan, mm, from, making, um, stopping them from speaking their language, you know? we experienced it in another form, of, I dunno, the slavery of black people, they changed their identities, they couldn't speak their language, they didn't have their own names [72]

A year later, Claudia's husband and daughter give their view of Claudia's identity over lunch:

Claudia: *how long, twenty, twenty one years, yeah?* twenty one years I've been here

Miquel: *she's spent more than half her life here*

Claudia: yeah, that's right

Miquel: *and she says that she's Dominican but well, all right* she can be Dominican, yes it's true, but ... she's got a Spanish passport as well, but, she's got a Dominican passport, but..*

Fernanda : *but it's feelings, what it says on paper can say a lot, but if you're from a country, you're from a country*

Miquel: *yeah* [73]

□ Pragmatic multiple identities

Karina and Yanet describe very pragmatic multiple identities:

Karina: it's really strange, yeah, look, I'm I'm um Peruvian by birth, Catalan in my heart, and Spanish for self-interest

Josep: [dry laughter]

Karina: that's what I am

Karina/Josep: [laugh]

SM: and what were you when you first arrived?

Karina: Peruvian, Peruvian-Peruvian, I didn't even want to, I didn't even want to have Spanish nationality, I've got it now, eh? because I haven't lost mine, I've got dual nationality and, but, that's what I am [laughing] [74]

Yanet: in terms of nationality I'm Catalan, that's true, but in my soul I'm more, I'm more Colombian

SM: and would you ever say "I'm Spanish" on any occasion?

Yanet: [laughs] imagine, it's complicated eh? because in Colombia I did have to say "I'm Spanish" and I felt very strange saying it, "but where are you from?" "well I'm Spanish", I always have to add a 'but' "I'm Spanish but"

SM: it's interesting that you consider your nationality to be Catalan

Yanet: Catalan [...] because I was born in a zone of Spain which is Catalonia, which um struggles to have its own identity, OK? and which struggles to preserve a language and to preserve some traditions, and I've assimilated that as well, I *speak* Catalan [75]

Both Karina and Yanet use Catalan regularly in their daily lives. They both describe very pragmatic multiple identities in which they reflectively compartmentalise aspects of their identities. Karina is 'Catalan in her heart' and Yanet *speaks* Catalan. Using Catalan regularly in daily life appears to be related to informants' constructions of multiple identities, but in different ways. For example, Carolina, Luz and Claudia use Catalan regularly in their daily lives but describe their identities differently: Carolina refers to her changing multiple identity, highlighting food as more relevant than language; Luz refers to culture and relativising national identity; Claudia describes

raising awareness of her own country's history after coming to Catalonia, and describes her increasing sense of Dominican identity; Claudia's description also reflects her awareness of past in the present, and her interpretation of Castilianisation in the histories of the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula. Finally, Sara, describes an inclusive multiple identity incrementally: Catalan, Spanish, European, citizen of the world.

Overall, the processes of identity formation that I have described in this section represent varying combinations of the following six factors:

- [i] perceptions of *self* and *other*;
- [ii] representations of *here* and *there*;
- [iii] change over time;
- [iv] language;
- [v] conscious individual agency;
- and [vi] the concept of return to a 'home'.

□ Conclusion to Chapter 6: different paths and different impacts

At the beginning of this chapter, I highlighted what I consider to be two important paths along which individuals' epistemologies evolve and change: migration paths, and identity paths.

Firstly, I analysed informants' descriptions of key aspects of their migration paths: ancestry, reasons for coming to Catalonia, family links, emotional states, first contact with Catalan, and narratives of transition.

Secondly, with regard to the definitions and typologies of identities discussed in Chapter 4, in terms of Hall's (1992) three general concepts of identity (the *Enlightenment subject*, the *sociological subject*, the *post-modern subject*), I found aspects of each in informants' responses. Overall, the defining characteristics of the identities described by informants centre around an understanding of *self*, with *time-space* relations and *present* and *future* opportunities. Or in terms of the discussion in Part 1:

'how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future' (Norton, 1997: 410; 2000: 5);

'social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social space and social prerogatives' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 19).

Informants' descriptions of aspects of their paths of identity formation also illustrated the many different directions that individual identity paths can take. I found that informants with *similar* backgrounds often described *different* identities, and that informants with *different* backgrounds often described *similar* perceptions of identity. The following is one of many possible examples of individuals with *similar* migration paths forming *different* perceptions, in this example about identity ascription: Gilma describes her annoyance at being ascribed a South American identity whilst Tania explains that she is beginning to perceive one. Both are Venezuelan, female research students, yet both describe very different impressions of self-other identity ascription in Catalonia.

However, the informants who described complex variations of multiple identities did have *similar* key factors: they were all highly-educated individuals who had a certain degree of competence in speaking Catalan, high levels of education, and significant socialisation through work, studies or personal relationships within Catalan-speaking circles. In other words, in this small sample, the embracing of the Catalan language was a prerequisite for the formation of a multiple identity which would allocate a place for Catalan.

I intentionally used the term *multiple* rather than *hybrid* identities to refer to my fourth group of descriptions above, as the term *hybrid* suggests synthesis, or the creation of something new from several things old. Nonetheless, I believe that the identities described here are *multiple identities* in which old and new co-exist and overlap, compete and manifest themselves in different places and in different ways, in a similar way to my description of *multiple modernities* in Part 1. Moreover, as multiple identities they do not remain static; they allow space for the incorporation and expression of new social, cultural and linguistic components that the selves in question encounter in their daily lives.

To sum up how migration paths and identity paths relate to individuals' constructions of Catalan, I have already stated that the two paths are central to individuals' evolving and changing epistemologies, which play important roles in how Catalan is constructed: both in repertoire and in interpretations of being spoken

to in Catalan. Before reaching a conclusion about this inter-relationship, it is necessary to analyse informants' self-reports about their own constructions of Catalan, and recorded data of their interactions, which I will present in Chapters 8 and 9.

7. POLICY AND LEARNING CATALAN

In this chapter, my focus is first on informants' interview responses to questions about a key 'structural' issue: language policies and learning Catalan. In Part 1, I stated that globalisation had placed linguistic normalisation at a key juncture, and raised questions to be addressed in Part 2:

[i] Are policies meeting their aims and the needs of all the people living in Catalonia?

[ii] Is a model that positions Catalan in institutionally preferential positions justifiable or even tenable?

In this chapter, I will attempt to build upon these two questions as part of answering my second research question. In 7.1, I will present data samples in which informants gave their opinions about aspects of linguistic normalisation. In 7.2, I will analyse informants' responses to interview questions that I asked about whether or not they considered Catalan to be a language worth learning; and in 7.3, the focus is on Catalan in schools.

7.1 Linguistic normalisation

□ Positive discrimination

I asked informants what they thought about linguistic normalisation. First, I asked Luz (Peruvian) and Carmen (castellana) for their views on positive discrimination in favour of Catalan:

Luz: it's discriminatory, yes, they're, it's a positive discrimination, that's how it is, they say it themselves, it's discrimination against Castilian because they see it as a danger [76]

Carmen: Catalan was discriminated against because Castilian was imposed, so I understand that it's a way of conserving the culture and identity of a people via the language [inaud.] [77]

Felipe (Venezuelan) refers to the experiences of his parents and grandparents as a justification for positive discrimination:

Felipe: and I say it because of my grandparents, who didn't know how to speak Castilian, they only spoke Catalan, or Valencian [...] for example my mum, who stopped speaking Catalan as a child, when she went to school, even though her parents only spoke Catalan, she went to school in the Franco period [...] she had such an education that they made her hate Catalan [...] now maybe it's happening in reverse, maybe they've gone to the other extreme, it's also open to criticism how they're doing it, but you know, you can understand why [78]

Pablo (Venezuelan), in contrast, believes that policy makers are making serious errors, and expresses a fatalist view about languages and survival:

Pablo: I think it's a serious mistake
SM: why?

Pablo: imagine a manager, the company for some reason sends him from Madrid to Barcelona and he has a family and children, and they just send him for one or two years, that person has to come to Barcelona and learn, and learn Catalan and then go back to Madrid, and it'll be of no use to him

[...]

Pablo: I think if a language has to disappear it disappears and that's it, is Latin spoken today?

[...] and to try and impose it is something, if you look at it goes against nature, things that are imposed go against nature [79]

Several other informants also presented a negative view of Catalan being 'imposed':

Pati (Colombian): I don't think it's bad that they defend their language, the thing is they want to impose it, that's what I see as bad, in other words, what was done to them during Franco and that, now it's the other way round and they want to impose upon Castilian [80]

Gilma (Venezuelan): I felt there was an exaggerated pressure, that there was something almost repressive with the language, yeah? um, sometimes it has an opposite effect when you try to force something, um, I think the effect is opposite, yeah? people start rejecting it, and also because that carries a pejorative connotation towards the other language [81]

Iliana (Colombian): they shouldn't impose it, because as soon as people impose things on me, I um, put up a barrier, speak to me in Spanish [82]

Marta (Peruvian): I don't think it should be imposed, nothing that's imposed ends up well [83]

Once again, the picture of informants' responses is a very mixed one in which issues raised in Part 1 of this study are evident. A clear example of this can be found in the responses of Felipe and Pati, who both refer to the Franco period, but for opposite purposes. For Felipe, the oppression of the Franco period is seen as a justification for today's positive discrimination in favour of Catalan, whilst for Pati, the reference to Franco is an echo of the ABC newspaper report cited in Part 1: **'igual que Franco pero al revés: persecución del castellano en Cataluña'** ('The same as Franco but in reverse: the persecution of Castilian in Catalonia'). Gilma refers to policies that delegitimise Castilian, whilst she, Iliana, and Marta all suggest that imposing Catalan may have the 'unintended outcome' (Giddens, 1984) of making people less likely to speak it.

□ Catalan as a key marker of being Catalan

Bearing in mind the position of Catalan as the distinguishing feature of being Catalan in the 1998 Language Policy Law, I asked informants who were born in Catalonia if they felt it was possible to be Catalan without speaking the language. In the first response, Sara (a Catalan) refers to two competing views of what she felt being Catalan means:

SM: and do you think you can be Catalan without speaking it?

Sara: well, it depends, it depends on what we understand by Catalan, if a Catalan is any person who is born in Catalonia then what does it matter if they speak Catalan, Castilian,

English or whatever? but I think if we understand Catalan as a cultural identity then yes you have to speak Catalan, and you have to have a minimum of knowledge of what your history and culture have been
SM: and what do you consider?
Sara: [laughs] me?
SM: yes
Sara: I think that Catalans are all those who live in Catalonia, even if they don't speak Catalan [84]

Carmen refers to her annoyance at being ascribed a non-Catalan identity simply due to her speaking Castilian:

Carmen: well the thing is, Castilian and Catalan are two official languages, not only Catalan, that's what annoys me, yeah? for example if I speak Castilian they say to me "but ah, you're not Catalan?" I say "yes I am, both languages are official, and so I speak the one I feel most comfortable with", and that for example annoys me
[...]
SM: mm, do you think you have to speak it to be it? you're Catalan
Carmen: no, I don't think you have to speak it to be it, I think that they think I have to speak it to be it [85]

The two responses raise issues related to the contested nature of Catalan nationhood, and the role of language therein. Both Sara and Carmen go against the view that 'you have to speak it to be it', a perspective that would certainly challenge the positioning of Catalan as the distinguishing feature of the Catalan nation in the 1998 Language Policy Law.

□ Catalan in the workplace

Another contested area of language planning in the 1998 Law is language policies that give Catalan preferential status in workplaces that are public institutions. I therefore asked informants to describe their experiences of Catalan at work, and have selected three responses that illustrate the many complexities of language in the workplace. Yanet and an anonymous informant describe language practice in public institutions that have Catalan-first language policies. Josep refers to his experiences in a private company that does not have a formal language policy.

Yanet (Colombian):

Yanet: it's Catalan and strict as well

SM: yeah? is there a policy?

Yanet: there's a Catalan policy, so you have to speak in Catalan, answer the phone in Catalan, address people in Catalan, they don't actually tell you but you have to always use Catalan, then if people speak to you in Castilian there are people who carry on in Catalan, I don't [86]

Anonymous:

SM: and how's the language policy you know for the use of languages in your work?

X: it's a bit lax, don't write that!! [laughing nervously]

SM: no no no no, no no no, I don't even put the name or anything, no, you have to trust me, I change the name

X: oh, OK OK OK OK... the thing is, politically, it's oblig., officially the official language of this region, of this country, some call it a country, I call it a region [87]

Josep (Catalan):

Josep: I've been speaking Castilian for years [at work] [...] because they're really stubborn, you speak Castilian to them, we should do it the other way round, and if they don't like it, well, I'd say, they can go back home and see if they have any food on the table, yeah? I've lived it as well, in the office there was an Andalusian who said that, you know, he criticised the Catalans, he criticised them but without any motive, yeah? just for the sake of criticising, the thing I was telling you about the football, right? well, in his house they only watched TV3 [Catalan channel] for the football, because Madrid were playing, he turned down the volume and put the radio on in Castilian, yeah? you know very closed⁵⁶ people, very closed, no, this is Spain it's Spain [88]

The three excerpts above illustrate three of many possible examples of Catalan in the workplace. Yanet referred to her experience in a publicly-funded institution where a strict policy was in place. Interestingly, she mentioned that 'they don't actually tell you' but that Catalan is the *preferential* language to be used first. Thereafter, it would appear that individuals continue interactions in different ways. My anonymous informant worked in a public institution and was particularly nervous even to be recorded discussing this topic for fear of being identified. And thirdly, Josep described his experience in a private company, where Castilian was the normal code to be used, leading on to a criticism of an Andalusian colleague.

□ Linguistic purity

Another issue that came up in discussions with informants who had learnt Catalan at school or as adults was an unrealistic pursuit of purity in corpus planning. Carolina (Venezuelan) had learnt Catalan as an adult, and was sympathetic to positive discrimination but highlighted what she sees as an outdated pursuit for purity in corpus planning:

Carolina: well I see it, let's say, as normal their reaction [...] when language stays kind of cloistered, you know? in a glass cage, and then you take it out into the world and it turns out that things have changed, haven't they? [...] they're pursuing a kind of linguistic purity, normalisation doesn't adapt to the, the way people speak, but to grammatical rules, then there are, there are some tensions there [89]

Belén (castellana) and Jairo (Latin American parents) both learnt Catalan at school and suggest that the Catalan of language planning is far removed from the Catalan that they would use in their everyday lives:

⁵⁶ I found that informants were using the term 'closed' **cerrado/a** for two purposes: mostly to refer to Catalan pronunciation that was literally articulated in a more closed way than in Barcelona and thus more difficult to understand; and second, with an idea of being narrow-minded or maintaining inter-group boundaries. The context usually made the meaning clear, although at times I felt there was a blur between the two. In this case, the reference is clearly to 'linguistically narrow-minded' people.

Belén: the words are so..

Jairo: and there are words that I don't understand, I don't even know what they mean, you know? and I have to turn over to the other side and read the Castilian because I don't understand

Belén: we speak a vulgar Catalan [90]

Yanet (Colombian) and Luisa (whose mother is Venezuelan) refer to extremely difficult Catalan examinations at school:

Yanet: and I remember, seeing the Catalan and the Castilian exam, right? the Catalan exam, it was incredibly difficult, it was very very very very very very difficult, really demanding a lot of you [91]

Luisa: what's happening is in Catalan classes, my language, Catalan, they set an extremely high level, and when I do, for ex..., I'm doing second year bachillerato [the equivalent of sixth form in the UK], right? the last course before university, in Castilian I get 8, I always fail Catalan, and I'm, I've spoken Catalan all my life, but it's not the same Catalan that people speak [...] it's so difficult that people, the thing is they turn against it as well, it's absurd [92]

Certainly, the levels of Catalan being aimed for by language planners, and levels demanded of students in examinations, are based on what could be considered an 'idealised native speaker' (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997: 553), as discussed in Part 1, and not the everyday language that many Catalan speakers use, let alone that of L2 learners.

□ Catalan rights in Madrid?

I also asked informants if they felt that Catalan should be accorded rights elsewhere in the Spanish state, citing the example of French-medium education in areas of Canada outside of Québec. Josep, a Catalan⁵⁷, explained that if he and his Peruvian wife, Karina, had to move to Madrid, they *would* like the opportunity to send their children to a Catalan-medium school but appeared mindful of breaking territorial boundaries by, for example, speaking Catalan in service encounters, and 'invading' territory. On the other hand, Sara, also a Catalan, responded with a resounding 'no', and her response ended with her assertion that the Catalan language was not the key aspect of her identity:

SM: and the situation of Catalan speakers in other parts of Spain

Sara: they simply don't speak it and that's all [laughing]

[...]

SM: wouldn't you like to have linguistic rights outside of Catalonia?

⁵⁷ It should be remembered that I am using the term 'Catalan' to describe informants/individuals who are Catalan-speakers; that is, Catalan is their main or first language is Catalan. This is for convenience and does not cover all of the complexities of the term that have emerged in this study so far: for example, Carmen, a castellana, described her identity as Catalan [55] and Belén, also a castellana, stated the following with reference to people in other parts of Spain 'they can't look at us', meaning 'us Catalans' [30].

Sara: no, why?
SM: well, if you go to live in Madrid or Málaga
Sara: no, in Madrid they speak Castilian so, if I go to Madrid I'm going to speak Castilian
[I then explained the situation of French schools in Canada]
Sara: well I, no, no, I truly don't like the idea one bit
SM: no? why not?
Sara: because if you want to speak Catalan you stay in Catalonia, and if not, you go somewhere else, for me, my language and what I speak doesn't represent me, I'm more than a language [93]

Carolina (Venezuelan) referred to a tower of Babel:

SM: and do you think they should have language rights outside of Catalonia, for example?
Carolina: ¡uuuff! no, I think that, where, wherever you go you see what you see in that place, yeah? because if not, just imagine, this could end up being, turning into a tower of Babel and you can't understand anyone, right? [94]

Certainly, Carolina's reference to a Tower of Babel can be linked to the fact that such an extension of rights across the Spanish state would apply to Catalans, Basques and Galicians. It would also extend to Castilian rights in Catalonia, particularly the right to select Castilian as a medium of instruction in schools. I felt that such an erosion of Catalan's exclusive institutional position as the language to be protected in Catalonia was perhaps behind Sara's negative response.

□ English: a second arm against Castilian?

There was also a perception expressed by three informants that English was being brought into the equation in some way to weaken the position of Castilian. Tania and Felipe (Venezuelans) and Carmen (castellana) mention an ambiguous role for English in language planning:

Tania: they're trying to put Catalan, on a level with Castilian and English, these politicians aren't thinking of bilingualism but trilingualism as a political project, in other words, to minimise the force of Castilian..

[...]

Felipe: for a post in Barcelona or Catalonia as a visiting lecturer from anywhere in the world they asked to be sent a CV and documents, of my doctorate, to be sent either in, either in Catalan or in English, not in Castilian, so, if you've got a qualification, I don't know, from Venezuela, in Castilian, you had to get it translated into English or Catalan

Tania: it's very strange

Jorge: [laughs]

Felipe: a bit over the top, isn't it? [95]

Carmen: they want to increase the power of English over Castilian, and that for me is absurd, two languages can't co-exist at the same level, there's always going to be one language that's stronger than the other [96]

I found the presence of English, today's world language, in the background particularly fascinating, and especially the view that it was being used in an 'unholy alliance' with Catalan in order to weaken Castilian. The images of Venezuelans

translating qualification certificates from Spanish into English for jobs at bilingual institutions, where they will *teach in Spanish*, suggested to me an unusual gap between ‘on paper’ and ‘in practice’. For Felipe, it is legitimate to teach in Latin American Spanish, to *impart* expertise, but English would appear to have replaced Castilian as a legitimate language for qualification certificates, to *verify* expertise.

A very different place for English in Catalonia, perhaps one that language planners have not foreseen, is as an integral part of Latin American varieties of Spanish in the form of many loanwords from American English. Gilma (Venezuelan) refers to being harangued by taxi drivers for using ‘OK’:

Gilma: for example, taxi drivers are inquisitive about that, eh? they insist about language, a taxi driver got very annoyed with me when I said “OK” [okei] to him [laughs]

SM: what did he say?

Gilma: furious “I can’t believe South Americans coming here with that way of talking, coming here and saying “OK”, um, “you’re under the influence of North America” [laughing] but he got really angry, really angry [97]

The *taxi driver* perceives English as illegitimate for Venezuelans to use within Spanish, but I am sure, not say for Japanese tourists. The reactions of the university language planners and of the taxi driver are both defensive, the former in defence of an institutional role for Catalan rather than Castilian, and the latter in defence of a popular view of ‘correct’ Castilian. I see both as defensive retreats in the face of globalisation and changing social and linguistic agency.

Moreover, if an English card as described above is being played, I see the promotion of English as a double-edged sword for Catalan; many informants, as will be seen in the next section, cite ‘world’ English as their main reason not learning ‘local’ Catalan, even if they are not actually studying English.

7.2 Catalan: to learn or not to learn?

One of the fundamental constructions of Catalan is whether or not informants construct Catalan as a language worth learning, and if so, how and why they go about learning the language. In interviews, I asked informants to describe their experiences learning Catalan, in order to gain some insight into individuals’ developing relationships with Catalan as a target language to learn.

□ Not to learn

A common answer when I asked certain informants why they had not learnt Catalan was “I’m too busy” or “I can’t find the time”. For some, the immediate need to work long hours to earn money, and send some back home, outweighed any potential long-term benefit that learning Catalan might bring. Paulo’s response, said to me with a degree of reproach, is an illustration:

Paulo (Ecuadorian): people come her looking for money, they don’t come to study, people come here to look for money and to earn a living, [...] not sitting with your arms folded, you know what I’m saying, don’t you? [98]

Paulo is particularly interesting as he appears typical of a new migrant who has not learnt Catalan: limited education in his home country, and evidently in Barcelona primarily to earn money; yet at the same time Paulo *has* proven to be a successful language learner of French, having spent several years in France – we chatted in French during the interview. Of course, the key difference between France and Catalonia is that in France he had to learn French to meet his aims. There was a clear ‘investment’ (Norton, 1997) with a tangible gain that could not be achieved in Spanish, a link between achieving his financial goals and learning a new language. In Catalonia, as a barman and hairdresser, he can achieve his goals without learning Catalan.

Celia (Dominican) expresses an interest in learning Catalan, ‘a dialect’⁵⁸, yet is unlikely to ever attend classes: in fact, she gives her status as a domestic worker as the reason for not taking classes. Once again, there is no link between language and professional/financial goals:

Celia: [...] I’d like to learn it Catalan, because it’s a, it’s a dialect, and it’d be good to learn it, but I haven’t got time because the job I’ve got doesn’t give me any time

[...]

SM: and how long have you been here?

Celia: on the tenth of November it’ll be eleven years

SM: and do you speak a bit, or understand a bit of Catalan?

Celia: nnnnothing!!

[...]

SM: you never went to any free classes?

Celia: no, no, no, no no no no no no, no, no, I’m a domestic worker [99]

⁵⁸ The roots of such usage could be traced to the monolingual ‘structures’ of the Dominican Republic, Celia’s Latin American country of origin: an example of Celia’s agency within a new structure being influenced by the structures of her home country. I will illustrate in a later example that other possible interpretations exist of informants who refer to Catalan as a dialect.

Mar (Ecuadorian) would also like to learn but says that she does not have time; and for her, any investment in language learning would be better spent learning English rather than Catalan. She also blames Catalan speakers for switching to Castilian:

Mar: I haven't got time, I'd like to, at least to be able to speak it, another thing right? you haven't got the accent, right? if you haven't got the accent, [...] then they automatically change language because they don't help you to speak either [...] of course knowing how to speak and write would open two more doors for me, but they're not, it takes up my time, what I'm interested in is learning English, I really like the English language [100]

English comes up again:

Emi and Hilda (Colombian teenagers):

Emi: maybe if it was a world language

Hilda: but Catalan is only of use in Catalonia, it's not useful if you want to live in another country like English which is a world language, you can use it and they'll understand you anywhere [101]

José Luis (Colombian) has taken no classes due to lack of interest, and also cites English as a more worthy candidate. And perhaps key in José Luis' reason is his expressed desire to move to another area of Spain, where Catalan will be of little use:

José Luis: no, because it hasn't interested me

[...]

SM: and can you see yourself speaking it one day?

José Luis: speak it? I don't know, understand it? the thing is it's not interesting, that's what takes away the motivation, when you go the United States, or to England, everyone wants to learn, to speak English because it's a good thing to do, wherever you go you're going to speak English, anyone understands you, but as it's a language we're only going to listen to here, do you understand? I want to go to another city, in Spain, and if I go to another city in Spain then I'll forget about Catalan, do you understand? [102]

Iliana's response echoes that of her friend, José Luis:

Iliana (Colombian): if I get married and have a child here then I'll stay here but as I don't know, say that I study Catalan for five years yeah? I go to Zaragoza three hundred kilometres from here, it's of no use to me, I study English I go a thousand kilometres, I go to Germany, I go to France, I go to China, English will be of use to me, it's the same five years

SM: but you're not learning English either

Iliana: no I'm not [laughing] that's where I lost the argument, right? [103]

María-Cecilia (Colombian) gave the sole stated reason for her not learning Catalan as lack of interest:

María-Cecilia: it hasn't interested me either, it hasn't interested me [104]

Even after hearing the positive experiences of her daughters learning Catalan at school, María-Cecilia remained uninterested. Diana mentioned age and family commitments as affecting María-Cecilia's decisions:

SM: listening to their experiences, have you got a little interested, well maybe I'll sign up for a course?

María-Cecilia: no

SM: no? why not?

María-Cecilia: I don't like Catalan

SM: but you're going to stay here, aren't you?

María-Cecilia: from what I can see their dad says he's staying here, their dad

Emi: you know my dad is going to stay here and die here and everything

SM: yeah?

María-Cecilia: *he is*

Diana: I think that for people at least like her who've already got their family who are married with children, it's a more difficult decision to take a course than for young people because the course I go to there are lots more young people than.. [105]

As a Romance language from the same family as Castilian, Catalan should be a relatively easy language to learn for Castilian/Spanish speakers. Felipe (Venezuelan) expressed a view shared by several other informants that Catalan is not a difficult language to learn:

Felipe: I think it's a language very close to the roots of Castilian and French or Italian so it's an easy language to learn, we're not talking about speaking German or Dutch or Swedish, right? [106]

However, learning Catalan *does* remain a difficult prospect for some new migrants, many of whom may have left school in their early teens, and may have little experience of learning languages or even performing in an academic setting. Pati (Colombian) reflects on her own inability to learn the language after twelve years in Catalonia:

Pati: I think it's really bad on my part that I haven't learnt Catalan

SM: how many years have you been here?

Pati: twelve, I think it's *really* bad, but I'm someone who finds languages really difficult, so I haven't tried [107]

And of course, many new migrants are not native speakers of Romance or other European languages. Manuela, a native Tagalog speaker, describes the problems she experienced learning Catalan:

Manuela: a bit difficult for me, eh? because learning Catalan is easier for Europeans than for us of ori.. Asian origin, it's more difficult for me to learn Catalan, the pron.. it's difficult for me to pronounce [108]

Another stated reason for not learning Catalan is that many Latin Americans are able to function in environments where mainly Castilian is spoken, and rely on Catalan speakers to switch. Hence, if these factors do not change, they can survive without learning Catalan and feel that the investment involved in learning Catalan could be better spent in other areas:

Cristi and Yael (Cubans):

Cristi: I prefer to learn English instead of Catalan

Yael: me too

Cristi: also we

Yael: we haven't needed it

Cristi: in our work, we don't need it

[...]

SM: and are you going to learn it?

Cristi: we have to do it, we have to do it, but, I don't know, I don't like it

Yael: it doesn't interest me much
SM: but what if you had to find work one day in another agency?
Cristi: then in that case we'll get our act together and rush to learn it [laughing] but no, it's not, I don't like it [109]

María-Cecilia (Colombian) does not need Catalan in her work either, an environment where Catalan is constructed negatively:

María-Cecilia: where I work, my boss, he's Catalan and he says that he doesn't like Catalan, and he doesn't speak it, and they speak to me in Castilian, they're from here and they don't like it [110]

Paulo (Ecuadorian) refers to working in Latino bars:

Paulo: there are lots of, what are they? lots of latino bars, and you don't need to speak Catalan there, lots of latinos go there and whoever goes to the bar knows that they have to speak their Castilian⁵⁹ [111]

Sara, a Catalan, states that she understands such reasons and places herself in the position of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia by imagining herself as a foreigner in Wales:

Sara: no, because in reality they don't need it either, so for them it's something that's completely useless, and in a way I understand it, because why are you going to learn it if..? if I go to Wales I'm not going to learn Welsh
SM: no? why not?
Sara: no, because I speak English [112]

□ To learn

Other informants who have not attended classes have nonetheless made conscious efforts to learn the language informally:

Amadeu (Venezuelan):

Amadeu: I haven't studied formally, what I've done is watch television, read newspapers and bit by bit increase my understanding, and as it's from the Latin family um from the Romance family, everything sounds familiar, um I would have got bored taking a formal course, and I also want to prove to myself that I can learn a language by myself [113]

Jorge (Colombian):

Jorge: study in a language school no, but I *have* sat down, in front of the television, TV3 to listen, and listen to the radio, and read newspapers, and sometimes read a book that I know is easy to read, and so I have studied in some way but, but on my own [114]

There are also numerous examples of informants whom language planners would consider model students, attending Catalan classes, attempting to use the language socially, and developing positive attitudes and constructing Catalan positively overall. Often, but not always, such individuals have Catalan-speaking partners and/or are

⁵⁹Of interest here is Paulo's use of the personal pronoun when describing his language (as did two other informants), which suggests perhaps that the conservation of his variety of Spanish is an integral part of his self-identification. In Chapter 9, I will highlight other informants' use of personal pronouns with the term 'Castilian'.

intending to stay permanently in Catalonia, as the examples of Karina (Peruvian) and Luz (Peruvian) illustrate. Karina is often cited within her community of friends as *the* model learner, and describes her experience in an interview with Josep, her Catalan partner:

Karina: I can say that I write, if I do say so myself, perfectly in Catalan because I have studied it to a level that I can even take public examinations [professional] and I like the language, I mean I've always been interested in it

SM: how long did it take you to get to that level?

Karina: nothing, half a year [115]

Luz, married to a castellano, had few problems learning Catalan and integrating into Catalan-speaking circles:

SM: and how was your experience learning Catalan ?

Luz: my experience? to be honest, I don't think I realised [laughs]

[...]

Luz: I started at a university that, very Catalan and in a Catalan environment, a hundred percent Catalan, because my group of friends, were, Catalan, and, and the truth is I didn't realise, in fact it was easy for me to learn the language [116]

In conclusion to section 7.2, informants have expressed a varying range of constructions of Catalan as a target language worth learning, or not. As discussed in Part 1, Norton (1997) uses the term *investment* with reference to the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to target languages and ambivalent desires to learn and practise it (1997: 441).

Informants who have not made any 'investment' in Catalan appear to have done so for a combination of the following reasons: they are too busy working and struggling in order to make ends meet and to send money to family in the home country; they do not need to learn Catalan in their work, or to meet their immediate financial goals; they may work in jobs where Catalan is constructed negatively by employers; they are not interested in learning Catalan as it is perceived as a local rather than world language; in their minds they would prefer to invest their time learning English, even if this may never happen; individuals' education and levels of literacy may mean that they would be unlikely to attend classes. Norton's reference to learners' 'imagined communities' and 'imagined identities' (Anderson, 1991; Norton, 2001, in Kanno & Norton, 2003) can also be applied to the interview responses above, both to those who have learnt Catalan and those who have not. It could be argued that those who have not learnt Catalan do not appear to be imagining themselves as participating in the Catalan group, or being in a position to reap the benefits. And perhaps an even greater hurdle when encouraging adult new migrants to

learn Catalan is that many may not ‘imagine’ themselves as language learners in a formal language classroom.

However, those informants who have made that investment to learn Catalan normally share one or more of the following characteristics: they intend to stay permanently in Catalonia; their partner is a Catalan speaker; they have integrated into social circles where Catalan is spoken and constructed positively; they accept a personal duty to learn Catalan for cultural reasons; or they consciously learn Catalan to progress professionally. Thus, they imagine themselves as participating within the Catalan group. Moreover, in the cases of Karina, Luz, and Claudia, they describe complex multiple identities in which Catalan is accorded a space.

7.3 Catalan in schools

I asked parents, pupils, and former pupils, to give their views on Catalan-medium instruction, and also to describe their own experiences, if they had any, of learning Catalan at school.

□ Catalan-medium instruction: opinions

The first interview excerpt, of Hilda, Emi and their mother María-Cecilia (all from Colombia) shows that views can differ between parents and their children:

Hilda: for me it's like oppressive because at the beginning you can't understand anything and you fall behind

Emi: it puts you behind in your studies

Hilda: yeah

[...]

Emi: I prefer everything in Castilian

Hilda: half and half

SM: and María-Cecilia, what would you prefer?

María-Cecilia: in Castilian [117]

Carmen, a castellana, sees the present situation as part of a natural evolution:

Carmen: when I was at school I did everything in Castilian, Catalan was another subject, and now it's different because it's everything in Catalan and Castilian is another subject, in other words, they've turned over the **tortilla**⁶⁰ [118]

Several informants were strongly in favour of Catalan-medium instruction, for different reasons. Luisa, who speaks Catalan with her Venezuelan mother, has very positive constructions of Catalan, and defends Catalan-medium instruction by referring to the present strength of Castilian in social settings.

⁶⁰ **tortilla** is what is called in English a ‘Spanish’ omelette.

Luisa: I think that in the present situation of Catalan, it's necessary to give classes in Catalan, because otherwise people would lose it, if I hadn't had all my primary education in Catalan, I don't think I'd speak it or write it as easily as I do, Castilian is more of a language of the street, it's impossible not to learn it [119]

Sara, a Catalan, was also strongly in favour of Catalan-medium education, arguing that the policy had gained legitimacy through elections:

SM: do you think Castilian speakers in Catalonia should have a right to..

Sara: to choose, no

SM: why not?

Sara: because if, if education is under the Catalan government, and the Catalan government decides that primary school classes are given in Catalan then they're given in Catalan, and if you don't like it you go to Madrid [laughing]

SM: and do you think that's fair?

Sara: if I think it's fair? look, what I think is there are elections every four years and if you don't like Pujol because he's a nationalist and he makes your children speak Catalan go and vote for someone else [120]

Another relevant factor in immigrant children's success in the school system is the age at which they start Catalan-medium instruction. Most parents whose children started at a very young age, along with their children, either constructed Catalan-medium instruction positively, or accepted it. However, Sol, a Brazilian, blamed Catalan-medium instruction for disadvantaging her son, who came to Catalonia from Brazil at the age of sixteen.

SM: do you think having school only in Catalan has been an advantage or disadvantage for your son?

Sol: disadvantage, my son, complete disadvantage

SM: why?

Sol: because, because he's studying, he doesn't know what he's writing, he writes but he doesn't know what he's writing, he had to have someone to translate so that he could understand what he was writing, and to survive, as he says when he goes to school, he says "I'm going to war" he said that every day [...] my son has been studying here for two years and, he's always repeating as they say here he's always in the same year [121]

In contrast, Sol's friend Manuela, who has also maintained Tagalog at home, is happy with the education that her son, who started from the age of three, has received.

Manuela: I'm happy, for my son, because he knows he knows Catalan, and Castilian, and English, he speaks Tagalog well, and understands Tagalog, he understands everything in Tagalog and perfectly in Catalan [122]

Several Spanish-speaking Latin Americans considered a fifty-fifty split between Catalan and Spanish as an ideal option:

Amadeu: it seems a bit oppressive to me, yes, because it's a forced nationalisation, isn't it? and it goes against the universality of culture, I've been told, I haven't checked it out, that they don't teach things like the Spanish Gold Age [of literature] that's like, it's like not knowing who Shakespeare is [...] I'd prefer a mixed regime [123]

Iliana: I think it should be proportional, right? half and half, because you can't just, it's an imposition, they always had a bad time and they have a lot of bitterness against Franco

because Franco banned them from speaking Catalan, but they're also **franquistas**⁶¹, because now they're, they're doing exactly the same [124]

Josep, a Catalan nationalist, argued (I felt surprisingly) for a more equitable split, but 'as long as Catalonia remains part of Spain':

Josep: I think they should teach both languages, definitely, I think so, while we're in Spain there are two languages, right? I think it should be quite equitable, and then within the other, the other subjects that there are, um, social sciences, mathematics, like, to do it some in Catalan and some in Castilian or half and half [125]

However, Luisa argues that such a split would only be possible for two languages on an equal footing, which is not the case with Catalan and Castilian:

SM: some say they'd like a half and half system

Luisa: that'd be ideal, perfect, but as the language isn't equal [...] it's not equal, Catalan has lost and is losing, that's why they impose it like that, even if it is bad to do it like that, if if you let people chose they always chose Castilian, that's why they have to force it a little [126]

□ Catalan-medium instruction: experiences at school

I asked informants to describe their experiences of learning Catalan at school, where applicable, and asked parents how they dealt with their children being educated in Catalan.

A feature of Catalan-medium instruction in schools that came up frequently in interviews was the prevalence of Catalan in the classroom and Castilian in the playground, in schools in and around Barcelona; or, as the expression goes, '**ganamos el aula, pero perdimos el patio**' (we won the classroom but lost the playground), as explained by Maya (Mexican) and Luisa (whose mother is Venezuelan):

Maya: once I went to San Cugat [in the outskirts of Barcelona], everyone in the school was speaking Catalan and it really surprised me because in my school in the playground, for example, you'd hardly hear any Catalan, you'd hear more Castilian, for example, in class sometimes they speak Catalan with the teachers, but outside the classroom, Castilian [127]

Luisa: in the classroom they speak it [Catalan], but later, outside, it's always in Castilian, [...] even in the Catalan class, the teacher often calls us to attention if we don't speak Catalan, the teacher I've got now says "if you don't do it in Cast.. Catalan, I, I won't listen to you" right? because he tries to make us, to make us speak Catalan, amongst ourselves, but we can't [128]

Hilda and Emi (Colombian teenagers) discuss their ongoing experiences at school with their older friend Diana; they describe a highly-complex system of codeswitching that takes place inside and outside of the classroom:

SM: and at school, is everything in Catalan?

Emi: yes, except for Castilian, Spanish

Hilda: Castilian, Spanish [laughter all round]

Emi: sometimes when I was at the other school the maths teacher spoke to me in Castilian, the one who did speak Catalan was the Catalan teacher

⁶¹ **franquista** here means acting like Franco

[...]
 SM: and do you have any classes where you have to speak Catalan?
 Emi: yes, the Catalan class
 Hilda: they're all in Catalan, but
 Diana: but where they demand that you speak in Catalan is Catalan
 [...]
 SM: and when you're playing, you know with your friends, outside the classroom what do you use?
 Emi: Castilian
 SM: everything?
 Emi/Hilda: yes
 SM: you don't mix?
 Emi: no
 SM: and is that common? everyone speaks Castilian?
 Hilda: yes, they speak Catalan in the classes, but not outside class
 SM: but the Catalan-speaking pupils, do they speak Catalan?
 Hilda: no, in Castilian
 SM: and they go back into the class and use Catalan?
 Emi: but with the teachers, only with the teachers
 Hilda: yes, only with the teachers
 SM: and if you two are working with a friend who's a Catalan speaker, does she change to Castilian with you?
 Emi: sometimes yes sometimes no, sometimes she speaks in Catalan and we all answer back in Castilian
 SM: and does that happen outside the class as well, in the street for example?
 Hilda: no, not outside of the class [129]

Informants described the help that they received from teachers and classmates when they first started school. Maya (Mexican) joined a secondary school aged fifteen, and refers to how she received special help, and how a teacher in a class of thirty changed to Castilian specifically for her.

Maya: when I first arrived for example a maths teacher who was giving the class in Catalan said to me "this first term I'm going to give the class in Castilian for you" and then do the exams in Castilian, and that's what she did, and half way through the year she started speaking Catalan because she assumed that I would be more used to it

[...]

Maya: in the Catalan class for example, there was, there's a revision class, for those who are really far behind [130]

Hilda and Emi (Colombian) started school aged thirteen and ten respectively; they talk about the help that they received from classmates:

SM: and how was the first day?

Emi: bad

Hilda: awful [laughter]

[...]

Hilda: the first day I went, really I didn't understand anything, nothing nothing nothing but as they put me with a Spanish girl, to sit there, then I had to ask her, and I always asked her "um what does this mean?" and she told me, yeah? then she said to me "so that you can learn more easily I'd better speak to you in Cat.. you ask me what you don't understand and I'll explain, but so that you can learn more quickly I'll talk to you in Catalan and you try to answer in Catalan" [131]

When looking back to his school days, Jairo (whose parents are Latin American) brought up the issue of getting the Level C qualification in Catalan.⁶²

Jairo and Belén

Jairo: in my case I did all my, I did my first year of bachillerato in the Canary Islands, but then I came back and did the second and third, and I passed, well they tell me I don't have Level C

Belén: because he didn't do the first year in Catalonia, it's ridiculous [...]

Jairo: also, I come from a family that has wanted to maintain Catalan and has struggled for Catalan, I've got no reason to speak Catalan if my mother is Venezuelan and my father is Bolivian, I used to really struggle for Catalonia, yeah, because of my grandparents, *you have to maintain* Catalan, Catalan is an identity, being Catalan will open lots of doors for you* only to, only to find out later at twenty-eight years old they tell me, you don't have it, you don't know Catalan [132]

□ Catalan-medium instruction: parents

María-Cecilia (Colombian) explains, much to the amusement of her daughters, the problems associated with attending parents meetings held in Catalan; Manuela (Filipina) and Sol (Brazilian) also refer to their experiences.

María-Cecilia: but when I attended meetings at the school they gave all the meetings in Catalan
Emi/Hilda [laugh]

María-Cecilia: everything, and I was, this way and that
[Emi/Hilda continue laughing heartily]

María-Cecilia: I couldn't understand, all of them, yeah?

SM: couldn't you ask "please could you.."

María-Cecilia: no because they all spoke Cat.. Catalan, all of them, and the parents who asked questions did it in Catalan, everything was in Catalan

Diana: it's as if, like it's embarrassing, everyone in Catalan and someone comes up and says "please could you explain in Castilian" like, you don't [133]

Manuela and Sol:

Manuela: no no no, I dunno, I can't ask because most people there, there aren't many foreigners where my son goes

Sol: but if it's with you alone can't you ask if they can speak Spanish?

Manuela: when I don't understand something they're explaining, please can you explain, but after the meeting [134]

One additional result of schooling in Catalan is that parents also have to deal with the language, and often improve their own knowledge through engaging with Catalan through their children's studies. Martín refers to his experience:

Martín: I improved my Catalan a lot through her, by, speaking with the teacher, doing homework in Catalan, there are lots of things that, my daughter knows in Catalan, the names in Catalan of all the bones, and not in Castilian, and she uses them when she speaks Castilian [135]

To sum up the analysis of informants' descriptions of their experiences at school or as parents, two points stand out most. Firstly, only one Spanish-speaking Latin

⁶² Level C is a proficiency certificate needed for jobs that demand high levels of spoken and written Catalan. It is gained by completing secondary education in Catalan-medium schools, or by examination.

American parent, María-Cecilia (Colombian), was against Catalan-medium instruction. All other parents expressed either a preference for a fifty-fifty split or appeared to accept Catalan-medium instruction as part and parcel of their migration to Catalonia, and as a benefit for their children. Those who were most favourable and accepting of linguistic normalisation overall were informants who were culturally and linguistically integrated into Catalan circles. Secondly, the factor which I feel illustrates most clearly the problems that language planners may have in actually producing active bilinguals through such an education system is the division between Catalan in the classroom and Castilian in the playground, which all informants who described their experiences referred to. This is also a key issue that I will return to when I attempt to answer my second research question in the final Conclusion chapter.

□ Conclusion: Chapter 7

In this chapter, I have developed ‘structural’ aspects discussed in Part 1 by analysing the opinions and experiences of my informants about the following: linguistic normalisation, constructions of Catalan as a language worth learning, or not, and opinions and experiences of learning Catalan at school.

Informants’ views on linguistic normalisation were mixed, and several reflected issues that I discussed in Part 1 of the study: historical factors; imposition of one language over another (enforcing diglossia); the Catalan language and Catalan nationhood, and the preferential positioning of Catalan in workplaces (the 1998 Language Policy Law); levels of corpus planning that are based on an idealised view of what a Catalan native speaker is; reticence about extending territorial rights outside of autonomous communities; and an ambivalent role for English as a third player.

I also focused on *investment* in learning Catalan and *imagined identities* as speakers and learners of Catalan as key factors that were related to informants’ responses.

Informants’ descriptions of their experiences as learners of Catalan at school, or as parents also raised important issues. Present and former pupils described tough processes of adaptation but which were also characterised by support from teachers and fellow pupils. I highlighted what I saw as a key result, and problem for language planners, of Catalan-medium schooling in and around Barcelona: the division between Catalan in the classroom and Castilian in the playground

I will return to these concluding points, and to the questions raised again at the beginning of this Chapter, when I attempt to give final answers to the related research question in the Conclusion to the study.

8. CONSTRUCTING CATALAN: INTERVIEW DATA

In the previous two chapters, I first analysed informants' descriptions of their migration and identity paths, and then interview responses to 'structural' aspects of nation, policy and education. In Chapters 8 and 9, I will shift the focus to my first research question which addresses the in-group and inter-group agency of informants:

How are Spanish-speaking Latin Americans constructing Catalan, and why are individuals constructing the language in conflicting ways?

In Chapter 8, I will analyse self-report data and in Chapter 9, recordings of informants' interactions.

8.1 Constructing Catalan: incorporation into repertoire

8.1a Never/rarely using Catalan

At one end of the spectrum of use is Celia (Dominican), who never uses Catalan, and asks to be addressed in Castilian if spoken to in Catalan:

Celia: always in my Castilian because I get myself over correctly

SM: and for example, if you go somewhere, a shop, anything, and the people, speak to you in Catalan, how do you react?

Celia: I tell them not to speak to me in Catalan, as I don't, I don't know Catalan, what I know is Castilian, they speak to me in Castilian without any problem [136]

Celia's use of the personal **mi** (my) when describing her language can suggest perhaps that the maintaining her variety of Spanish is an integral part of her self-identification, as I suggested earlier with Paulo [111].

Jorge, a Colombian student who does not speak Catalan, explained that he only speaks Catalan in one situation, with a particular employee at his local bank:

Jorge: everyone except for the man in the bank because he tells me what I should say [laughs] and he laughs, and corrects me when, especially with that 'l', the one that's impossible [137]

Maya (a Mexican university student), meanwhile, does not normally use Catalan as it does not come naturally to her, even though she can speak the language:

Maya: it's not in my soul [Patricia laughs] as a way of saying it, it doesn't come naturally to me, [...] and it's an effort, I have to think twice as much to speak for example, but writing is no problem [138]

In these three cases, no neat correlation can be made between a lack of use of Catalan and either comprehension levels/levels of spoken competence or education: Celia is a domestic worker whilst Jorge is a PhD student - neither speaks Catalan; Maya *can*

speak Catalan as she was educated in the Catalan-medium, but she explains that she rarely does.

8.1b Using Catalan in-group

Several informants reported in-group use of Catalan words that they are fond of, or that they have become accustomed to using in their daily lives, typically with known interlocutors such as family members or close friends. Amadeu and Marisa (both Venezuelan) describe how they use favourite Catalan words at home:

SM: and are you using any Catalan words yet at home?

Amadeu: oh yeah, yeah, Marisa loves certain expressions, like she'll say *no passa res* [*it's nothing*]

Marisa: *no passa res* [shouts from the kitchen]

Amadeu: she says it a lot

[...]

SM: and why do you choose Catalan?

Marisa: mm, for two reasons, one to integrate myself and another because I like to, [laughs] there are words that, word forms that I feel good with, *abraçada* [*a hug/kiss*] for example, um, a hug, um *abraçada*, *a poc a poc* [*little by little*], *a poc a poc*, *una mica* [*a little*], *una miqueta* [*a little bit*], I use words that seem very attractive to me [139]

Marisa describes her use of Catalan as part of a conscious effort to integrate, through the incorporation of words that she likes. Moreover, her in-group usage of Catalan would also appear to be for stylistic effect, much as an English speaker might use French expressions.

In contrast, Patricia and Marta, Venezuelan sisters aged 15 and 13, use Catalan in-group as the 'other' language for rhetorical effect, positioning Catalan stereotypically as a language of a rural, older generation, not as a language of urban modernity:

Patricia: hey Laura, do a *laio Miquel* [*grandpa Miquel*]

Laura: [putting on a rural Catalan accent, Marta performs her imitation of what they described as a "typical village oldie with the typical *capell* [*beret*] and *xoriço del poble* [*village chorizo*"]] *there's country salami from grandpa Miquel's village because, grandpa Miquel has a very beautiful house, and I've got Manuela who's my wife, you know?** [Laura and Patricia laugh a lot]

Patricia: *your wife* [140]

In this example, Patricia and Laura are outsiders using Catalan to stereotype the 'other' insiders. Their interaction also highlights the distinct positions of Catalan in a heteroglossic Catalonia: more dominant elsewhere in Catalonia than in urban Barcelona.

Hilda and Emi (Colombian teenagers) describe how certain favourite words are entering their home repertoires; these are words from Catalan, and plays on words from Castilian:

SM: and at home for example does anyone use Catalan?

Emi: with my dad [all laugh] cos he comes out with some expressions, some Catalan words, *una mica* [a little] [Hilda laughs] *si us plau* [please] [others join in laughter] the most common ones
 SM: and do you use Catalan sometimes with each other?
 Emi: yeah, sometimes with her, my sister
 SM: and how does you mum feel when you start speaking Catalan?
 Emi: she laughs
 Hilda: no, she says to me “speak to me in Spanish cos otherwise I can't understand anything” [laughter] my dad says, when he says to my mum “have you got any **dinero** [money]?” [she answers] “what's that? not **dinero**, um, **plata** [money (in Colombian Spanish)]” so my dad says to her “**di plata no** [don't say plata], di-nero, di-nero [say-dinero]” [laughter]
 Emi: my dad is also sounding more Spanish [141]

They add that normally they would only use one Catalan word regularly in their repertoires:

Emi: the only thing we're used to saying in Catalan is *déu* ['bye] *déu, déu*⁶³
 Hilda: *déu*
 Emi: it's the only word we use
 Hilda: we only use one of their words
 Emi: we use it quite a lot *déu* [142]

Hilda and Emi's descriptions of how they use Catalan words at home, and of the sophisticated plays on words involving Colombian Spanish and Castilian, are met with amusement by their friends and family in the room. They also appear to reflect a linguistic/identity divide within the family: the daughters and father on one side, in the early stages of finding a place for Catalan (the language **de ellos/of them**) in their lives, and the mother of the family on the other side. Their use of Catalan can thus be seen to illustrate their transitional status between insider and outsider, whilst accentuating what they perceive to be a fellow family member's more permanent 'other' status.

8.1c Use of Catalan inter-group

Carolina describes having fun with Catalan and making fun of her Catalan-dominant partner's pronunciation in Castilian:

Carolina: we play a lot with Catalan, yeah? you joke about those traits which you really notice, the way of speaking, yeah? like *hola* [hi], they say the Catalans talk as if they had a *patata* [potato] in their, in their mouth, a *papa* [potato in Venezuelan Spanish] [143]

Emi and Hilda explain that they sometimes switch from Colombian Spanish to Catalan to 'annoy' their school friends:

Hilda: I sometimes talk Catalan to my friends to annoy them
 Emi: me too
 [...]
 Hilda: they speak in Castilian and sometimes I start speaking to them in Catalan

⁶³ *déu* is an abbreviation of *adéu* (goodbye)

Emi: to annoy them
SM: and what do they say?
Hilda: they laugh, speak to us in Castilian [144]

Emi and Hilda's inter-group uses of Catalan for rhetorical effect could be seen as an example of *crossing* into the 'other' code, moving across social or ethnic boundaries, and raising issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate (Rampton, 1995). Hilda and Emi describe using Catalan to 'annoy' their school friends, in 'Castilian-speaking' groups, yet their crossing is not from Latin American Spanish to Castilian (the language of the group), but to Catalan (the 'other' language of another group). Crossing from Colombian Spanish to Catalan, rather than Castilian, would represent an unusual challenge to other members of the group about the legitimacy of code for linguistic outsiders to use in their group. In this instance, it would appear that by switching to *Catalan* (also an *other* code) with Castilian-speaking friends, Hilda and Emi are projecting their own sense of 'otherness'; instead of using Colombian vernacular for this purpose, they use an autochthonous code with higher social prestige.

Iliana provides another example of crossing codes. Iliana is an interesting case as she presents contradictory constructions of Catalan in her interview responses. For example, when I asked her why she had never learnt Catalan, Iliana offered a construction of Catalan as a language of the past (referring to *iaios*), not of modernity:

Iliana: and I say this, I prefer to speak Spanish which is a language that is the fourth world language than speak Catalan which is spoken by four *iaios* all over sixty years old [145]

Yet Iliana later described how she *enjoys* using Catalan in a somewhat *subversive* manner. She describes a visit to the beach with her Catalan-speaking friends:

Iliana: I got into the water and, and the water, it was really nice, and I say "*aquesta aigua està molt chévere*" [*this water is really great*"], like, the whole phrase in Catalan but the costeño *chévere* stayed there, and and like they said to me in Castilian or in Spanish they say to me "you're fucking up our language" [laughs] "listen woman, you're fucking up our language" [...] you know they don't understand why I do it but I dunno, I feel like doing it, I like to [146]

Iliana's 'crossing' is distinct in two key respects from that of Hilda and Emi discussed above. Firstly, she is describing an interaction with a group of friends among whom *Catalan*, not *Castilian*, was the normal language of communication. Secondly, Iliana's crossing is accentuated sharply by inserting the vernacular Colombian costeño term *chévere* at the end of the Catalan utterance. In this way, I believe, she is subverting what she perceives to be the norms of codeswitching: by using marked L1

code within a marked L2 utterance. I will return to this type of crossing for more in-depth analysis in the next chapter, where another informant, Mariana, uses a similar strategy inter-group in a recording of her language use.

Another important inter-group construction of Catalan would be its use as a legitimate code with other allochthonous immigrants. This is far from the norm in and around Barcelona: unknown individuals who look like immigrants would usually be addressed in Castilian due to their physical appearance:

Carolina (Venezuelan):

SM: and if you identify someone as an immigrant?

Carolina: oh then I immediately change to Castilian

SM: do you greet them in Catalan or..

Carolina: nooo, no because you know, there's always, there are features, of, um, there is sometimes something that gives you information, right? [147]

The appearance cue can also be seen to affect immigrants' expectations around which language they should be addressed in. Iliana (Colombian) describes what she understands as an incompatibility between the colour of her skin and being Catalan:

Iliana: there are lots of shop assistants they start speaking to me in Catalan, so when I go in like and they speak to me in Catalan I say to them "sorry, but I'm not Catalan" and sometimes I say to them "look, I'm not Catalan", I mean, like I say "can't you see that my skin is brown that I'm not Catalan, I'm different" [148]

Whilst Iliana's construction of Catalan is one of incompatibility with her skin colour, Carolina describes how things are changing, particularly in areas outside of Barcelona where Catalan is more dominant, and where a generation of 'new Catalans' is emerging:

Carolina: now they're talking about a generation of new Catalans [...] those of African origin [...] and so now for example you can find a black guy in the street outside of, or actually in Barcelona, and you speak to him, in Castilian, and he answers in Catalan because he's Catalan, in other words educated in Catalan, and of course you may be thinking that, that, that being black identifies him as an immigrant, a feature, but it turns out he isn't, his parents have been here for thirty years, he was born, went, his schooling was in Catalan [149]

These complexities of interlocutor identification by physical appearance also apply to Catalan-speaking interlocutors' processes of making linguistic choices about which code to select.

To sum up section 8.1, the different constructions that informants describe in 8.1a to 8.c above are varied and complex. Of particular interest in this chapter are the new types of agency that have entered the sociolinguistic environment in Catalonia, and which are altering norms of practice. In the examples above, the *new* factor that stands out most is the third code, Latin American Spanish, in interactions also involving Catalan and Castilian. This alters existing codeswitching norms in *bilingual*

interaction through the introduction of a third code that is *allochthonous*, *marked* and *comprehensible* to Catalan and Castilian-speaking interlocutors. Again, I will develop the analysis around this aspect in Chapter 9, where similar combinations of code will be seen in the recorded data.

8.2 Conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan

In this section, I will analyse informants' descriptions of how they construct being addressed in Catalan, in a general sense, and in terms of mid-interaction switches to Catalan. I will then look at reasons for the distinct constructions of being addressed in Catalan, first citing factors mentioned by informants, and then drawing on the concepts of *knowledgeability* and *reflexivity* (Giddens, 1984).

- Informants' constructions: it is normal, natural, unconscious, the result of confusion, more comfortable

Before presenting informants' constructions of being addressed in Catalan, it is first necessary to highlight an important distinction: between being addressed by *known* and *unknown* interlocutors. With known interlocutors, an interpersonal norm will have normally been established; this will guide linguistic choices made in interactions. With unknown interlocutors, these are first-time interactions with no interpersonal norm. In these cases, interlocutors' linguistic choices will be guided by a range of other factors: interlocutors' sociolinguistic knowledge, domain, appearance or sound of voice of other interlocutor, previous experience in similar interactions, among many others.

Several informants such as Paulo, described being addressed in Catalan as normal:

Paulo: we're actually in Catalonia and it's their dialect, their language, and it can't be changed, right? it's their their, like, their custom, their language is like that, the Catalonia thing you can't change them now [...] even though here Catalonia it isn't a country, but inside their heads this is a country, Catalonia is a country [150]

Paulo refers to Catalan first as a dialect and second as a language, which raises two issues. On one level, as I suggested earlier, the roots of such usage could be traced to the monolingual discourses of his Latin American country of origin, representing an example of his agency within a new structure being influenced by the structures of his home country. However, Paulo also uses the same two terms (dialect and

language) to describe his own variety of Ecuadorian Spanish when referring to his lack of convergence with Iberian Castilian:

Paulo: but I don't use anything, OK, yeah sometimes "tfo" [guy] "vale" [OK] but no further, I'm Ecuadorian and I speak my language my dialect and that's it [151]

Paulo's usage of the term dialect, then language, can also be seen to represent a linguistic manifestation of his changing, or transitional, sociolinguistic knowledge. He, like most other informants, regularly self-corrected in interviews as they were unsure what term to use with me: for example, switches from **Gerona** to *Girona* (for the city name), from *español* to *castellano*, (often *espa..castellano*) in the same sentence.

Hilda and Emi, with their fellow Colombian friend, Diana, describe *mid-interaction switches* to Catalan as normal with known interlocutors, and as unconscious with unknown interlocutors:

Hilda: normal

[...]

Diana: the sister-in-law of a cousin of mine who's also Catalan and she's talking to me in Castilian and and she speaks so quickly that that she switches and starts speaking to me in Catalan, but as I can't understand I just carry on speaking to her and then all of a sudden others switch to Castilian or put in a few Castilian words in with the Catalan, but I don't think it's for any bad reason or because of discrimination,

Emi: they get confused

[...]

Diana: it happens to me, in that shop I go to, I ask for something and say "how much is it?" and they give me the price in Catalan, with numbers in Catalan

SM: and why's that?

Diana: no, I think it's because the lady, maybe she's looking after another person in Catalan, and she starts talking to me and she forgets and automatically gives me the price or what she's got to say to me in Catalan, but not for any special reason, I think they do it unconsciously [152]

Cristi and Yael (Cuban sisters) offer a similar interpretation, adding that Catalan may be less of an effort for some words:

Cristi: and they change from one language to another unconsciously and they're speaking in Spanish for you, and suddenly they start speaking in Catalan, but they don't realise

[...]

Yael: there are people who, some words they don't know in Spanish, they know them in Catalan, so for them it's quite an effort and they change without realising

Cristi: but it's not conscious

Yael: they get confused [153]

Luz refers to 'being more comfortable':

Luz: it's to do with being comfortable because those who are used to speaking Catalan, it's an effort for them to translate into Spanish, so for them to make, make mistakes, to, to speak Catalanised Castilian [laughs] then they prefer to continue speaking Catalan [154]

- Negative constructions: so that I can't understand; it's discrimination

A minority of informants constructed being addressed in Catalan negatively, linking it to *discrimination* and to a sense that Catalan speakers were using Catalan *so that they would not be able to understand*. Sol (Brazilian) referred to instances at her workplace in a restaurant:

Sol: I tell them not to, not to speak to me in Catalan because I can't understand, so that's why when they want to say something that they don't want me to understand they speak Catalan, but I write down more or less what they said when I have a moment and I get home and ask my son, "what does this mean?" and my son tells me what I'm not sure about yeah? I ask my son and the next day then I know what they said about me [155]

José Luis (a Colombian of African appearance) described as discriminatory mid-utterance switches to Catalan at the hardware shop where he worked:

José Luis: they're talking to me, and they talk to me in Castilian, or um, normal Spanish,⁶⁴ and suddenly, mm, they switch to Catalan

[...]

José Luis: they're manipulating me like that with that kinda wind-up, they confuse me, I mean, they try to confuse me, that's for sure, for sure

SM: and why do you think they do that?

José Luis: because of discrimination

[...]

José Luis: of course, when I've annoyed them then they change

SM: yeah?

José Luis: so that you can't understand them

SM: what do you do?

José Luis: I use expressions that are used over there that they don't know here

SM: yeah, for example?

José Luis: for example, "stop fucking about"

[...]

José Luis: if they come together they speak Catalan among., which seems annoying to me as well

SM: yeah?

José Luis: in Catalan in Catalan, they start saying it in Catalan then I can't understand and it's so easy to say it, in Spanish, so that the three of us can understand [156]

I asked Claudia (Dominican, and of mixed African and European appearance) her opinion of negative perceptions such as those of Sol and José Luis. Her construction of such switches to Catalan was the opposite:

SM: do you think it [changing to Catalan] has any other meaning?

Claudia: no, I'm not usually negative in that sense, no not me, no, because it's their language and I see it as, as completely normal for them to do it

[...]

Claudia: I've been here for 19 years in Catalonia, and a Catalan-Catalan has never, or um, they never ever make you feel what, at least, I've been made to feel, how people from other parts of Spain have made me feel [157]

⁶⁴ José Luis' use of the term 'normal Spanish' is of interest in the light of earlier discussions about the use of the term 'dialect', as it could imply that Catalan is *not* 'normal Spanish', but a dialect of Spanish instead.

I will look at the reasons for José Luis' and Claudia's different constructions at the end of this section (8.2).

□ Catalans addressing immigrants in Catalan: *Tu ets mestre*

What, then, of the campaign to encourage Catalan speakers to initiate in Catalan with members of visible minorities, and perhaps to maintain Catalan if the other interlocutor speaks Spanish/Castilian but can understand Catalan, in order for them not to feel excluded?

As stated earlier, when I first read the stated aim of the *Tu ets mestre* campaign (that immigrants may feel excluded or discriminated against if Catalans will not speak to them in Catalan), it seemed to contradict my ongoing findings from informants: no new migrant informant had expressed feeling excluded or discriminated against because a Catalan speaker had spoken Castilian to them. However, this was only my assumption, my pre-construction (as a researcher) of informants' potential responses - I had not actually asked anyone in those specific terms. When I did, I found that the aims of the campaign would ring true to a certain extent among some Latin Americans, but not all.

Pati brought up the TV campaign *Tu ets mestre* on our way to do a recording of her interactions. She described a phone call to the house where she works, during which the Catalan-speaking interlocutor continued in clear Catalan, while she continued in her marked variety of Colombian costeño Spanish. She said that this was the first time she could remember this happening in twelve years in Catalonia:

Pati: I felt, my sister probably wouldn't, [puts on a high exaggerated voice] "those Catalans, you know, they're really rude", you know my sister, you must have realised that she's a bit like that, always protesting. (in a high exaggerated voice) "they're so rude, and you know", but I felt good, like, integrated

SM: so you liked [him] speaking to you like that in Catalan?

Pati: yeah, I felt really integrated, I didn't feel bad for a moment [158]

Pati's unelicited response fascinated me, as it forced me to consider my role as a researcher and the *pre-constructions* (mentioned above) that I had formed around informants' potential constructions. Somewhat unexpectedly for me, Pati's response matched exactly the aims of the *Tu ets mestre* campaign - clearly she had been feeling excluded as Catalan speakers did not allow her to exploit her 'cultural capital': the large passive knowledge of Catalan that she had acquired and which would allow her to feel included by maintaining reciprocal bilingual interactions with

no switches either side. Yet her interpretation was the complete opposite of her sister, Iliana, who offered mainly negative constructions of being addressed in Catalan.

In an attempt to develop this emerging theme, I asked other informants their opinions of the campaign, citing Pati's case. Jairo (the son of Latin Americans) and Belén (a castellana) suggested that the campaign could work for its targets, immigrants, but felt that it would be counter-productive with castellanos:

Belén: that thing about being the *teacher* we don't see it either, from my castellana point of view eh?

Jairo: I don't think it's good

SM: why not?

Belén: because it's imposing your will on..

Jairo: that's right

[...]

Belén: lots of people come to work here and they couldn't work, or study, if only Catalan was spoken [...] it seems like you're devaluing it, like you're..

Jairo: I don't know, I don't think it's a good idea

[I then referred to Pati's response]

Belén: but for people from outside, yes, but if you, to a castellano, for example my father, you speak to him in Catalan and he tells you to speak in Castilian and you don't do it, my father will get really angry

Jairo: then the radical perspectives appear [...] if a costeño person or an Australian, says to me..

Belén: yeah, "speak to me in Catalan as I want to learn it",

Jairo: says to me, "please, speak to me in Catalan", perfect, I'll speak to you in Catalan [159]

Andreína (Venezuelan) understood Pati's sense of feeling included, but still felt that the campaign could have more negative than positive effects:

Andreína: for the first time they spoke to her in Catalan and made her feel part of the group [...] so before she felt discriminated against, that's what I interpret, I think it's normal [...] I'd feel like it's a way of marking me as an outsider

SM: and what do you think about the campaign?

Andreína: the thing is the campaign can have different edges, a person who wants to stay and live in Catalonia, who wants to interact in the language, if someone uses Catalan with her it means that they're including her, they're acknowledging her, whilst for other people it could be a way of making their lives difficult [...] I think there are going to be negative and positive reactions, and I think they're going to be more negative than positive [160]

Andreína's view was that the campaign did have some worth, but that it would cause more problems than it would solve; this was one echoed by several other Spanish/Castilian-speaking informants. However, I gained a new perspective while I was recording lunch one day at Claudia's (Dominican-Catalan) house (with her husband, Miquel, and her daughter, Fernanda) when the topic of addressing immigrants in Catalan was brought up by Claudia: all present were in favour of the campaign. Miquel did not see any problems as he would simply switch to Castilian if the person could not follow:

Claudia, Fernanda and Miquel:

Claudia: *on TV a guy who's Moroccan, a black guy and another from, what country is it? and they say to him "hi Hassan, hi, good morning, let's speak Catalan, cos I want to learn Catalan"*

[...]

SM: and what do you think of the idea that you should speak to immigrants in Catalan instead of Castilian?

Fernanda: I think it's good

Miquel: it's good, it's good *for the immigrant*

Fernanda: to help them

Miquel: *to help them to improve their situation, because it's true that immigrants, even though they're immigrants, if they speak Catalan it raises their.. I don't know*

Fernanda: *quality of life*

Miquel: *quality of life, relations with people, everything, it reduces all their problems [...] and at work if you know how to speak Catalan, despite being a foreigner, and especially if you're black, African, you can see, people realise if you're speaking Catalan, uf! you gain points, load, loads*

[...]

SM: but that type of campaign, also, if all Catalan speakers did that, speaking Catalan with foreigners, it can cause problems too, right?

Miquel: no, why?

SM: because if the foreigner doesn't understand Catalan they can take it badly

Miquel: *no, you change language and speak Castilian or any language, if you see that he responds well, then you carry on in Catalan, if you see that he responds in Castilian, then you change* [161]

Once again I had heard conflicting constructions of being addressed, or addressing, in Catalan. In this case, the topic was a policy-led attempt to change a particularly ingrained habit of many Catalan-speakers, the accommodation norm triggered by ethnolinguistic identification. What I found particularly challenging was that all of the informants seemed to be offering valid responses from their different perspectives. They were all valid in terms of the distinct sociolinguistic positions that were grounding their constructions on. However, I believe that a top-down policy such as *Tu ets mestre* may only have limited success within such a multiplicity of perspectives. Furthermore, its greatest challenge is not perhaps these different interpretive perspectives, but the way in which it goes against natural, ingrained sociolinguistic practice. Addressing other interlocutors in a language that they may not understand or may be unable to speak (Catalan), when an alternative shared language (Castilian) is available goes against what would be the normal and natural sociolinguistic practice of many Catalan speakers.

□ A 'new-Catalan' perspective of constructing Catalan

The term 'new-Catalans' refers to the new generation of Catalan-speakers who are allochthonous immigrants or their children. As able speakers of Catalan, and in many cases, members of visible minority groups, new-Catalans' constructions of being

addressed in Catalan are of particular interest. Yanet is a case in point. Yanet is the daughter of Colombian immigrants, and is of mixed African and European appearance. She is a university student, taking all of her classes by choice in Catalan, and normally uses Catalan with her university friends. It will be remembered that she described her nationality as Catalan, as part of a complex multiple identity:

in terms of nationality I'm Catalan, that's for sure, but in my soul I'm more, I'm more Colombian

I asked Yanet her opinion of negative constructions such as those formed by José Luis. I assumed that, as an able Catalan speaker, Yanet would contradict any negative perception. I was basing this pre-construction on the responses of several informants who had explained to me that as their knowledge of Catalan increases, they tend to interpret being addressed in Catalan in a more positive manner (this interview data is presented in the next sub-section of this chapter). Yanet was very fluent in Catalan and described her nationality to me as Catalan. However, in the case of Yanet, my pre-construction was not entirely accurate.

SM: because for you, you speak Catalan perfectly

Yanet: mm

SM: you're never going to take it that way

Yanet: no, I'm never going to take it that way, um?, it depends

SM: yeah?

Yanet: sometimes you notice a certain aggression like in the way of being spoken to in the language as if they're saying "let's see, let's see if you speak Catalan", "now that you're here you have to speak Catalan, you have to realise that you've got to speak Catalan, and I'm only going to speak to you in Catalan", then I suppose that there are people who are more sensitive and less sensitive to that, yeah?

[...]

Yanet: ah, if you're from a foreign family you definitely won't be able to speak good Catalan, eh?, and the prejudice that comes with all that, something like that, or later to speak to me in Catalan, they're speaking in Castilian in a job interview, and the person at a given moment, changes language, yeah? and speaks Catalan worse than me [laughing] and it's also amusing someone from here who speaks Catalan quite a lot worse than me

[...]

SM: and what's the reaction when your Catalan is better than theirs?

Yanet: surprise, always, "wow, you speak Catalan, ah, well, I didn't think you could", you know what I mean? and the thing that, that hurts me, to say like "if you didn't think I could, why do you address me in Catalan in that way?" you know?

[...]

Yanet: but it's something that can hurt, and also, I'm saying it because I've also been through it

[...]

Yanet: and I've worked as a waitress, right? and well you live through that, that they speak to you in, that you speak to them in, in Castilian as you haven't heard them speak, and they speak to you in a really closed Catalan and even give you dirty looks, you know? then that's when I think it borders on racism, a bit

[...]

Yanet: that's where the problem is, the language is used as a tool for discrimination.. so, that's what I think, yeah?, and in, it's one more tool for a kind of person who is already like that, and then of course, um, there are lots of foreigners and lots of immigrants who develop a

dislike of the language, of Catalan, my aunt for example doesn't speak Catalan and she's been here for 20 years, she doesn't speak it [162]

The example of Yanet clearly shows that linguistic competence alone is not the sole determining factor in informants forming positive constructions of being addressed in Catalan - what you look like is as important as what you sound like. Although Yanet was in a very different socio-economic, cultural and educational situation to that of José Luis, like José Luis, she too perceived that language can come into play as a tool for discrimination in some instances. In these two cases, physical appearance alone may over-ride all other factors. Physical appearance may also be central to Yanet's description of the service encounter that she described, where she was working as a waitress. She describes addressing unknown informants (customers) in Castilian as a normal practice, and getting a response in 'a closed Catalan' with dirty looks, which she constructs negatively.

I found an interesting additional angle to this construction when I interviewed Yanet's friend, Sara, in a separate interview. Sara is white, Catalan-dominant, from a small Catalan-speaking town in the Pyrenees. She described an interesting mirror-image of being a waitress in Barcelona:

Sara: I was a waitress in a disco [...] I normally spoke to people in Spanish, in Castilian, because most of the customers were castellanos, and the thing that really made me laugh was [...] Catalans would come, and the Catalans always always always always ordered what they wanted in Spanish, but I realised they were Catalans because I could hear, or because I would hear them speaking in Catalan or by their accent or whatever, so I replied in Catalan because I knew it was more comfortable for them, yeah? kind of to be courteous, and they would carry on talking to me in Castilian, because a waitress is always [laughing] a type of woman that..., the idea that Catalans have of waitresses, they're girls who haven't studied much and who, I don't know, of course they're not Catalans, a Catalan waitress is something impossible, against, that's the idea that they have, and that, and that, the dumb girls behind the bar, oh no, and they don't understand that you can, you can speak to them in Catalan, and that you can be studying sociology, oh no [...] I answer them in, but no, they can't do it, don't ask me why, I don't know, but that used to make me laugh [...] at first it really annoyed me, but later you get used to it and in the end they make you laugh [laughs] [163]

The two cases above present an interesting 'heteroglossic paradox' that links code selection, place and appearance. Sara is a white, Catalan-dominant waitress, and Yanet, a 'new-Catalan' waitress, of mixed African-European appearance. Both are very bilingual (they would both meet the criteria for traditional definitions of bilingualism that specify 'native-like control of two languages' (Bloomfield, 1933: 56), and 'complete meaningful utterances in the other language' (Haugen, 1953: 7). Both also described complex multiple identities which included being Catalan. Both

are educated students, and both describe working as waitresses and interacting with Catalan speakers as part of their job:

- Sara refers to being annoyed when spoken to in *Castilian* by Catalan-speaking customers whilst working as a waitress, even when she addressed them in *Catalan* to be polite;
- Yanet, on the other hand, refers to being annoyed when spoken to in *Catalan* by Catalan-speaking customers whilst working as a waitress, when she addressed them in *Castilian*.

Put simply, the customers in question do not speak Catalan back to Sara after she switches to Catalan, even though she is clearly a Catalan-speaker. However, they do speak Catalan back to Yanet when she speaks to them in Castilian. The reasons for this would be very complex, and cannot be ascertained without interviewing the other interlocutors. However, I would suggest that much of it can be brought down to a combination of three key factors: [i] ascription of ethnolinguistic identity according to physical appearance, [ii] setting, and [iii] perceived associated social positions/classes. In these cases, setting, ethnicity, social class, and gender could be the key factors in the heteroglossic construction processes of the interlocutors involved.

8.3 Conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan: reasons

When I began to look for reasons for informants' different constructions, I was struck by the stark difference between José Luis [156] and Claudia [157] above. The first thing that came to mind was that José Luis is single, male, newly-arrived, a monolingual speaker of very marked Colombian Spanish, and in a precarious situation as an immigrant. In contrast, Claudia is a Dominican female, and very settled, married to a Catalan, bilingual, with a bilingual daughter, and living in Catalonia for over a decade. However, I found that other informants who had similar characteristics did not necessarily form associated positive or negative constructions. Equally, both José Luis and Claudia expressed very strong senses of increasing Latino identity, which meant that I could not point to any simple correlation with identity formation.

In discussions with friends and fellow researchers, José Luis' self-reporting was questioned whilst Claudia's was not. However, I was less interested in the veracity of

his accounts but in *why* he was constructing being addressed in Catalan in such a negative way.

In order to address the clear difference in these constructions, I asked informants why they felt that other informants had such distinct constructions of being addressed in Catalan (as described earlier). Firstly, individuals' *linguistic competence*, and *changes with time*, were mentioned by several informants:

Andreina:

SM: and, and how do you feel when they change like that?

Andreina: well I, [laughs] I don't feel good or bad as I understand the language [164]

Emi, Hilda, Diana:

Emi: before when I couldn't understand it it really annoyed me because I couldn't understand it, but now that I understand it I like them to speak to me in Catalan

Diana: but I think it's because you don't understand

Emi: because they don't understand they can't communicate

Hilda: yeah, now I don't, I like to be spoken to in Catalan, I don't mind either whether they speak to me in Catalan or in Castilian, I want them to speak to me in Catalan because then, you listen to the pronunciation more and learn more

Emi: and we learn more quickly

Hilda: for me I stopped getting angry, that was how the process was for me [165]

Tania:

Tania: sometimes I've felt uncomfortable, because it has happened that right in the middle of a conversation they change to Catalan, especially as I don't speak it very well and the people who make the change know that I don't speak it very well [...] I didn't understand what it might be that they meant by that, I didn't know how to interpret it, I thought at first that it was a way for them to be very close together, and no, afterwards I started to understand that it's a natural change, in keeping with their being bilingual it's absolutely normal [166]

Carmen mentioned *age*:

Carmen: sometimes for example old people, it's not because they don't want to speak Castilian, I think it's really difficult for them to speak Castilian, [...] young people can be different, maybe they don't switch for nationalist reasons [...] but I don't have any problem, I don't know, if we understand each other each person should speak whatever they like [167]

Iliana mentioned *age* and *location*:

Iliana: if you go to a fabric shop, for example, I mean the ones near my house, the old people, you enter speaking Spanish, they carry on speaking to you in Catalan, and round here people keep talking to you in Catalan [168]

Education, culture, and lack of progress also came up:

Karina and Josep:

Karina: I think it's to do with education

Josep: it's education, the culture

Karina: yeah

Josep: the actual culture of their country, it's if they come from there educated in a particular way

Karina: it's the mentality, I would never interpret it as discrimination or as a.. you know? people changing language with me, no I've always interpreted it positively even not knowing Catalan when I arrived [...] I'd say "speak Catalan as I want to learn it" you know? [...] but I think that it's also, because there are lots of people who stagnate [169]

Finally, Luisa referred to the *psychology of migration*, arguing that the *responsibility* to learn is on the migrant:

Luisa: lots of people, I don't know how to explain it but, lots of people are here and they don't want to be here, and they're here for economic reasons, um their family [is] here, and they don't want to be, and not wanting to be here they reject it [...] if you go to another country if you haven't, if you haven't wanted to go that country it's not other people's problem, it's *your* problem and even though you haven't liked it well you're here now and you have to integrate [170]

I found informants' perspectives interesting as, viewed together, they brought up issues that I have highlighted in this study: changing perceptions along paths of migration and paths of identity; and changing sociolinguistic knowledge, in a new complex, heteroglossic sociolinguistic environment, as the following illustrated:

- [i] Karina and Josep mentioned the structures/culture of the home country which continue to frame the agencies of some individuals after migration;
- [ii] Luisa brings up issues related to earlier discussions of longing and belonging through migration;
- [iii] several mentioned how perceptions change with increased competence in Catalan, which can be linked to the changing sociolinguistic knowledge that comes with increased competence;
- [iv] and finally, Carmen and Iliana highlighted age and location, which may be linked to earlier discussions of domains and diglossia.

However, I found that these four illustrations cannot be applied consistently to informants' varying constructions of being addressed in Catalan. I consequently tried to link the explanations above to wider conceptual frameworks in order to find concepts that could be applied to informants with both positive and negative constructions of being addressed in Catalan.

□ *Conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan: knowledgeability and reflexivity*

A possible means of understanding José Luis' and Claudia's conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan is their *knowledgeability and reflexivity* (Giddens, 1984) as social agents, in this specific multilingual setting.

In terms of knowledgeability and reflexivity, a common view of José Luis would be that he is a newly-arrived migrant lacking *sociolinguistic knowledge* (of the complex sociolinguistic dynamic between Spanish/Castilian and Catalan speakers);

thus his *reflexive monitoring* and expectations can lead to unsuccessful interactions with Catalan speakers, and to negative, oppositional interpretations (misconstructions even) of social meanings of interactions involving Catalan.

A common view of Claudia, on the other hand, would be that she has become a more *knowledgeable* of the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia over the years due to her high degree of socialisation in the Catalan-Castilian dynamic in Catalonia. Her *reflexive* language use leads to more successful interactions and to positive interpretations of being addressed in Catalan.

The first point to make is that I consider both José Luis and Claudia to be *knowledgeable social agents*. However, they are at opposite ends of a spectrum of sociolinguistic knowledge, and with distinct epistemological grounding.

Even though I would accept that José Luis is less sociolinguistically-knowledgeable in terms of certain wider social realities, this does not mean that he is not knowledgeable about the specific interactional strategies that he employs, and about his aims therein in reproducing or challenging the social realities that *he* perceives.

Claudia has a much higher degree of sociolinguistic knowledge of the Catalan-Castilian dynamic, and she too is knowledgeable of the interactional strategies that she employs. However, in Claudia's case, this does not lead to her challenging what she perceives as social realities.

I also see both José Luis and Claudia as *reflexive social agents*. They both show the key characteristics of reflexive social practice, as defined earlier (Giddens, 1984): [i] they are clearly aware of how they use socially-situated language; [ii] their responses would suggest that they monitor their own language use and have clear expectations about the language use of others; [iii] they are able to use language to succeed in interactional aims.

However, in terms of reflexivity, José Luis' reflexive monitoring of interactional situations and language use would commonly be viewed as unsuccessful and negative. However, I would argue that José Luis' does reflexively monitor situations and adapts strategies, *succeeding in his own interactional aims*; these aims appear to have more to do with putting up barriers and maintaining boundaries in order to emphasise non-membership of the other interlocutors' group, even though these aims may have been the opposite at the outset of an interaction.

Claudia also monitors situations and adapts strategies, although in her case, success in her interactional aims can be judged in terms of successful inter-group communication, and a sympathetic and mutually-inclusive interpretation of being addressed in Catalan.

□ Conclusion: Chapter 8

In Chapter 8, I have presented and analysed interview data about how informants are constructing Catalan: how they are incorporating Catalan into their linguistic repertoire in-group and inter-group, how they are interpreting being addressed in Catalan by known and unknown interlocutors, and the reasons why informants are forming conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan.

Firstly, I will summarise how informants described incorporating Catalan into repertoire, in-group and inter-group. A minority of informants used little or no Catalan in their repertoire, in-group and inter-group; others only used *déu* ('bye) or a few favourite words in-group, but used Catalan in certain situations, or experimented with Catalan inter-group. Such usage was often for rhetorical effect: favourite Catalan words to add a sense of style (in-group), Catalan words to have fun (in-group and inter-group), and 'crossing' into Catalan in inter-group interactions. The two instances of crossing that I cited were both cases of speakers of Colombian Spanish using Catalan, in the first example, in a Castilian-speaking group, and in the second, a Catalan-speaking group. In both cases, the usage of Catalan would have been a marked, unexpected form. Finally, informants explained that Catalan would not be used between immigrants, with the exception perhaps of 'new-Catalans', particularly in other parts of Catalonia where Catalan was more socially dominant than in Barcelona.

Secondly, informants described their interpretations of being addressed in Catalan in the following ways: normal, natural, unconscious, the result of confusion, more comfortable, 'so that I can't understand', and as discrimination. When I asked informants the reasons behind conflicting constructions of Catalan, they suggested the following: linguistic competence, changes with time, age, location, education, culture, lack of progress, the psychology of migration, and the new migrant's responsibility to learn.

I added two concepts that I felt brought together these factors: knowledgeability and reflexivity, arguing that all informants should be considered knowledgeable

irrespective of their constructions, and despite differences in individuals' degrees of knowledgeability and reflexivity.

I also highlighted two revealing cases of informants' constructions of being addressed in Catalan. In the case of Pati, her welcoming of being addressed in Catalan in interactions involving reciprocal bilingualism allowed her to exploit for the first time the large passive knowledge of Catalan that she had acquired over twelve years. Nonetheless, whilst Pati welcomed being addressed in this way, others pointed out the negative side that such a campaign as *Tu ets mestre* can bring. In the case of Yanet and Sara, I suggested that in the setting that they were referring to, where they worked as waitresses, Catalan speakers' selection of code could be explained perhaps according to factors related to the specific heteroglossic nature of the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia: ascription of ethnolinguistic identification, setting, perceived social position/class, and gender of interlocutors.

I will now build upon the findings from this chapter by analysing recordings of informants' interactions in Chapter 9.

9 CONSTRUCTING CATALAN: RECORDINGS OF INTERACTIONS

In Chapter 9, I continue my analysis of how informants are constructing Catalan. In sections 9.1 to 9.3, I will present samples of the recordings that I made of informants' interactions involving Catalan (inter-group and in-group). In sections 9.4 and 9.5, I will introduce two comparative angles of analysis: first, researcher constructs versus informants' constructs, and second, self-report data versus recorded data.

Whilst the main focus of the recordings is on how Catalan is being incorporated into repertoire, issues related to how interlocutors are interpreting being addressed in Catalan will also come up in the discussion, especially in follow-up interviews with informants.

Before illustrating examples of recorded interactions involving Catalan, it is important to stress that the most common pattern of informants' language use in-group, and inter-group with Castilian and Catalan speakers was to have all-Spanish/Castilian interactions. The three examples below illustrate such interactions. After recording several such interactions at the early stages of data collection, I shifted my focus (as mentioned in my methodology chapter) by asking informants to use Catalan in interactions.

In the first excerpt, Luz and I are approached by unknown interlocutors (X [male] and Y [female]) in a town outside of Barcelona:

X: two corners down there's a 24-hour one, it's open day and night, the pharmacy
Luz: the one down there? is there another one near here? do you know?
Y: no, not round here, no
Luz: I'm looking for a, a
Y: no, you have to go down towards the centre, but not round here, that's the nearest one
Luz: OK, thank you [171]

In the next excerpt, I am with Patricia as she has a conversation with a female cashier (SH) in a department store:

Patricia: hello, oh sorry
SH: were you first or [inaud] been?
Patricia: no, I was first
SH: thanks [after taking payment and putting purchase in bag]
Patricia: OK
SH: thank you
Patricia: OK [172]

In the third excerpt, I accompany Martín as he interacts two female shop assistants (SH1 and SH2) in a grocery shop in his neighbourhood. The only Catalan word I heard in the background was *sucre* [sugar]:

Martin: hello, good morning
SH1: hello
SH2: hello
Martin: hello, alright?
SH1: [to another customer] OK thanks a lot, have a good trip, bye, good day to you
SH2: ¿what..
Martin: hi, I'll have some asparagus please, thick ones
SH1: these ones?
Martin: yeah, [4 secs] um that's all
SH1: nothing else?
Martin: no
SH1: three ninety
Martin: OK, let's see if the weather improves, eh? I heard on the radio that this morning in Seville they suspended all the processions
SH1: yes they did, the processions are lovely
Martin: yeah
SH1: they're beautiful
Martin: definitely
SH1: it's a shame
Martin: I've never been, I may go there one day
SH1: I'm Andalusian
Martin: oh?
SH1: and it's beautiful, sometimes when we were young we used to go for Easter every year
SH2: it's lovely, it's.. four, five and fifteen, twenty
Martin: thank you
SH1: bye
Martin: bye good day to you [173]

Outside the shop, I asked Martín why he thought the conversation was all-Spanish/Castilian:

Martin: the thing is people speak Castilian and be.. if people are able to speak Castilian they don't speak Catalan because Castilian is like more, universal you could say, where Catalan is more present is in the towns in the interior of Catalonia [174]

Another key aspect to note in the above interactions is that in each case, the informant or other interlocutor initiated the interaction in Spanish/Castilian, making it likely that the other would continue in Spanish/Castilian. Such initiating in Spanish/Castilian was the norm for the all-Spanish/Castilian interactions that I recorded.

9.1 Inter-group: all-Catalan interactions

As my initial findings were that Catalan played little or no role in most in-group, and many inter-group interactions, I decided to carry out recordings of service encounters in order to provide a useful context for informants to try out their Catalan

as other interlocutors would be unknown, and this would also fit in with informants' daily schedules.

By the end of my data collection, only a small number of the interactions that I recorded would be considered all-Catalan in the sense that they involved no Spanish/Castilian (although purists would question whether certain terms used are 'correct' Catalan – see asterisks for non-standard terms).

In the first interaction, I accompany Luz (Peruvian) as she buys fruit from a female shop assistant (SH) in a town close to Barcelona. Luz explained that a lot of Catalan was spoken in most parts of the town; I asked her before going into the shop to use Catalan as she felt appropriate:

Luz: *hello, good morning*
SH: *good morning*
Luz: *I'll have that*
SH: *anything else?*
Luz: *half a kilo of kiwis, have you got any other lettuce?*
SH: *only that one or iceberg*
Luz: *how much is it?*
SH: *three sixteen*
[...]
SH: *and ten, thanks**
Luz: *OK*, thanks** [175]

In the next interaction, I am not present as Patricia (Venezuelan) and Maya (Mexican) are shopping in a middle class neighbourhood in Barcelona where Catalan is commonly spoken. Again, I had asked Patricia to use Catalan as she felt appropriate before she and Maya went into the shop:

Patricia: *hello, hi, you haven't got any of these in black?*
SH: *which ones?*
Patricia: *these ones, well, are they dresses or tops? because..*
SH: *they're dresses for small girls*
Patricia: *oh, right*
SH: [laughs]
[...]
Maya: [inaud.]
Patricia: *what?*
Maya: *sixty-five euros*
Patricia: *well, it not exactly ready to go*
Maya: *come on! but it's not worth that*
[...]
Patricia: *I'm used to shorter ones*
SH: *you grab the seam and that's it, it starts off short and you end up with it longer*
Patricia: *yeah, thanks* mmm* [176]

The interaction above is more complex than Luz's previous one. Patricia switches intrasententially to Catalan after greeting the female shop assistant (SH) in Spanish.

The shop assistant follows the switch and maintains Catalan with Patricia. However, at the same time, Maya codeswitches between Catalan and Spanish with Patricia.

In the following excerpt, Karina (Peruvian) carries out an all-Catalan interaction with a female shop assistant (SH) in a pharmacy, in what could be described a mixed neighbourhood of Catalan and Castilian speakers in Barcelona. Both Karina and the shop assistant use occasional Castilian words; Castilian is also used by the shop assistant to read an instruction leaflet. I waited outside the shop while Karina and her husband were in the shop. I had asked them to try to maintain Catalan for as long as possible. This was in order to record some reciprocal bilingual interactions, and in response to several Catalan speakers explaining that in many areas in Barcelona it was difficult to maintain Catalan in such service encounters:

SH: *hello*

Karina: *hello, good afternoon, I need some advice, um, I'm pregnant and I've been told I should take folic acid, right? but I don't know how much or at what time, or if I can eat or not, nothing*

SH: *yes, generally*

Karina: *I think I need a prescription and all that, right? OK*

SH: *well, if you're pregnant and they've recommended folic acid, I can give it to you without a prescription, eh? in fact, folic acid what it does is prevent malformations in the bone marrow of the foetus and then, I'd say it's one a day*

Karina: *will you check?*

[...]

SH: *look it says here, generally it's a month before getting pregnant, but anyway*, if not that's fine, when you become pregnant, when you realise, and for three months after [reading the product information] so first it's for three months, now if they've told you for the whole pregnancy, well it won't do any harm*

Karina: *yes, um, I'll take one for now* [177]

The three examples above illustrate all-Catalan interactions between Spanish-speaking Latin Americans informants in service encounters with shop assistants, where I had asked them specifically to use Catalan. The first point to note is that such utterances were not the norm in terms of informants' language use in their daily life paths. In each case, I had asked informants to try to use as much Catalan as possible, which may have been unusual for them and perhaps for the other interlocutors. Secondly, each interaction had examples of words that were strictly-speaking not Catalan as indicated by the asterisks or standard font. Nonetheless, the examples do indicate that such all-Catalan interactions are possible, in service encounters in and around Barcelona, at least, with Spanish-speaking Latin Americans who may sound or look Latin American. In other words, these examples show that if a Spanish-speaking Latin American persists with Catalan, and the other interlocutor is able to maintain Catalan, *accommodation norm* switches based on ethnolinguistic

identification can be overridden. However, there are specific criteria to be met for this to happen. Firstly, Luz, Patricia, and Karina are all very able Catalan speakers; this makes it less likely for other interlocutors to make a ‘solidarity switch’ to Castilian in order to make it easier for the Castilian/Spanish-speaker who is trying to speak Catalan. Moreover, in the interactions above, the informants used Catalan from the start, which appears to be key to code selection and negotiation, except Patricia, who greets in Spanish before switching to Catalan.

9.2 Inter-group: interactions involving codeswitching

In this section, I will illustrate some of the many complex ways in which interlocutors switched codes in interactions involving Latin American Spanish, Castilian and Catalan.

In the first interaction, Maya (Mexican) and I are with Patricia (Venezuelan) as she makes several switches in an interaction with a market stallholder (SH) in a middle class area of Barcelona where Catalan is commonly spoken. Before we went into the market, I had asked Patricia to use Catalan as she felt appropriate, giving no further instructions:

SH: what were you looking for?

Patricia: *toma.. tomatoes and apples*

SH: *tomatoes? how do you want them, softer or not so soft? these are softer, I've got some others there that are little bit firmer*

Customer: [to stallholder] yes, thanks

SH: [to Patricia] OK, what else do you want?

Patricia: yeah, those are more smo.. softer

Customer: how much did you say?

SH: [to other customer] one thirty-six, *it doesn't matter* [regarding the change]

Patricia: *that's it*

SH: now, which apples?

Patricia: you can leave the apples, *thanks, no, no thanks, we're fine just with the tomatoes, for now*

SH: twenty-nine

Patricia: *thanks*

SH: have a good day, *'bye* [178]

The first interaction above shows the fluidity of switches and alternation that commonly take place in interactions where Spanish-speaking Latin Americans attempt to use Catalan. The stallholder initiates in Castilian, one would assume based on Patricia's physical appearance. Patricia then replies in Catalan, which would perhaps not be expected by the stallholder, who nonetheless follows the switch to Catalan; such ‘switching with the customer’ was common in the recordings that I made of service encounters. The stallholder then switches back to Castilian after

finishing a parallel conversation in Castilian with another customer: in this case, code alternation with another customer appears to have cued a switch back to Castilian with Patricia. The switching then becomes less structured, including intersentential switches. Patricia replies in Spanish, but makes an intersentential switch back to Catalan, which she maintains until the end of the interaction. The stallholder maintains Castilian until closing the interaction, when she says goodbye in Catalan.

In the next excerpt, I am with Luz (Peruvian) as we enter a local café/patisserie in a town outside of Barcelona, where Luz knows the shop assistants. Before entering, I had asked Luz to start in Spanish and to then switch to Catalan mid-interaction to see what would happen; I was particularly curious to see if the shop assistants would follow a switch:

SM: [before entering the shop] this time, can you test something out, start in Castilian and switch to Catalan, to see how it comes out, if you don't mind

Luz: no, no problem

[in the shop]

SH: do you want any pastries? how's the baby?

Luz: the baby? he's very well, as you can see

SH: we almost saw him born!

Luz: *yes, yes you saw me every day*, I mean, [when] *I went to buy things, and that*

SH: *he's beautiful, beautiful*

Luz: *yeah, he's big*

SH: *he's very beautiful*

Luz: *yeah*

[paying fifteen minutes later]

SH2: OK, three thirty-six

Luz: *do you want six cents?*

SH2 : *thirty-six, whatever you prefer, yeah, it's the same, whatever you've got, let's do it like that*

[...]

SH2: *no it's OK, that's it, that's it, look, three, that makes five, and the cent, that's it, thank you*

Luz: *that's it, fine, thank you* [179]

In the interaction, both shop assistants initiate in Castilian: in the first instance, with SH, Luz takes one turn in Spanish before switching to Catalan; in the second, with SH2, Luz responds immediately in Catalan. Both shop assistants (SH and SH2) immediately 'switch to Catalan with the customer', and maintain Catalan until the end of the interaction. Outside the shop, I asked Luz about the interaction.

Luz: when she spoke to me first she spoke Castilian, when I answered in Catalan she immediately changed register to Catalan

SM: and she maintained it, right?

Luz: she maintained it, yes, till the end

SM: why do you think they speak to you in Castilian

Luz: because I'm Latin American, because she realises I'm Latin American, then it's habitual, it happens to me a lot, eh? sometimes they carry on in Castilian, and sometimes, like in this case, they change to Catalan and that's it [180]

In the next excerpt, Cristina (Venezuelan) and I go for a coffee in a local bar where Cristina knows the staff. In this case, I had made no specific request for Cristina to use Catalan, as I had realised that she often switched codes freely as part of her daily repertoire. In the lively interaction with the male barman (B) there is complex free ‘conversational codeswitching’:

Cristina: *good morning*
 B: *good morning and in good time*
 Cristina: *a white coffee please*
 B: and you?
 SM: *a white coffee please*
 B: bloody hell, everything *si us plau* [*please*] shall I heat up the milk a bit for you?
 Cristina: *si no plou...* [*if it doesn't rain* – a word play]
 [...]
 B: *you don't want sugar, right?*
 Cristina: no thanks *si us plau* [*please*] [giggles], *are these the new Harley Davidson T-shirts?* this year's? they're fantastic
 B: *and now everyone wants Harley Davidson T-shirts*
 Cristina: of course they do!
 B: *since they held that, thing* [Harley Davidson open road tour] *now everyone wants one*
 Cristina: but this one's from the Calafell one?
 B: *yeah, and in Benidorm* you can find them as well, *it's not just a question of wanting one or not**
 Cristina: this weekend *it's in Terrassa, the Harleys*, at the country music festival
 B: bloody hell, bloody hell [positive excited tone]
 Cristina: oh yeah
 [...]
 Cristina: now that you're here Inma, it's to make you work or anything, eh? but would you do me a *torrada*?* [*toasted bread*] a *torrada* without butter *with olive oil* [181]

Cristina explained to me before and after making the recordings that such ‘free conversational switches’, or ‘code mixing’ (Haugen, 1972) are a normal part of her daily repertoire, attributing no particular meaning to them.

□ Inter-group: interactions involving reciprocal bilingualism

In interviews, informants had mostly described interactions involving reciprocal bilingualism in which they maintained Spanish/Castilian while Catalan speakers maintained Catalan, often outside of Barcelona. As mentioned in the previous section, not included in this study are recordings of limited ‘reciprocal bilingual’ interactions in service encounters that I made with Josep (a Catalan speaker) and Karina in which they both attempted to maintain Catalan with Castilian-speaking, Latin American, and South Asian shop assistants. For these recordings, I had asked both to attempt to maintain Catalan for as long as possible. In brief, these recordings illustrated that it was possible for most of the shop assistants to follow Catalan, but difficult for Josep

and Karina to maintain Catalan when they perceived that the other interlocutor was struggling.

The recordings below are the reverse of informants' interview descriptions: they involve Latin Americans who attempt to maintain *Catalan* in interactions with other interlocutors who continue in *Castilian*. I found that the maintenance of such a norm for *whole interactions* from start to finish was not at all common in and around Barcelona. It was far more usual for this form of reciprocal bilingualism to be maintained only for a limited number of turns, and then for interlocutors to either change code or codeswitch within utterances.

In the first short interaction, I accompany Martín into a small local bakery, where he has a conversation with a female shop assistant (SH). I had asked Martín to use Catalan before entering the shop:

Martín: [to me as we enter] here for example they're listening to the radio in Castilian, it's a sign, you could say, of..

[10 seconds]

Martín: *hello, a quarter baguette please*

SH: OK

SH: [to other customer] see you later

Customer: see you later gorgeous

SH: anything else?

Martín: *no*⁶⁵

SH: fifty-eight, thanks

Martín: OK, *thanks* [182]

In the street afterwards, I asked Martín if such reciprocal bilingualism was normal:

SM: you asked for it in Catalan, and she answered

Martín: _____ in Castilian

SM: is that normal round here?

Martín: yeah, especially in shops [183]

Martín's answer should not be interpreted as meaning that reciprocal bilingual interactions involving *Latin Americans* speaking Catalan were normal, but that it was normal for certain shopkeepers to maintain Castilian even if the other interlocutor spoke Catalan.

In the next interaction, Patricia, Maya and I go into a shop, where Patricia maintains a limited reciprocal bilingual interaction with a female shop assistant (SH). I had not given Patricia any specific instructions before entering this shop, although

⁶⁵ I checked with one of my transcribers (who knows Martín) whether this 'no' constitutes Catalan or Spanish. The transcriber supposed that he was speaking in Catalan because of his particular accent while speaking in Catalan.

this recording came after several other interactions in which I had asked her to use

Catalan:

Patricia: *hello*

SH: hello

Patricia: *the pizzas you've got here what's in them, the pizzas*

SH: what's in them or what are they like?

Patricia: *what's in them?*

SH: what's in them?

Patricia: *yes*

SH: tuna, mushrooms, sweet ham, and cheese and anchovies

Patricia: *um, which do you feel like most?* [to Maya] [184]

Later in the interaction, after Patricia consulted with Maya, Patricia switched to Spanish with the shop assistant. As in the interaction with Martín, the interaction was very limited in terms of number of turns.

Such interactions with unknown interlocutors in service encounters were very uncommon in and around Barcelona. Where I found that reciprocal bilingualism in a general sense was more common was as an integral part of communication between family and friends (known interlocutors), often in linguistically mixed groups where code alternation was practised, and where interpersonal norms had been established among interlocutors.

To sum up the section on recordings of inter-group codeswitching, I have presented a very small selection of the many examples that I recorded, illustrating a range of forms of codeswitching between Latin American informants and anonymous interactants (known and unknown) in service encounters. The examples showed considerable complexity of switching: fluidity, switching with the customer, code alternation with other customers leading to switches back to Castilian with informants, and limited reciprocal bilingualism. I will present three more examples of inter-group interactions involving codeswitching in section 9.4, where I will compare my researcher constructs with those of informants.

9.3 In-group: interactions involving Catalan

As part of my analysis of how Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are constructing Catalan, I was interested to learn if/how informants use Catalan in-group in interactions with fellow Latin Americans. I have illustrated in the interviews presented in Chapter 8 that such in-group use was very unusual beyond the borrowing of certain words or expressions that were familiar, or that would perform some kind of rhetorical function.

I therefore asked some informants to use Catalan in interactions with fellow Latin Americans in order to provide an illustration of how in-group use of Catalan would be incorporated into informants' interactions (constructing Catalan through incorporation into repertoire), as well as an indication of how being addressed in Catalan by fellow Latin Americans would be interpreted by other interlocutors (constructing being addressed in Catalan). I was asking informants to carry out a very unusual practice; this would obviously have implications on any conclusions that I would draw about how this data represents informants 'constructing Catalan in-group through incorporation into repertoire'.

In the first recording, I asked Martín to use some Catalan before we went into a shop where the shop assistant (SH) turned out to be Bolivian:

Martin: *good morning!*
SH: *good morning!*
SH: [to other customer] good luck
Customer: good luck
Martin: *I wanted some apples, shall I get them?*
SH: yes you can
Martin: OK, fine
SH: [to other customer] good bye
Martin: [to other customer] *'bye*
SH: [to other customer] have a good day madam
SH: together?
Martin: yes
SH: one forty-three
SH: [to another woman who's leaving] see you later!
Woman who leaves: *'bye*
SH: good bye [185]

In the interaction, the shop assistant understands the Catalan spoken in the interactions, but only uses it herself for greetings; Martín then switches to Spanish with her. In fact, the shopkeeper later explained to us that she had thought Martín was Italian, not Argentinian. Martín later explained to me that he felt he was less easily identifiable as Argentinian when speaking Catalan:

Martín: well, in Catalan it's less noticeable than in Castilian, my accent, um, because, um, as I learnt it here, I learnt it, you could say, correctly [186]

In the next excerpt, Mariana uses a mixture of Catalan and Spanish to promote a play. Mariana understood the aims of the study very well and often spontaneously incorporated aspects from the interview questions into her interactions. Mariana and I arrive at a Dominican bar, with Martín and his daughter. The Dominican staff are Doris and Sadia; both have only very basic knowledge of Catalan:

Mariana: *good afternoon everyone in the house! good afternoon!*
Doris: good afternoon miss

Mariana: *I said! I said good afternoon! I said good afternoon! good afternoon! what's your name?*

Doris: *fine*

Sadia: *very well*

Mariana: *no, what your name is, your name*

Doris: Doris

Mariana: ah, you're Doris, and you?

Sadia: Sadia

Mariana: Sadia, right then, Sadia y Doris, look, *I've brought you the poster*

Doris: let's have a look

Sadia: wait, I'm going to the kitchen, I'm going to work, I've got an order

Mariana: [laughs] *don't you understand?* don't you understand? *I've brought you the poster* that I promised

Martin: una Fanta

[...]

Doris: what is it? what are you going to do those days?

Mariana: a musical show that we're doing in, *that we're doing in, in the Sant Agustí Convent*

Doris: [animated] you speak to me in Castilian, cos me and Catalan, I've been here nineteen years and I've never got my head round it

Mariana: you've never got your head round it? but it's easy

Doris: I can't get my head round it, I can't get my head round it, I truly can't

Mariana: and have you tried?

Doris: I've worked with Catalans, everything with Catalans

Mariana: and have you managed to, spea., to *speak a little?*

Doris: no I can't, get my head round it, it's like, I prefer my Castilian, because Catalan is only here in Catalonia, then you, you go to the United States, and it's English and all that stuff, you don't see it anywhere, only here, aren't I right?

Mariana: but you understand it? aren't I right?

Doris: a tiny bit, a tiny bit, but not a lot, the thing is I haven't..

[...]

Mariana: but um, *how long, how long..*

Doris: [screams] don't speak to me in Catalan!! I say it and I'll say it again, you're doing my head in..

Mariana: how long have you been in Catalonia?

Doris: me? nineteen years

Mariana: [screaming in disbelief] nineteen years!!!

Doris: I don't understand Catalan..

Mariana: listen, I've been, I'm about to reach twelve years and I *speak it*

Doris: but I don't like it..

Mariana: I understand it and understand it and everything, I even dare to write it

Doris: don't, don't speak to me in Catalan, I, I, signed up and said "not for me", and another time, I signed up, at one of those places

Mariana: run by the Generalitat

Doris: yeah, and I say "no, no, no, this wasn't meant for me" [laughing], no, no, I can't get my head round it

[...]

Mariana: there's always enough to eat, right?

Doris: yeah, but if you don't work, there's nothing

Mariana: *work, it's work*

Doris: yeah

Mariana: *as the Catalans say.*

Doris: you and your *Catalan*, it's got stuck in your head somewhere, I dunno, if you go in the metro and a *Catalan* speaks to you, it's in Catalan, but if it's a, speaking to you in Catalan, that's how it is? aren't I right? aren't I right?

Mariana: yeah

Doris: one of your countrymen comes along you don't speak Catalan to them, no you don't

Mariana: nooo

Doris: so?

Mariana: for fun yes, it can be for fun

Doris: no, I know

[...]

Doris: right then, right then, aren't you guys going to sing a song, or what?

Mariana: OK, but turn off, turn off that damn thing

Doris: bloody hell but I was waiting for you to say something [187]

In the interaction above, Mariana initiates in Catalan with fellow Latin Americans who she knows only in passing. Doris and Sadia attempt to answer in Spanish but are unable to follow. This leads to Mariana changing from Catalan utterances to utterances involving intrasentential switches between the two codes. Later, when Doris initiates in Spanish, Mariana responds with another utterance involving an intrasentential switch from Spanish to Catalan. This earns her a rebuke from Doris, who is clearly starting to get fed up. Thereafter, two out of three of Mariana's further attempts to use Catalan earn rebukes.

Mariana's construction of Catalan (through incorporation into repertoire) shows a high degree of reflexivity: she rephrases Catalan terms to make them closer to Spanish, and she moves from all Catalan utterances to utterances involving intrasentential switches between the two codes, perhaps in order to make it easier for Doris and Sadia. In terms of Doris' and Sadia's constructions of Catalan (interpreting being addressed in Catalan), Mariana's use of Catalan is clearly interpreted as inappropriate: as stated by Doris, it is acceptable if a stranger in the metro speaks to you in Catalan but not if a fellow Latin American (countryman) does. Certainly, outside of close friendships where a norm may have been set up, such in-group use of Catalan would normally be constructed as very unusual and inappropriate. The lack of appropriacy may have been increased by the fact that Mariana is someone they know in passing and a fellow speaker of a Caribbean variety of Spanish; hence Doris' animated responses.

I found that the content of the interaction was also interesting, particularly in the light of earlier discussion about Spanish-speaking Latin Americans constructing Catalan as a language worth learning, or not. Doris explained that she had tried to learn Catalan formally but she 'couldn't get her head around it'. Learners such as Doris may be very unfamiliar with a formal learning environment such as a language classroom, as well as with the meta-language that learning Catalan would involve. Moreover, Doris later explained that she is a regular visitor to relatives in the US; this would explain partly her description of Catalan as a local language, unlike English in the US. Despite her efforts to learn Catalan, Doris may have had insufficient

'investment' (Norton, 1997) in the language to continue; after all, she can function very well in her job using Spanish. Moreover, in her case, the idea of 'imagining herself (Norton and Kanno, 2003) as being a member of the Catalan speech community is of less immediate relevance perhaps than first being able to imagine herself as a language learner in a classroom.

9.4 Comparison: researcher constructs versus informant constructs

As explained in my methodology chapter, I attempted to give the data greater validity and credibility by bringing in two comparative angles. Firstly, within my methodology, I introduced the first comparison between my researcher constructs and those of informants, to answer the following question that I had been asking myself: what if informants have interpretations of their language use that are completely different to mine?

In this section, I will present data from detailed follow-up interviews that I carried out separately with Mariana and Andreína (both Venezuelans). I began the process by handing over the transcripts of the interactions for each of them to read and discuss with me. It was with a certain degree of trepidation that I handed over the transcripts, as with them I was also handing over a degree of my academic ownership.

The recording above in the Dominican bar raised many issues in my mind. I showed Mariana the transcript of the recording at the Dominican bar and asked for her interpretations, first about whether it was usual for her to use Catalan in such a way with fellow Latin Americans:

SM: and do you think it's unusual here, to use Catalan amongst Latin Americans?

Mariana: ahhh, if we can speak our language we speak our language, unless there's a Catalan present and we speak Catalan

SM: so, your behaviour was very unusual for them

Mariana: for sure, as if I was obliging them or almost forcing them to speak to me in Catalan, and in some way I was doing it on purpose, no? testing out the ground as they say [188]

I thought that Mariana's response hit the mark: it *was* very unusual, she *was* almost forcing them, and she *was* testing the ground.

Mariana then reaches the line in the transcript where she is reprimanded by Doris, who tells Mariana not to speak to her in Catalan:

Mariana: here she kind of started to get annoyed, didn't she?

SM: yeah

Mariana: don't speak to me in Catalan [laughs]

SM: and why, why would she have got so annoyed?

Mariana: she can't understand

SM: she can't understand? how do you think she interpreted it?

Mariana: no, well [sighs unhappily] I mean because when I tell her that she's been here nineteen years and me twelve and I *speak* it and even, maybe it shocked her, maybe she got annoyed because I was suggesting that I can speak it having been here for fewer years than her, you know? [189]

In this case, I had not envisaged such an interpretation. I had imagined that Mariana would answer by referring in a general sense to what I understood as 'appropriate code selection' in in-group interactions with known/unknown interlocutors. However, Mariana interpreted Doris' negative response primarily as a perception of interpersonal one-upmanship. In this case, my analysis was far off from the micro, interpersonal explanation that Mariana presented.

In the same follow-up interview, I also discussed another recording excerpt with Mariana, this time an interaction in which Mariana used Catalan *inter-group*.

It is fiesta day in the neighbourhood, and Mariana is going from noisy bar to noisy bar handing out information about the play that she is promoting. In the recording, Mariana enters a local bar alone, initially wearing a horse mask from the play, and carrying a cuatro guitar with the Venezuelan flag on. She interacts with two men sitting at the bar (M1 and M2):

Mariana: *good afternoon family! ah so many familiar faces around! quina vaina⁶⁶ més maca!* [what a great thing!.]

M1: look at that a bad Cuban woman [to Mariana]

Mariana: not Cuban! not Cuban! I'm Venezuelan little man, right then, *I'm promoting, we're promoting a show, "Animal Music", "Animal Music", about some animal musicians*

M2: *if it's a strong animal that's OK*

Mariana: *a strong animal? what do you mean by that, eh?*

[...]

[Mariana sings one of the songs from the play. Then she tries to sing it in Catalan, leading to discussions about how to translate key words]

Mariana: *and now in Catalan?* [singing] *moon*, [stops singing] *how do you say stream in Catalan?*

M1: a stream?

M2: let's see, a stream..

Mariana: [singing] *moon, moon...don't tell the riu [river]?*

M2: no, stream isn't *riu* ¿eh?

M1: *riera, riera, [river] no, no it'd be better "don't tell the remans [still water]"*

M2: *don't tell the remans?*

M1: *that my love has gone*

M2: oh! that's beautiful isn't it?

[eight all-Catalan turns follow]

M1: [inaudible: offers money to go away]

Mariana: *no, no, no, but I'm doing a promotion*

M1: [exasperated tone] no, no, stop speaking Catalan

Mariana: no, no, buy a ticket

M1: no, no, stop going on about tickets, or any of that shit [Mariana laughs]

M2: no, as a present [trying to give her the money]

⁶⁶ "Vaina" is a very marked form of Colombian and Venezuelan Spanish, meaning any "thing" that you are talking about, often with emotion.

Mariana: *what's this guy thinking, that I'm asking for charity, eh? that's unbelievable!* to get rid of me.. [laughs] well, have a beer, no, I already gave you one [pamphlets for the show], who else, who else? [190]

Although the degree to which the two male interlocutors use Catalan in their daily lives cannot be verified, they can use Catalan and show an understanding of Catalan. What is clear is that Male 1 expresses his annoyance not by telling Mariana to be quiet or to go away, but by telling her to *stop speaking Catalan*. It is her marked use of the language that is highlighted. Moreover, M1's tone of voice suggested it was a reprimand rather than being playful.

First, I presented Mariana with a hypothesis that I had developed. I had noticed that she was using Spanish terms that were related to self-identification, and Catalan for the function of promoting the play; her answer brought in additional angles that I had not considered.

Mariana: meaning? it's my way of taking on the bilingualism here, yeah? and as the show was called Animal Music, then there are people who tend to say 'ah, Animal Music' because they think it's in English, and it's not, it's *Animal Música* [with Catalan pronunciation] it could also be because, at that time I was, influenced by the rehearsals we did with Catalan people, there are texts and songs in the play with Catalan expressions in them

[...]

SM: I'm looking at it and I see that for things related to identification the two of you are using Castilian, right? using

Mariana: mmm

SM: Catalan for the function of promoting

Mariana: mmmm, well maybe it was unconscious, I say it again, yeah? as it was a show that was going to be part of a very Catalan festival, the Grec, and and with a Castili.. Catalan cast in some way for me it was like getting a foot into the Catalan artistic environment [191]

Mariana was doubtful about my view on self-identification, but agreed that her use of Catalan was related to the function of promoting a play for a prestigious annual festival. This explanation is distinct from Mariana's earlier explanations of why she was using Catalan in-group in the Dominican bar: that she had been 'testing the ground', and her initial explanation that she often mixed Catalan and Spanish for no particular reason. This would suggest highly reflexive use of Catalan in specific situations for specific purposes.

Another aspect about which I wanted to compare my interpretation with Mariana was the code selection of the other interlocutors in the bar. I had noticed that the other interlocutors did not consistently switch to Catalan after Mariana initiated in Catalan, and asked Mariana if this was normal and how much the location had to do with code

selection. Her response matched earlier discussions and explanations of ethnolinguistic identity and ‘solidarity switches’:

Mariana: it depends on the place and the situation, sometimes I’ve realised, just a while back it happened to me, I can’t remember where it was, I wanted to start speaking in Catalan and the person maybe because of my physical appearance or because she realised that I wasn’t from here um like saying “let me make it easier for you” you know? sometimes people from here if they find you speaking to them in Catalan and that you can get by well then they carry on in Catalan with you and sometimes the opposite occurs, like believing that they’re helping you so that you, so you don’t have to make such an effort, then they speak to you in Castilian, like to make your life easier you could say [192]

I thought that what Mariana was describing here was of relevance to my earlier discussion of the chances for success of the *Tu ets mestre* campaign, and that Mariana’s explanation exemplified the challenges that such a campaign would be unable to overcome. As explained by Mariana, Catalan interlocutors in many cases base their switches to Castilian on human empathy, which would make them less likely to proactively use Catalan with members of visible minorities in the role of ‘teacher’.

I then asked Mariana why she thought one of the men told her to stop speaking Catalan. In this case, her answer more or less matched my view, of a man who simply got fed up, and highlighted the most marked aspect of her interaction, which was her use of Catalan:

Mariana: well I don’t think that has anything to do with either Catalan or Castilian, the man is unpleasant [...] I think he just got annoyed, because he wasn’t interested in the show or in speaking Catalan or anything

SM: but he’s not saying “leave me alone, I don’t want to go to the play” he’s expressing it linguistically

[...]

Mariana: maybe if I speak to him all the time in Castilian, this is something going through my head right now, the kindness and sweetness that is attributed to us Latin American women, um, maybe the man would have been more prepared to listen to me, if I had done all the promotion in Castilian “look this is a play I’m acting in” and all that like, um, maybe there wouldn’t have been the rejection, although I’m not clear about the man, I don’t know, I suppose he was Spanish not Catalan [193]

Finally, Mariana was rather taken back when she remembered after looking at the transcript that she had been offered money to go away; she explained that her retort back to the man may have been in Catalan to annoy him more, which reminded me of Hilda and Emi’s description of using Catalan to ‘annoy’ Castilian-speaking friends:

Mariana: and he offered me money?

SM: he offered you one euro

Mariana: so I’d shut up and go away [Mariana ponders the situation unhappily for 6 seconds]

SM: he had a go at you and you gave it back to him in Catalan, right? instead of saying it in Castilian you carried on in Catalan

Mariana: maybe it was an attitude on my part to keep on at him, I mean, maybe his comment affected me at that moment [194]

I then asked Mariana about her use of the very marked form ‘vaina’ in the middle of a Catalan utterance. I felt that this particular use of a marked vernacular form embedded within a marked Catalan utterance seemed identical to the utterance that Iliana had described to me in an interview: her use of “*aquesta aigua està molt chévere*” (*this water is great*) with Catalan-speaking friends on the beach. Mariana had already explained to me that her normal code of interaction with unknown interlocutors would be Spanish. Nonetheless, she added that she sometimes uses Catalan (see [192] above) and that she also enjoys mixing Catalan and Venezuelan Spanish. Although my request for Mariana to use Catalan in inter-group interactions was a manipulation, it was one which Mariana was not completely unfamiliar with herself. In fact, I later heard when recording lunch at Claudia’s house that it was not the first time that Mariana had used Catalan in such a way:

SM: [regarding the football match] you know Mariana, the Venezuelan, I saw it with her husband, he’s a real fan of.

Claudia: *do you remember Mariana?*

Miquel: *yeah*

Claudia: *we went to the Boqueria [a market in central Barcelona] it was a show, with her guitar, hello good morning, she spoke Catalan and the people spoke back in Castilian, yeah, it was..*

Miquel: *when they saw she was Latina, they spoke to her in Castilian it’s normal* [195]

I interpreted Mariana’s use of ‘vaina’ in a Catalan utterance as a subversive use of a *marked L1* form (vaina) within a *marked L2* utterance (Catalan). I understood it to mean ‘look at me, I’m a Venezuelan, look at the flag, I’m not Cuban, and I can speak Catalan!’. Mariana had explained that she was often identified as a Cuban or Dominican. Her answer on this occasion more or less matched my interpretation:

SM: why do you say **vaina** there?

Mariana: it’s a, it’s a strange habit I have, to use Venezuelan expressions like to, as a way of making evident, you know? the Venezuelan word **vaina**, is, lots of people identify it principally with Venezuela and sometimes Colombia too, so it’s like, making a *mix*, of Venezuelan with Catalan, but it’s my own peculiarity, there’s no special motivation [196]

Mariana’s assertion of Venezuelan-ness also matches Zentella’s (1997) earlier description of Latinos (in the US) preferring national identification, rather than Latino identification; it also matches Gilma’s desire to differentiate Venezuelans from other Latin Americans [47].⁶⁷ However, the fact that Mariana was then addressed as

⁶⁷ Venezuelans are a particularly distinct case in this respect: many Venezuelans in Catalonia are educated professionals, artists, graduate students, etc. And despite its immense problems, Venezuela is still oil-rich, and itself a magnet for immigrants, of whom around two million are Colombians, facing the same regularisation processes that they face in Spain. Many disputes exist between Colombia and Venezuela, not least Colombia’s territorial claim to the vast oilfields of the Gulf of Maracaibo. In Colombia, I once heard a university student refer to Venezuelans as “the Latin American Kuwaitis”.

'cubana mala' would suggest that Mariana's perceptions of being identified as Venezuelan by conscious insertion of Venezuelan vernacular were not successful. M1 and M2 may have recognised 'vaina' as marked Latin American Spanish vis à vis Castilian, but not as marked Venezuelan vis à vis other Latin American varieties.

This assertion of Venezuelan-ness is also evident in Mariana's response to my next question about why she felt she was addressed as a '**cubana mala**' [bad Cuban woman]:

SM: and what do you think about the "look at that bad Cuban woman"

Mariana: the bad bit I don't know why they'd say it, I don't know if they'd mean mischievous, but the Cuban bit I'm so used to it, because of my physical appearance, brown skin and frizzy hair, and the like, people nearly always think, first that I'm Cuban, and then they think if I tell them that I'm not Cuban, then they say to me "oh, so you must be Dominican" but they rarely get it right first time, my nationality, but it's commonplace, it's as if all the mulatta women have to be Cuban as a result, no? and if they're not Cuban then they're Dominican [197]

Although only two short utterances, I felt that Mariana's "*quina vaina més maca!*" [*what a great thing!*], and Iliana's "*aquesta aigua està molt chévere*" (*this water is great*) were at the heart of what I was looking for in terms of new migrant sociolinguistic agencies that challenge existing norms of practice and the existing analytic paradigms.

I feel that Mariana's and Iliana's use of a marked Venezuelan/Colombian vernacular term embedded within a marked Catalan utterance could not be explained solely according to any analytic framework that I have reviewed in Part 1: accommodation and bilingual norms (Woolard, 1989), lexical borrowing (Turell and Lavratti, 2001), models of markedness (Scotton, 1983, 1988).

Firstly, the utterances go against, and even subvert, the norms of practice described in the discussion above on the *accommodation* and *bilingual* norms (Woolard, 1989) as these two analytic perspectives are more rooted in autochthonous Catalan-Castilian codeswitching, rather than interactions involving allochthonous varieties of Latin American Spanish.

Moreover, in terms of markedness, Mariana's and Iliana's utterances cannot be understood according to Scotton's model, as described in Part 1. According to Scotton's model, use of the *unmarked* form is interpreted as representing *recognition of the status quo*, whilst use of the *marked* form is seen as a *negotiation of rights and*

An important marker is that, whilst collecting my data, Venezuelans were one of the few national groups who could still get automatic tourist visas on arrival in Spain.

obligations. However, in the case of Mariana's and Iliana's utterances, three levels of markedness can be highlighted. As argued by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), such crossing of codes brings out a weakness in the model.

Firstly, in Mariana's case, she was addressing the customers in the bar (who would be a mixture of Castilian and Catalan speakers) in *Catalan*, which would be interpreted as a *marked* form for her (a Spanish-speaking Latin American) to use in the contexts of Catalonia.

Secondly, Mariana's use of the term 'vaina' (Venezuelan Spanish) stands out as *marked* Latin American Spanish vis à vis Castilian, the *unmarked* norm in Catalonia.

And thirdly, the term *vaina* is also a very marked form within Latin American varieties of Spanish, suggesting that the speaker is from Venezuela or Colombia (for those able to interpret it), and someone who is happy to use such an informal term with strangers.

In this way, Mariana's utterance presents the other interlocutors with three separate levels of markedness, in an interaction involving three codes: a very *marked* term vis à vis Latin American *and* Iberian varieties, inserted into a *marked* L2 Catalan utterance. The same also applies with Iliana's use of *chévere* within a Catalan utterance.

These multiple levels of markedness make an interpretation of markedness according to Scotton's model problematic. Whilst other interlocutors may well have knowledge of 'indexicality', as Scotton would argue, (that is that they can relate the selection of marked and unmarked code to wider factors), they would have had three levels of markedness to deal with.

Another possible means of analysis of these two cases is a structural-descriptive analysis of the utterances in terms, say, of parts of speech and position in the phrase. Such an approach could focus on the following: marked Colombian/Venezuelan Spanish lexemes 'vaina' [noun] and 'chévere' [adjective], and their positions in the phrases - 'vaina' [before an adverb] and 'chévere' [after an adverb]. This would throw some light onto 'how' this form of codeswitching is constructed, but would leave the reader still wondering why it is being used.

I believe that the two examples being discussed here can also be interpreted from wider perspectives. Firstly, both examples match what I highlighted earlier as the key characteristics of the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants that challenge existing norms and analytic paradigms:

the presence of new languages, new and transitional sociolinguistic practices (often based on sociolinguistic practices in other countries), and associated identities. In terms of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, the key aspect is the involvement of a third code, in interactions involving Catalan and Castilian, *Latin American Spanish*, which is *allochthonous*, *marked* and *comprehensible* to Catalan and Castilian speakers, often spoken by members of visible minorities, and which can have the effect of altering existing *bilingual* codeswitching norms.

Secondly, I also believe that they can be linked to my analytic approach of language as recursive social practice within a triangle of epistemology, ontology and time-space.

On one level, the utterances can be seen as reflecting Mariana's and Iliana's epistemological grounding: their own paths of migration (here [Catalan] and there [Latin American vernacular]), their identity formation (self [Latin American vernacular] and other [Catalan]).

At another level, Mariana's and Iliana's utterances may also be interpreted as reflecting their perceptions about what is perceived to be socially *normal* (ontology) and their desire to subvert normality by crossing codes and using marked Latin American vernacular terms within marked Catalan utterances. This sophisticated reflexive application of sociolinguistic knowledge can have the effect of subverting the expectations about what constitutes normal sociolinguistic practice (ontology).

And finally, both utterances could also be understood according to Mariana's and Iliana's own altered time-space relations, and transition, along their respective sociolinguistic paths: they are *here*, at the bar/beach, having fun, and they cross into to the code of *here*, but inserting a very marked adjective of *there*, applying the global to the local.

Admittedly, a lot of analysis is being made here of these two key utterances. It would be a danger to read too much into these two examples of codeswitching: one is a single self-report, and the other an isolated utterance in recorded data where I have manipulated the process by asking Mariana to specifically use Catalan. However, as I am analysing such utterances as 'language as recursive social practice', I would suggest that such agency *reflects* 'old' and 'new' structures, and that it will inevitably *engender change* in structures, and others' sociolinguistic practices. In this case the norms of the structures of *here* are challenged by crossing to the code of *here*, and at the same time, inserting a marked vernacular term of *there*. In this way, I believe that the utterances can also be interpreted as representing a sociolinguistic manifestation

of a demand for a place for the *allochthonous* within spaces traditionally dominated by the *autochthonous*. And in an unusual twist, Iliana later described in the interview a fascinating mirror image of this strategy as she describes saying *adéu* (goodbye) to her fellow passengers on the bus while visiting family in Santa Marta, Colombia.

To sum up the recursive angle, this new type of sociolinguistic agency may be very limited but I believe that it is emblematic of the challenges that policy-makers face in bringing forward a linguistic normalisation model based on ‘normalities’ that are being fractured by globalisation, often via the medium of language. In this regard, informants are using codes in new ways for new purposes, which with time can become more normal.

I also carried out detailed follow-up interviews with Andreína (Venezuelan). As stated in the list of informants, Andreína’s appearance identifies her as member of a visible minority in Catalonia: she described her appearance as a combination of African, indigenous Venezuelan, and European.

The first transcript that I showed Andreína is a recording of when she went shopping in the local market, with me standing away from the stall; after two all-Spanish/Castilian recordings, I had asked Andreína to try out her Catalan (which has some basic errors) as she felt appropriate. The following inter-group interaction is with two female stallholders SH1 and SH2.

Andreína: hello, *how much* for half a kilo of cucumbers*?*
SH1: whatever it weighs
Andreína: whatever it weighs?
SH1: very difficult to do.., or more or less, half a kilo of cucumbers, and for example you can do tomatoes
Andreína: OK, *can you do three (tras) cucumbers*?*
SH1: it’s not *tras*, it’s *tres*
SH2: [inaud.] and she does it so strangely, she does, the..
Andreína: three, and what else? tomato, tomato should be easy
SH2: you want the same amount?
Andreína: *how much is it*?*
SH2: sixty-nine cents
Andreína: aha, *and half a kilo* of tomatoes please*, are they good for making *pà de tomata** [a Catalan staple of tomatoes on bread]
SH1: these ones are always good as they’re really red, so they say, what else [would you like?]
Andreína: *nothing else thank you very much*
SH1: thank you, one fifteen; have you got fifteen cents?
[SH1 & SH2 speak in Catalan to another customer] [198]

I later showed Andreína the transcript of the recording to ask her to interpret the interaction. I had felt that the recording illustrated the problems that ‘visible-minority’

immigrants have in breaking the long-established sociolinguistic norms of practice of Catalan speakers when they want to try out the Catalan that they have learnt.

I was fascinated that the only Catalan word uttered by the stallholder was *tres*, a correction of Andreína's pronunciation of the number three in Catalan as *tras*. I asked Andreína why she thought the stallholders had not spoken to her in Catalan, but had corrected her Catalan. Andreína, however, explained that she thought that the stallholders were correcting her *Spanish*. Furthermore, she seemed disappointed by her errors, which I had also failed to foresee:

Andreína: those two women were unfriendly [...] but I think she didn't want to speak Catalan to me

[...]

SM: my interpretation of this interaction is that you made a pronunciation error with the 'e'

Andreína: mm hh, I don't know, I don't know if she's correcting there how I should say it in Catalan or if she's correcting how I should say it in Spanish

SM: well I imagine that as you say *i si posa* [can you do] it's obvious that you're speaking Catalan

Andreína: that I'm *trying* to speak Catalan

[...]

Andreína: I felt at that moment, I remember [laughing] the two women, I felt the woman was aggressive with me, ah, just when she was correcting me I didn't think she was correcting my Catalan, I thought she was actually correcting my Spanish, I wasn't saying it properly and she was correcting me

[...]

SM: so in this example, they don't speak Catalan to you, why do you think?

Andreína: it may be, um, because they're unfriendly, like um, this person doesn't speak our language and I'm not going to start speaking Catalan to her here if she's not going to understand either, right? I prefer to speak to her in Castilian, or it's possible that, um, that for that person Catalan might be her, her language of communication with fellow members of her community, and that she identifies me as an outsider to her community and so she doesn't use the language with someone from outside her community [199]

Andreína provided a complex, very analytical answer, giving more than one possible interpretation. In the next interaction, Andreína and I arrive at a market stall in Barcelona where there is ongoing interaction of male banter between the male stallholder SH and two male customers M1 and M2, about a female customer. In this case, before going to the stall, I asked Andreína to start in Spanish and then switch to Catalan. I was interested in seeing the codeswitching strategies that would emerge, and if the stallholder would follow the switches. Andreína is clearly an intermediate language learner practising her Catalan; the stallholder sympathetically helps her with 'switches of encouragement':

M2: I'm in love and happy [singing]

Andreína: hello

SH: hello, what are you looking for?

Andreína: something that's not fattening

SH: turkey

Andreína: turkey?

M2: [to female customer] madam
M1: [to M2] you didn't tell anyone that that woman here was your wife, she's alright that woman, eh? I like women, I don't like men
SH: ham with no fat [to Andreína], thank you gorgeous [to the female customer, who leaves]
M1: she's lovely that woman
M2: gorgeous
SH: I like wine better than women
Andreína: really?
SH: I'm tired of women, four hundred girls pass by here every year, they say that that they don't give you much pleasure and make you really tired
Andreína: and how much is a kilo of turkey?
SH: turkey, the cooked meat is 7.15, and the raw meat 14.27 a kilo
[...]
Andreína: *how much is a quarter kilo** how do you say goat's cheese?
SH: how do you say goat's cheese?
Andreína: in Catalan
SH: goat?
Andreína: goat's cheese
SH: *formatge de cabra*
Andreína: *formatge de cabra, how much is half a kilo of goat's cheese?**
SH: *four seventy-five [clearly]*
Andreína: *four seventy-five*
[...]
Andreína: ah! *I'd like a quarter kilo of goat's cheese**
SH: *well done!!*
[...]
SH: *formatge* is cheese, I mean there are a lot [of words] that *are a bit similar and others that aren't*
Andreína: *others aren't*
[...]
Andreína: *and these products* are they from Catalan.. Catalonia, or?*
[a long explanation, in Castilian, follows about several products and their origins]
SH: *llonganissa* is, and salchichón is, it's typical of Catalonia, but *xoriço* isn't [all types of cured sausage]
Andreína: chorizo isn't, *five*
SH: *very good! two forty-six*
Andreína: *it's hot*
SH: *well done, thanks a lot*
Andreína: *thanks a lot, five* [200]

When I first interviewed Andreína, she explained that she did at times try out her Catalan:

Andreína: sometimes for my own curiosity about linguistics, I say words, expressions in Catalan to see how the Catalans react but mostly I speak Castilian [201]

Later, we looked at the transcript of the interaction together. I suggested my possible interpretations (a possible functional use of Catalan for transactional purposes) and Andreína gives me hers (politeness and making sure she would understand):

SM: I thought it was interesting because you initiated the change, right ?
Andreína: uh hum, and he followed me
[...]
Andreína: he says *llonganissa* in Catalan and then the rest in Spanish
SM: yeah, yeah, so what I see is this, Catalan in the interactions of transactions
Andreína: commercial [...] and if he thought that if he spoke to me in Catalan all that information that he could give me about the Catalan products I wouldn't understand it?

because I've also heard Catalans who say they change code as a courtesy because you know "the other person isn't going to understand me so I'll speak Castilian"

SM: so what do you interpret from that?

Andreína: I interpret that he is seeing my efforts to practise my basic Catalan, and in that part he thinks that the information that he can give me in Catalan maybe I won't understand and he prefers to change to, to Castilian which he is sure I'll be able to understand [202]

The example above is another illustration of the additional perspectives that my follow-up interview with Andreína provided.

As was the case in the follow-up interviews with Mariana, Andreína's responses provided me with additional perspectives and insight into informants' interactions. This was most apparent where I suggested possible meanings around switches from one code to another for functional purposes (for self-identification, transaction, for example) but learnt from Mariana and Andreína that they felt the switches were for other reasons (for example, solidarity/courtesy switches, or to make sure key information was understood). As such, Andreína and Mariana added a valuable *emic* perspective to the data analysis, giving it, I feel, greater validity and credibility.

In this sense, the sharing of the analysis with informants brought in new angles and perspectives, which made me wary of stating assumptions about others' language use. I believe that this is particularly important for two reasons. Firstly, if I am arguing that these interactions constitute informants' applications of sociolinguistic knowledge, it is very useful to find out what informants *know* about their own language use. Secondly, I am also arguing that these interactions are recursive rather than static; in other words, informants' constructions of Catalan (incorporation into repertoire – in this section with some manipulation from the researcher, and interpretations of being addressed in Catalan) are the *outcomes* of 'structural' aspects, and they *engender* change in the same 'structures'. By recognising the importance of informants' constructs around their own linguistic agency, and highlighting key areas of discrepancy between my constructs and theirs, I aim to prevent the insertion of *my constructs* into the recursive relationships of *others'* linguistic agency.

9.5 Comparison: self-report data versus recorded data

The second comparative angle that I attempted to develop in order to add to the validity and credibility of the data was a comparison between informants' self-report data and their recorded data. By comparing self-report data and recorded data, I

envisaged that I would either find ‘evidence’ that would back up the self-reporting, or I would find inconsistencies and discrepancies that would add new complexities to analysing the data.

The first point to make here is that the recordings that I have made can only be considered as a miniscule representation of individuals’ daily language use. They are not very representative in any qualitative sense and not at all in a quantitative sense. However, the comparison did bring out a number of interesting points of analysis for consideration.

I thought that a surprise invitation to lunch at Claudia’s house would be a good opportunity to compare her self-reporting of language use at home at two levels: to compare Claudia’s self-reports with those of her husband, Miquel, and daughter, Fernanda; and to compare Claudia’s self-reports with actual recorded language in her very interesting linguistically-mixed, Dominican-Catalan household.

Claudia had described interesting codeswitching at home: she mostly maintained Spanish with her husband and daughter, who spoke to each other exclusively in Catalan; Claudia explained that her daughter often spoke Castilian to her, as did her husband.

In our first interview Claudia had previously referred to language use at home as follows:

SM: and how does it work at home with

Claudia: at home, well

SM: with your daughter and husband?

Claudia: well yes normally, my daughter and my husband always in Catalan

SM: always?

Claudia: always always, it’s something that’s very, intimate

SM: and what do you and you husband use?

Claudia: I use Castilian, sometimes I would say though, “oh we have to always talk you know in Catalan” you understand? but, there are things that I don’t know how to say for example and he says “ay” straight away to be more comfortable for example um it, you change quickly to Castilian

SM: and does he answer you in Castilian or Catalan?

Claudia: yes, Castilian, Castilian

SM: you don’t mix then?

Claudia: mm, no, no no no, sometimes we mix, but uh, if you start in Castilian Castilian, eh? um, for the two of them they always, always speak to each other in Catalan, in Catalan yes

SM: mm, and with your daughter?

Claudia: my daughter and I, well, in Castilian, more than anything, yes in Castilian [203]

During lunch, I asked Claudia, Miquel and Fernanda about their language use, interested to see if the self-reporting would be similar to that of Claudia in an interview a year before:

SM: how do you [Claudia] normally speak, do you speak Castilian?

Claudia: yes
SM: and you [Fernanda] answer Claudia..?
Claudia: *in Catalan*
Fernanda: *it depends*
Miquel: *sometimes you answer her in Castilian as well*
Claudia: that's right
Fernanda: *normally in Catalan* [204]

I then asked Miquel specifically about how he used language with Claudia:

SM: and you for example, Miquel, do you speak Catalan with Claudia?
Miquel: no, normally I speak Castilian with her because it's more comfortable for us, the little time that we're together it's better if we can understand each other, she'd understand me the same, but it's more fluent if I speak Castilian
Claudia: yes
Miquel: *then, if I speak to her, I speak to her, I speak to her in Catalan and she answers in Catalan, always, habitually, and that doesn't mean that she doesn't understand*, but that she understands* perfectly* [205]

Fernanda then explained how she uses language with Claudia:

SM: do you normally use Catalan or Castilian at home?
Fernanda: [laughs]
SM: *or do you mix?*
Fernanda: *I speak to her [Claudia] in Catalan and she, well, answers me in Castilian, my father and I though, yeah we speak Catalan*
Claudia: *sometimes I mix, but not a lot um there's* [laughs], how do you say it? she corrects herself by, *how do you say it?* the, yes sometimes, but..*
Fernanda : *it's always been* like that, since I was small I've spoken in Catalan and she has answered me in Castilian, and then..* [206]

In sum, at the level of comparing self-report, Claudia's earlier self-reports were a reasonably close reflection of those of Miquel and Fernanda. The only real discrepancy was that Fernanda described interactions involving reciprocal bilingualism as the norm with Claudia (Fernanda in Catalan and Claudia in Spanish), which did not match with Claudia's explanation that they mostly used Castilian together.

When it came to *recording* the family at lunch, the language used was much less of a reflection of the descriptions above.

From the ninety minutes of the interactions that I recorded (a mixture of interviews and 'observation'), I was able to elicit *self-report data* on language use from Miquel and Fernanda that more or less matched Claudia's descriptions as illustrated above. However, I was only able to record one small section of *recorded interaction* that more or less matched Claudia's *self-report* descriptions, for one key reason. Whilst my construction of the recording process was based on my understanding of the study, i.e. to compare self-report and actual use, Claudia's construction of the recording appeared to be an as opportunity to show her ability to use Catalan at home, resulting often in almost the opposite to her reported practice. I

even found myself asking Claudia to use language as she normally would, but she inevitably slipped into Catalan. Moreover, the fact that I was present, as a guest in their house, would have also affected the code selections of Miquel and Fernanda, perhaps in the form of using more Castilian than normal.

The first excerpt is the only section of a ninety-minute recording that appeared to match the self-reporting of language above: that is, Claudia maintaining Spanish with Miquel and Fernanda, Fernanda and Miquel using Catalan exclusively, reciprocal bilingualism *and* Castilian interactions between Fernanda and Claudia (although mother-daughter roles change when Fernanda remembers that she has another appointment), and Castilian-Spanish interactions between Miquel and Claudia. Significantly, I was not involved, as I was sitting across the room:

Fernanda: *shall we go to the cinema?*
Miquel: *today?*
Fernanda: *yeah, you told me we'd go*
Miquel: *this afternoon, if mum wants to*
Claudia: I've got an appointment
Fernanda: *what time?*
Claudia: in the afternoon, at five
[...]
Fernanda: *let's go together*
Miquel: *what?*
Fernanda: *let's go together*
Claudia: like they always do, they always go to the cinema together
Fernanda: *no, no, no, let's go together with you*
Claudia: to my appointment?
Fernanda: to your appointment and then *let's all go together to the cinema, what shall we see? we went to see Peter Pan and dad's there sleeping and I..*
Claudia and Miquel [laughs]
Miquel: *not the whole time*
Fernanda: oh no! Joan..., yesterday we were talking, "are you going to come to the cinema tomorrow?" we were going to go to the cinema!
Claudia: well, tell him that..
Fernanda: he's going to kill me
Claudia: *tomorrow afternoon*
Fernanda: *mmh, I'm a bit sleepy* [207]

In contrast, the next excerpt is more representative of most of the recording, illustrating what I see as Claudia's distinct construction of the recording process as she attempts to maintain Catalan:

Miquel: *eat*
SM: *thanks*
Miquel: *no, because if we wait for them to come!*
SM: *cheers*
Miquel: *thanks*
Claudia: *I've given you a bit of tomato*
SM: *oh that's nice!*
Claudia: *olive oil, which is very typical of Catalonia, the bread spread or rubbed with tomato*
Miquel: *the spaghetti has got cold*

Claudia: *yeah I know, is it cold?*
 Miquel: *yeah, you know as we were waiting..*
 Claudia: *gosh, enjoy your meal!*
 Fernanda : *thanks, you too*
 Claudia: [to me] *do you want me to heat it up for you?*
 SM: no, it's fine, yeah
 Claudia: *who made it*? you? dad?*
 Fernanda: *yeah, both of us*
 Claudia: *mmh! not much milk, milk from.. what's it called? 'llet de nata' [cream]*
 Miquel: *nata [cream].*
 Claudia: *nata [cream], didn't we have very much?*
 Miquel: *there was [only] a bit*
 Claudia: *just a little bit, right?*
 Miquel: *yeah, and I also put in some normal milk [208]*

To sum up, I found that this comparison of self-report with self-report, then self-report with actual use, highlighted an interesting distinction based on *reflective* and *performative discrepancies*.

I made two comparisons: [i] I compared Claudia's self-reports with those of other family members, and [ii] Claudia's self-report data with actual recorded language use. Comparison [i] had relatively few discrepancies, I believe, as it was based on comparing Claudia's *reflection* with Fernanda and Miquel's *reflection* rather than Claudia's *reflection* with the *performance* of all three. Exercise [i] was constructed in similar ways by all concerned, and there were few discrepancies in the reflective self-reports of Claudia, Miquel and Fernanda. Moreover, my presence as a researcher did not particularly appear to skew informants' reflective processes.

Comparison [ii], however, did reveal many more comparative discrepancies. I believe that this is due to the distinct nature of the comparison, in this case a comparison of Claudia's *reflection* with the *performance* of all three, and the distinct constructions of informant and researcher therein. Whilst in the reflective exercise my constructions about the nature of the exercise had converged with Claudia's, when it came to the performance exercise they diverged. Whilst I was constructing the data collection exercise as an opportunity to take the comparative analysis further, Claudia was constructing it as a chance to show her level of Catalan. I also see an additional distinction in terms of *reflection* and *performance* in terms of the researcher's presence. Whilst *my presence as a researcher* may have had little effect on the *reflective exercises*, it may have had the effect of skewing informants' *performance*, as Claudia may have used more Catalan to show me her ability, and Miquel and Fernanda perhaps used more Castilian to be polite, as I was a guest in their home.

□ Conclusion: Chapter 9

In Chapter 9, I have analysed recordings of informants' language use in their daily life paths, as a continuation from the interview data analysed in Chapter 8. I first focused on informants' interactions involving Catalan (inter-group and in-group). Then I introduced two comparative angles of analysis: comparing my researcher constructs and informants' constructs, and self-report data and recorded data.

The recorded data in this chapter was in certain cases 'constructed' in that it was the result of my asking informants to use Catalan where Spanish would probably have been the normal code of interaction. In these instances, informants were using what would have appeared to be unexpected marked codes with local people who would have had varying degrees of competence in Catalan. These were, therefore, unusual interactions for most concerned, who had to apply their sociolinguistic knowledge in a reflexive manner, and adapt to the new situation that challenged expectations about who uses Catalan and how. Moreover, in such instances, the data cannot be said to represent 'natural' constructions of Catalan as incorporation into repertoire. I presented many complex examples of uses of Catalan at this level of construction. I analysed three all-Catalan inter-group interactions, which had occasional loanwords from Castilian, and which were not very common in and around Barcelona. The examples did illustrate, however, that if a Spanish-speaking Latin American persists with Catalan, and the other interlocutor is able to maintain Catalan, *accommodation norm* switches based on ethnolinguistic identification can be overridden. I highlighted two pre-requisites for this to happen: [i] being very able Catalan speakers, making other interlocutors less likely to make 'solidarity switches'; [ii] using Catalan from the start, which appears to be key to code selection and negotiation, except Patricia, who greeted in Spanish before switching to Catalan.

I also analysed many complex variations of codeswitching. These examples illustrated many of the issues discussed in Chapter 4 (as follows):

[i] code selection and 'accommodation' triggered by ethnolinguistic identification;

[ii] code alternation with other interlocutors (for example, other customers) that followed through to subsequent interaction with informants (that is, if a Catalan interaction with a stallholder was interrupted by a parallel conversation in Castilian with another customer, the stallholder would revert to Castilian with the informant);

[iii] code mixing, where very free switches were made between Castilian and Spanish/Catalan, making it difficult for myself or the informant (Cristina) to attribute meaning (this took place in a local bar where Cristina knew the staff) and [iv] lexical borrowing, (words ‘borrowed’ from the other code).

One aspect that I introduced in Chapter 4 was reciprocal bilingualism, which I did not find to be at all common in my data collection. The reasons for this were as follows: firstly, my data collection was in and around Barcelona, where such a form of bilingualism is less common, particularly in interactions with unknown interlocutors; and secondly, the examples that I did record and present were of informants maintaining Catalan with Castilian speakers, the reverse of what was described to me in interviews (other interlocutors maintaining Catalan with informants, especially in town outside of Barcelona where Catalan is more dominant).

When I compared my interpretations of informants’ interactions with their own interpretations, I found that although at times our interpretations were similar, at others they were not, particularly when I attempted to attribute functional meanings to informants’ switches from one code to another. I then argued that the recognition of informant constructs was essential to my approach of analysing their linguistic agency in terms of ‘language as recursive social practice’, so that the informant constructs that relate to their epistemologies and linguistic agency are given their due place within the recursive relationship between structures and *their agencies*.

My comparison of self-report data and recorded data also brought forward important issues. Where comparisons were made between Claudia’s descriptions of her language use at home and the descriptions of her husband and daughter, this comparison between *reflection* and *reflection* appeared to be mostly consistent. However, where I compared Claudia’s interview data with recordings of her language use at home, comparing *reflection* with *performance*, key discrepancies emerged, most notably between my construction of the recording aims and those of Claudia.

Finally, I will also highlight what I consider to have emerged from Chapters 8 and 9 as a symbolic characteristic of the sociolinguistic agencies of Spanish-speaking new migrants in Catalonia: the involvement of a third code, *Latin American Spanish*, in interactions involving Catalan and Castilian, a code which is *allochthonous*, *marked* and *comprehensible* to Catalan and Castilian speakers, often spoken by members of visible minorities, which can have the effect of altering existing *bilingual*

codeswitching norms. I focused on the examples of Iliana and Mariana using marked Latin American vernacular terms embedded in Catalan utterances, in inter-group interactions, as representing such new agencies, and as characterising language as recursive social practice within a triangle of time-space, epistemology and ontology.

10. CONCLUSION

I will begin this concluding chapter with a brief ‘Summary of findings’. I will then go on to discuss the extent to which I feel that I have met the aims that I set out in the Introduction. Next, I will attempt to provide answers to the two main research questions. I will end the chapter by looking at the limitations of the study and areas for future research.

10.1 Summary of findings

□ Analytic approach

My *framework* for the overall study has been around two concepts: ‘structure’ and agency’ (Giddens, 1984). I carried out my *analysis* of the situated language use of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia employing an analytic approach of *language as recursive social practice*. I argued that the recursive sociolinguistic agencies of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia can be understood as taking place within the following triangle:

- epistemology [formed through agents’ life experience, sociolinguistic history, migration paths and identity paths];
- ontology [social totality: existing/perceived norms of language use, and the expectations they engender];
- and time-space [unprecedented social change through globalisation, and individuals moving into new and transitional spaces characterised by *multiple modernities*].

Following Giddens (1984), I stated that central to the recursivity of social practice is the view that informants are *knowledgeable* (having knowledge of what a system is, and of its normative procedures) and *reflexive* (‘self-consciousness’, involving the continuous monitoring of action which human beings display and expect others to display) (Giddens, 1984: 3). When analysing my interview data, I focused on knowledgeability and reflexivity as concepts which could account for conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan. I compared José Luis’s and Claudia’s opposite interview responses to how they interpret being addressed in Catalan, and concluded that both José Luis and Claudia are *knowledgeable* and *reflexive social*

agents, albeit at opposite ends of a spectrum of knowledge of many of the sociolinguistic realities of Catalonia.

I also found that knowledgeability and reflexivity are of relevance to the recordings that I made of informants' interactions. Where Mariana and Andreína analysed transcripts of their own interactions, their observations revealed high degrees of *knowledge* of normative procedures and of their own strategies and aims. Equally, they revealed considerable ability to *reflexively* monitor own language use, and awareness of expectations about their language use and that of other interlocutors.

Of key interest were the instances where Mariana's and Andreína's interpretations based on *their* sociolinguistic knowledge and reflexive language use did not tally with my interpretations. My interpretations were based on *my* own sociolinguistic knowledge acquired through reading and experience, and on my own reflexivity – my reflexive language use, and my monitoring of the actions and expectations of others in the data that I collected and analysed. These interpretations were not always the same as those of my informants. In this sense, my data analysis showed that these two key concepts, *knowledgeability* and *reflexivity*, are not constant. My use of the two terms moved from understanding them as constant sociological constructs *pre-data analysis* to seeing them as relative, negotiated and intersubjective constructs *post-data analysis*. Their meanings were negotiated between myself and my informants, and the key divide was between researcher and informant.

The comparative analysis of Claudia's self-reports and language use at home showed a similar divide between researcher and informant: how my construction of the exercise of recording interactions differed from Claudia's. We had different understandings of the exercise, resulting in Claudia's reflexive language use differing from what I had expected.

□ A diachronic-synchronic link

I have highlighted a link between the *diachronic* and the *synchronic*, suggesting that historical factors are still manifesting themselves, and playing themselves out today, in everyday social and linguistic practice. Firstly, I suggested that through migration, individuals' agencies in new spaces enter into new stages of transition between the past structures of their country of origin and the present structures of Catalonia. Hence, when a Spanish-speaking Latin American in the early days of

migration begins to interact with Catalan and its speakers, the knowledge that guides his or her sociolinguistic agencies at the level of interaction (decisions about how to use codes, and interpretations of others' code use) may be based on the 'old' structures of the country of origin. Their knowledge may also be based on the 'newer' structures of Catalonia, or in transition, somewhere in between old and new. This inevitably affects how they use language and how they interpret other interlocutors' choices about which code to use.

Secondly, a diachronic-synchronic link emerged in interviews when historical context played a part in individuals' reflections upon their own practice and their new sociolinguistic environment: references to family ancestry, Castilianisation and colonialism in the Americas, the suppression of Catalan in Catalonia, and references to Catalans being *franquistas*. However, I found that these diachronic factors do not 'play themselves out' in any consistent way: informants referred to similar *diachronic* factors, or historical factors, but the ways in which these linked to the synchronic were not consistent. For example, Marta (Peruvian) and Claudia (Dominican) both referred to Castilianisation in their backgrounds. Marta referred to her grandparents forbidding their children (her parents) from speaking Quechua as it would get them nowhere, and presented negative constructions of being addressed in Catalan. Claudia's reference to Castilianisation in the Americas was linked to her construction of a history of shared suffering, which led her to draw parallels with the sufferings of the Catalans under Castilianisation, and positive constructions of being addressed in Catalan.

□ Migration paths and identity paths

With the focus on the sociolinguistic agencies of Spanish-speaking *new migrants*, it has also been important to understand how individuals' migration paths can relate to their social and linguistic agencies as new migrants.

With regard to migration and *sociolinguistic agencies*, my main argument has been that it is along paths of migration and of identity formation that informants' epistemologies evolve, consolidate or change, and that these epistemologies play an important part in individuals' sociolinguistic agencies. These epistemologies, I have argued, are related to individuals' constructions of Catalan as they play a role in determining how informants apply their sociolinguistic knowledge in interactions,

knowledge which may be rooted in the Latin American country of origin, or in transition between old and new structures.

The extent to which individuals' different migration paths may relate to their constructions of Catalan did not emerge clearly from the data. I did find, however, that informants' general descriptions of *aspects of migration* were less closely linked to informants' descriptions of how they constructed Catalan than descriptions of specific *episodes along migration paths*. For example, informants described certain *aspects of migration*, such as changing emotional states, and general perceptions (or lack of them) of racism and discrimination, which could not be related to individual constructions of Catalan, as the *Catalan language and its speakers* did not appear to play a major part in the descriptions. The descriptions may have been the same had informants been Latin American immigrants in Castilian-speaking Madrid, or the English-speaking US. In contrast, informants did describe *episodes* from their migration paths, in particular, the narratives of transition that I presented, which involved Catalan, and which I felt could be linked more closely to how they constructed Catalan. For example, Catalan-speaking customers ordering a coffee (a *tallat*) on informants' third or fourth day in Catalonia; informants being told that because they are in Catalonia they have to speak Catalan; and being spoken to in Catalan in shops. For Mar and Marta, these descriptions were linked to their negative constructions of being addressed in Catalan.

In interviews, informants described the many different directions that individual identity paths can take. I concluded from my informants' descriptions that central to the processes described were the concepts of *self*, *time-space*, and *present and future* opportunities. I found that it was not possible to reach any consistent correlations between informants' backgrounds (education, social class, for example) and their descriptions of their identities. Nor did informants' descriptions of identities correlate consistently with their constructions of Catalan. Each time that I looked for a link between a variable factor in one informant, the same variable factor pointed in another direction with another informant. There was only one trend that emerged in any consistent form from the small sample that I studied: all informants who described *complex variations of multiple identities that allocated a space for Catalan* were all highly-educated individuals who had a good degree of competence in speaking Catalan, and significant socialisation through work, studies or personal relationships within Catalan-speaking circles. Yet, even this finding is limited: not all

informants who were highly-educated, or who were competent Catalan speakers, had multiple identities that allocated a place for Catalan.

□ Linguistic normalisation

In terms of linguistic normalisation, and Catalan nationhood, I suggested that both were at key junctures with two possible policy paths: new agencies can either be welcomed and embraced, or they can be perceived as a new threat to Catalan's status as the exclusive minority language, and culture, to be protected by law in Catalonia. My overall conclusion was that in a contested nation such as Catalonia, in a period of globalisation and change, what it means to be Catalan, and the position of language therein needs to undergo a process of re-imagination.

10.2 Meeting the aims of the study

I will now discuss the extent to which I feel that I have met the aims set out in the Introduction.

My first aim was to find out how my informants are constructing Catalan, in a new highly-reflexive, complex, and heteroglossic sociolinguistic environment, Catalonia, and why these constructions are being formed in so many different ways. In Part 1, I was able to describe the complexities of the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia by reviewing literature and related theories; in Part 2, I was able to describe and analyse a very wide range of construction processes: some reflected issues and theories discussed earlier in the study, whilst others represented sociolinguistic agencies of Spanish-speaking new migrants which required new analytic perspectives, and which I also felt would help me to answer my research questions.

My second aim was to find appropriate analytic paradigms and a methodological approach for my study (description and analysis) of the intersection between allochthonous Latin American Spanish, and autochthonous Catalan and Castilian, in the rapidly changing contexts of globalisation.

My *methodology* allowed me to combine deductive and inductive approaches to the collection and analysis of data, to manipulate the data collection process where I felt it would enhance the study, and to make valuable comparisons between types of construction (my researcher's interpretations weighed up against informants'

interpretations), and types of data (self-report and recorded), adding validity and credibility to the data.

The comparison between researcher and informant constructs allowed me to bring in valuable additional angles of analysis. I argued that the comparison at this level allowed for the inclusion of informant constructs in an analysis of the recursive relationship between *their* linguistic agencies within structures. My comparison of self-report data and recorded data also brought forward important issues. It enabled me to highlight a relative lack of discrepancies in the data when I compared *reflection* with *reflection*, but several areas of discrepancy that emerged when I compared *reflection* with *performance*.

The *approach* that I employed was ‘language as recursive social practice’, as described above. Due to the particular *policy-language use* dynamic in question, the focus on recursivity allowed me bring together several micro and macro strands of the study. I felt that this would not have been possible had I relied solely on any of the existing paradigms of analysis that I came across during my review of the general literature on sociolinguistics and the literature on the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia.

My third stated aim was to make a contribution to knowledge by filling a gap in the literature. I have attempted to achieve this with my analytic approach, my methodology, and most notably, the data that I have collected. These have brought in new angles of analysis, and the new perspectives and voices of allochthonous Spanish-speaking Latin Americans, to a widely-studied case, Catalonia. This has allowed me to highlight areas where this group does not fit into existing analytic paradigms, thus enabling me to re-problematise the present sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia. This will hopefully will be of use to researchers and students from several fields: sociolinguistics, language policy, latino studies, globalisation and migration, for example.

10.3 Research questions

Research question 1:

- *how are Spanish-speaking Latin Americans constructing Catalan, and why are individuals constructing the language in conflicting ways.*

I will answer the question in three stages.

[i] *How informants are incorporating Catalan into repertoire, in-group and inter-group.*

In Chapters 8 and 9, I presented and analysed interview data and recordings of informants' interactions which illustrated the many ways in which Catalan is being incorporated into repertoire, in-group and inter-group. A full range of constructions at this level was evident, ranging from informants who used no Catalan in any situations to those who were able to maintain all-Catalan interactions inter-group. With regard to the recordings of interactions where I 'constructed' the data by asking informants to use Catalan where Spanish would have been the normal code of choice, my findings are more about how Catalan can *hypothetically* be incorporated into repertoire than how it *is* incorporated into repertoire.

□ In-group use of Catalan

In interviews, several informants described interesting *in-group* uses of Catalan: the use of favourite words, perhaps for stylistic effect; using Catalan for fun, and as a way of outsiders stereotyping the insiders; and the lexical borrowing of common words such as *déu/adéu* ('bye/goodbye) in interactions that are otherwise in Spanish.

I found in my recordings of in-group interactions, however, that Catalan plays a very limited role. The vast majority of in-group interactions that I recorded, but did not present in this study, were dominated by all-Spanish interactions, with little Catalan beyond the occasional loanword or popular expression. As a general rule, informants explained that unless an interpersonal norm has been established between known interlocutors to use Catalan in certain contexts, in-group Catalan use is very unusual among Spanish-speaking Latin Americans and may be deemed inappropriate. Where I asked Mariana to use Catalan with fellow Latin Americans in the Dominican bar, it was described as unusual by Mariana and even challenged by other interlocutors.

□ Inter-group use of Catalan

In interviews, some informants described never or hardly ever using Catalan *inter-group* despite understanding it and being able to speak it; others use Catalan inter-group to have fun with a partner, or as the unexpected code to 'annoy' or 'wind-up' Castilian-speaking friends. Informants also described a broad spectrum of inter-group codeswitching practices, including interactions involving *reciprocal*

bilingualism in which they speak in Spanish/Castilian while other interlocutors continue in Catalan; this was usually in areas of Catalonia where Catalan was more dominant than in Barcelona. It was explained that such reciprocal bilingualism is usually only likely to take place in Barcelona among known interlocutors who have established interpersonal norms, often in linguistically-mixed groups.

In the data recordings of *inter-group* interactions, I asked informants to try to use Catalan where and as they felt appropriate, which has implications for my findings. A very small number of the recordings that I made were of *all-Catalan interactions*. All were service encounters where informants interacted with unknown shop assistants. Where such interactions did take place, informants normally initiated in Catalan, persisted in using Catalan, and spoke good Catalan. Nonetheless, the interactions were not all-Catalan in the 'purest' sense: all were characterised by loanwords from Castilian, or non-standard 'Castilianisms'.

Most of these inter-group recordings, however, involved *complex codeswitching*. In these interactions, informants attempted to use Catalan, and it was common for the other interlocutors (shop assistants, for example) to follow the code of the customer. I also found that it was common that if shop assistants were carrying out parallel Castilian interactions with other customers, they would switch from Catalan to Castilian in the subsequent turn with informants.

I recorded Mariana's inter-group interactions in which she used Catalan creatively for rhetorical effect, and also for functional and prestige purposes when promoting her play. Andreína, meanwhile, used Catalan at a market stall as many intermediate language learners do, with errors and non-standard forms. Claudia used Catalan to show her ability in the language, also with non-standard forms. And Cristina's interaction in a local bar where she knew the staff was an example of very free switches, or 'code mixing', to which attribution of meaning is difficult. In the recorded data, I also presented a very limited number of examples of *reciprocal bilingualism*, in which informants were trying out their *Catalan* with other interlocutors who maintained *Castilian*. These recordings were all in and around Barcelona, and in short or limited interactions. Finally, I focused on the examples of Iliana and Mariana using marked Latin American vernacular terms embedded in Catalan utterances, in inter-group interactions, as representing such 'new' agencies, and positioned their utterances as language as recursive social practice within a triangle of time-space, epistemology and ontology.

These recordings of interactions described how informants are incorporating Catalan into repertoire. Where I had asked informants to use Catalan instead of Spanish, the findings are limited: in this respect, they can be understood as hypothetical representations of how Catalan *can be* constructed if informants proactively incorporate what are today uncommon norms of practice into their repertoire, and of how other interlocutors may respond. Based on a view of language as recursive social practice, I would suggest that these limited findings could give insight into a future day when new migrants, or future generations may begin to use more Catalan, if and when the obstacles to greater social use of Catalan (as stated by my informants), which I will highlight later, can be overcome.

[ii] *How meanings and interpretations are constructed around being addressed in Catalan.*

In interviews, informants described very conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan. Most interpreted being addressed in Catalan as one or a combination of the following: it is *normal* and *natural*, *unconscious*, *the result of confusion*, or *more comfortable*. A minority of informants suggested that Catalan was used consciously to *impede comprehension* and to *discriminate*.

I also found conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan when I discussed the *Tu ets mestre* campaign with informants. It was welcomed, challenged, perceived as beneficial to immigrants, and seen as having more negatives than positives.

I also gained a valuable 'new Catalan' perspective of being addressed in Catalan when I interviewed Yanet, the daughter of Colombian immigrants, and a university student. Despite being a competent Catalan-speaker who uses Catalan in her everyday life, and describing her nationality as Catalan, Yanet referred to occasions where she too formed negative constructions around being addressed in Catalan.

The recordings of interactions also provided two additional angles on construction at this level, albeit angles which emerged through manipulation of the recording process. When Mariana used Catalan in-group in a Dominican bar, her addressing fellow Latin Americans in Catalan, especially fellow speakers of a Caribbean variety of Spanish, was constructed as inappropriate.

The examples above show that informants' constructions of being addressed in Catalan are highly complex and related to many factors: whether other interlocutors

are known or not, domain and heteroglossic practice, perceptions of socio-economic status, linguistic competence, and physical appearance are the factors that relate to the examples above.

[iii] *The reasons for informants forming conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan.*

Informants suggested the following reasons why some may be forming negative constructions at this level: *linguistic competence* and *changes with time; age; location; education, culture, and lack of progress*; and the *psychology of migration*. I saw these factors as tying in with aspects of individuals' different epistemologies, in particular migration paths and identity paths, but found that none correlated consistently with informants' conflicting constructions.

I then introduced *knowledgeability* and *reflexivity* as two analytic concepts that perhaps could be applied to those who formed positive and negative constructions. I focused on two informants, Claudia and José Luis, arguing that both could be seen as *knowledgeable and reflexive* social agents despite forming conflicting constructions: both were *reflexive*, clearly aware of how they used socially-situated language, both appeared to monitor their own language use and to have clear expectations about the language use of others; they were equally *knowledgeable*, but at opposite ends of a spectrum of sociolinguistic knowledge, and with distinct epistemological grounding.

An additional question that I did not focus on in detail during the study as it emerged late on in the data analysis, but which I will address in this Conclusion is the following: *can individuals' knowledgeability and reflexivity also be linked in a broader sense to informants' other constructions of Catalan: in other words, informants' incorporation of Catalan into repertoire as described above?*

The answer to the question is a guarded yes. The interview data and recordings of interactions have shown that informants' incorporation of Catalan into repertoire involves their *reflexive* application of sociolinguistic *knowledge* at the level of interaction. However, there is a difference between informants' knowledgeability and reflexivity in construction as *interpretation* (interpreting being addressed in Catalan) and as *performance* (incorporation into repertoire). The main difference to highlight is that in order to *interpret* being addressed in Catalan, an individual does not need to be able to understand or speak Catalan at all (although most have some knowledge). An individual who has not learnt Catalan is still a knowledgeable and reflexive social

agent, but they are limited: the knowledge that they apply allows them to *interpret* being addressed in Catalan but it does not allow them to reflexively *use* Catalan. In such instances, their interpretation may tend to be influenced more by *knowledge* based on the 'structures' of a Latin American home country than on the heteroglossic sociolinguistic environment of Catalonia. In contrast, construction at the level of *performance*, or incorporation into repertoire, does require knowledge of Catalan and active linguistic competence in order to use the language. This in turn is likely to lead in a general sense to greater sociolinguistic knowledge and to more positive interpretations of being addressed in Catalan. In sum, knowledgeability and reflexivity should be understood as being related to informants' constructions of Catalan at all levels, but in different ways.

Research question 2:

- how are policy-makers, and linguistic normalisation, responding to the many challenges of globalisation and the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants in Catalonia today?

I will answer this question in three stages: [i] a summary of the challenges of globalisation and of what characterises 'the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants'; [ii] a discussion of the responses of policy-makers and linguistic normalisation to these challenges; and [iii] how I believe policy-makers and linguistic normalisation *should be responding*. I will conclude by revisiting questions that I raised in Part 1.

[i] *The challenges of globalisation and the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants.*

The greatest challenge that globalisation is presenting language planners is that it is out of their control: whilst they can attempt to control and mould the effects and resulting agencies of globalisation, language planners cannot control its causes.

In a more specific sense, perhaps the main challenge that globalisation poses to language planners attempting to defend minority languages is that globalisation is impacting dramatically upon the territories of linguistic minorities. In many cases around the world, minorities and their languages are being diluted as they lose members to large urban centres. In the case of Catalonia, globalisation is having the opposite effect of *attracting new minorities*, which nonetheless still threatens to dilute the number of Catalan speakers. Hence there is a need in the minds of policy-makers to use language policies to proactively head off any such dilution by increasing the

number of Catalan speakers. Yet at the same time, globalisation is also challenging the recursive relationship between structure and agency in Catalonia: such proactive language policies may not be enough to hold back the change that new mass migration inevitably engenders in structures.

Mass migration means that globalisation has brought hundreds of thousands of new allochthonous members into the contested terrain of Catalan nationhood and its contested identities based in many respects upon language. Many new migrants will learn Catalan, *the language of being Catalan*, or learn to understand it, but they will not necessarily speak it as the language of choice in interactions. The danger therefore of a state view of nationhood based on a language (and its associated culture, history and identities) is that it makes speaking Catalan *the* key feature of being part of the nation; however, it also means that speaking *other languages* can become part of *not* belonging. Linguistic nationhood can thus serve to create a sense of belonging and inclusion, as well as a sense of not belonging and exclusion; and many states in between. In this respect, I believe that globalisation is posing the very serious challenge of fracturing this already unstable link between Catalan nationhood/identity/ethnicity and the Catalan language.

Another related challenge that globalisation is posing language planners is that in terms of individuals' perceptions of nationhood and of identity (national identity, and identities in a wider sense), globalisation appears to be giving a wide range of new choices. Individuals can now imagine and re-imagine themselves in social, cultural and linguistic spaces that are changing as a result of many facets of globalisation. These processes of re-imagination were described by several informants in terms of 'new' post-modern multiple identities tied to flexible perceptions of nationhood, as opposed to others who described more traditional, 'old', single identities tied to single perceptions of nationhood. These processes of re-imagining of oneself are particularly relevant to new migrants, whose lives are in processes of transition. The preferred identity of language planners, in which speaking Catalan is legislated as *the* distinguishing feature of being Catalan, is only one identity choice many other available choices.

Globalisation is also fracturing the social, cultural, and linguistic spaces of Catalonia. Representations of this fissure, or post-modernity, are not necessarily replacing but instead co-existing with other representations of modernity and their associated practices and identities. Spaces characterised in this way by 'multiple

modernities' allow for the new and the old, the allochthonous and the autochthonous, the global and the local, to interact and compete for space, thus challenging autochthonous Catalan-Castilian norms of practice. When these new binaries interact, language is often the medium, and types of codeswitching the means. In this sense, globalisation is indirectly challenging many established sociolinguistic norms of practice (as discussed in earlier chapters), and the 'normal' practice that *normalisation* has been based upon.

Another important factor to consider in the research question above is how linguistic normalisation is responding to *the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants*. I earlier highlighted what I consider to be the key characteristics of the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants:

the presence of new languages, new and transitional sociolinguistic practices (often based on sociolinguistic practices in other countries), and associated identities. In terms of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, the key aspect is the involvement of a third code in interactions involving Catalan and Castilian, *Latin American Spanish*, which is *allochthonous*, *marked* and *comprehensible* to Catalan and Castilian speakers, often spoken by members of visible minorities, and which can have the effect of altering existing *bilingual* codeswitching norms.

I also described in Chapters 8, 9 and 10.1 the many different ways in which new migrant informants are constructing Catalan, including a wide range of codeswitching practices. Among the latter, I focused on Mariana's and Iliana's crossing of codes, which I argued symbolised such new agencies, and even subverted existing norms of practice.

These two examples, and informants' other uses of language that I have analysed in the chapters above, challenge linguistic normalisation. Firstly, many agencies of new migrants are not 'normal' in the autochthonous Catalan-Castilian sense of normality that linguistic normalisation was based upon in the 1980s. Moreover, such 'new' forms of agency are not static; they become more widespread with time, and they impact upon the Catalan-speaking interlocutors who have to respond to them. Furthermore, as they spread and impact upon other interlocutors, they become more 'normal', they change the practices of others, and they find institutional acceptance and representation. Thus, their recursive impact increases.

Bringing together the challenges described above, globalisation can be seen to be challenging the very legitimacy of a nationalist project which is attempting to

form/consolidate a Catalan nation based around a language, particularly in a contested nation.

[ii] The responses of policy-makers and linguistic normalisation.

My main answer to how policy-makers are responding today to globalisation and the agencies of new migrants is that the positioning of the Catalan language as institutionally *preferential* and as *the* key marker of being Catalan is responding to the new agencies of globalisation '*non-recursively*'. Policy-makers appear to be attempting to hold out against external new agencies, rather than embracing and including them. Instead of taking on board aspects of new agency, they are attempting to change them by moulding them according to a 'Catalan-Castilian modern', but not an 'allochthonous-autochthonous post-modern' perception of normality. Policies are aiming to proactively push Catalan into spaces that I have described as characterised by representations of multiple modernities in an attempt to push back the late- and post modern, or at least co-opt it into a Catalan-led framework. I believe that such protectionism, or holding out against the forces of globalisation in spaces where new agencies are already dynamically in operation, is unsustainable in the long term.

Put simply, the policies do not reflect the multiple modernities that characterise the social, cultural and linguistic spaces of Catalonia. Rather than aiming to create (if policies ever can create in such a way) inclusive, dynamic, multicultural, and multilingual spaces and agencies, policies appear to be remaining relatively *static* in the face of new *dynamic* agencies: they seem to have failed to address the disjuncture and post-modernity of a Catalonia in a globalising world. They are based on views of modernity, time and space that globalisation and new migration have changed. Whilst recent media reports from leading figures in the Generalitat and from academics such as Castells suggest that policy-makers are beginning to recognise this bridge, they appear to still be tied to top-down, 'structure-led' (not recursive) conceptualisations about how agencies operate within structures.

I will refer to language policies in the workplace and in schools as examples of what I have described, with reference to my informants' experiences.

Top-down language policies in the workplace are dictating the rules of communication and code selection that employees should follow, often promoting sociolinguistic practices that individuals would not follow in many situations outside of the workplace. Yanet's description of the language policies in her workplace were

of policies that were strict, but not stated directly: in other words, hegemonic. It appeared from Yanet's description that whilst individuals may follow a policy to a certain degree by initiating interactions in Catalan, strategies employed by colleagues after the initial use of Catalan depend on the individual. If the other interlocutor is a Castilian speaker, some colleagues continue in Catalan, following their interpretation of the 'policy'. Others follow the code of the other interlocutor by switching to Castilian. Another informant was apprehensive to even be recorded discussing the issue, worried about being identified by colleagues. Both examples highlight a response to linguistic normalisation: individuals following policies *front stage*, whilst maintaining discursive practices *back stage* to avoid contradicting front-stage affairs (Goffman 1956, 1974). I believe that the key area where such policies may unravel, rather than consolidate, is when they become perceived as hegemonic: informant X fears sanction at work for speaking publicly, and Yanet explains that no one ever *says* that they have to speak Catalan but everyone *knows* that they have to. Hegemony implies influence rather than direct control or power; as such it can be associated with political power at a zenith, but also power before it starts to unravel.

A parallel to the front and back stages described above can also be found in schools: 'Catalan in the classroom and Castilian in the playground'. Several Latin American informants who were/had been pupils described tough processes of adaptation, as well as a good deal of support from teachers and fellow pupils. Informants who were pupils, or former pupils, were proud of, and some indifferent about, their ability to use both languages. All parents were pleased to have bilingual children. However, the nature of the bilingualism that such programmes are producing may not be bridging the division between the *institutional* and the *social*. Whilst creating bilingual students who can operate in either language, programmes are not necessarily creating individuals who will use Catalan socially. The question of what determines individuals' bilingualism in terms of school, home and social use, is particularly complex, but what is clear is that Catalan-medium schooling is not yet producing the required number of *active* bilinguals who would use Catalan as a language of choice in social interactions, in order to tip the recursive scale back in favour of Catalan.

In Part 1, I raised two related questions: whether language policies are meeting the needs of all Catalans living in Catalonia, and whether policies are justifiable or tenable. My answer to these questions is that language policies are favouring the

rights of one autochthonous linguistic minority over those of other minorities, at the highest level, in stating that the Catalan language is the distinguishing feature of the Catalan nation, and by giving preferential rights to one official language, Catalan, over the other, Castilian. On one level, this can be justified. Catalan must be protected, all new migrants should be given the opportunity to learn Catalan, and the citizens of Catalonia have the final say in elections to the Generalitat. Moreover, from the perspectives of my informants' responses in interviews on policy and schools, only two informants were opposed to Catalan medium instruction in schools. However, most wanted equal status rather than less preferential status. In this sense, language policies are not meeting all of their needs. And in this respect, Spanish-speaking Latin Americans have a linguistic advantage over other new migrants as they can get by without learning another language. Other minority groups need to learn Catalan *and* Castilian within formal school settings: whether learning Castilian as a 'foreign language' in the school curriculum will meet *their* wider needs is open to question. My answer to the two questions above, therefore, is that language policies would appear to not be meeting all of the needs of new migrants, and despite their electoral legitimacy and the widely-recognised need for immigrants to speak Catalan, such positive discrimination is only tenable in the short term.

In Part 1, I raised the following questions in relation to policy, globalisation and changing practice: will changing sociolinguistic practice force the construction of multilingual, multicultural language policies (bottom-up), which in turn, will reinforce new social practices? Or can the positive discrimination of language policies that position Catalan in a new position of legitimacy act as a constraint and force Catalan (top-down) into the sociolinguistic repertoires of new agents? It is only possible for me to offer speculative answers to these questions. However, I would argue that the latter may be possible in the short term future, but that in the long term future, new social practices will inevitably change the structures around them.

[iii] How policy-makers and linguistic normalisation *should be responding*.

My first argument is that globalisation and the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants have accentuated the need for the Catalan nation/identity project to undergo a process of re-imagination before it can even attempt to consolidate itself in its current form. Linguistic normalisation will have to respond.

On paper, it is untenable that a contested nation can be characterised by a language, as stated in the 1998 Language Policy Law, particularly in a multicultural, multilingual, heteroglossic environment such as Catalonia today. In doing so, it implies that speakers of other languages are not equal members, relegating speakers of other languages and members of other cultures to less legitimate positions of nation membership; this may have the unintended outcome of making individuals less likely to speak Catalan, even if they are able to.

Linguistic normalisation needs to *reflect* more sociolinguistic realities from below and *create* less from above. And the ‘realities’ reflected should be what multilingualism *is* rather than what language planners feel an idealised form of it *should* be. A starting point to new migrants imagining themselves as members of a Catalan ‘nation’ would be for membership of such a nation to be defined by law as being ‘all of the people of Catalonia’, *not* by the Catalan language. Moreover, the fact that so many of the people of Catalonia can, but do not speak Catalan in social settings is a sociolinguistic reality and a major obstacle to overcome. Policy-makers should first address the reasons why many adult new migrants do not *imagine* themselves as learners of Catalan in a formal language classroom, let alone as members of the Catalan-speaking speech community. Many are too busy to learn Catalan, or see no *investment* in learning a language that they can get by without. In terms of getting more new migrant learners into language classrooms, innovative teaching approaches for new migrant learners with limited formal educational background are also essential.

New migrant adults, however, are not the key players; they are less likely to become Catalan speakers than their children. Without doubt, the children of new generations will be able to speak Catalan as the immersion system is highly successful in that respect; moreover, immersion brings many benefits to immigrants, who need Catalan to succeed in a bilingual Catalonia. But individuals may not necessarily want to *speak* Catalan if Catalan is not made real to their lives and identities. According to interview responses, Catalan is not made real for the following reasons: Catalan is perceived by many as imposed; it is too difficult in examinations; it is perceived as not modern; it is something for the classroom but not for the playground; for the library but not for open spaces.

In the school system, one possible means of achieving *bilingual students* who are more likely to actually speak Catalan is *bilingual education*: rather than Catalan

'immersion', a fifty-fifty split, on paper and in practice, in instruction and in assessment, between Catalan and Castilian. This would make Catalan *real* rather than *normalised*. Positioning both languages as equal would also negate what Gilma described as the pejorative connotation toward the other language - fighting fire with fire can work. But my liberal standpoint is from a context of offering space to new minorities in the contexts of English-speaking countries, where English is not under threat. And I recognise that when I make this suggestion to Catalans involved in language education in Catalonia, they usually give me a knowing look, and dryly laugh me off the ball park: Catalan is swimming against a tide of Castilian and simply cannot survive on an equal footing; it has to be forced. Luisa's response was an expression of this view: "that'd be ideal, perfect, but as the language isn't equal" [126]. Luisa is an interesting example in this respect. She lives in a Catalan-speaking home. Her mother's family returned to Catalonia from Venezuela and the US, having maintained Catalan. She speaks Catalan exclusively with her mother and brother. She also speaks Catalan with her Brazilian boyfriend, whose family made the conscious effort for him to learn Catalan formally before Castilian when he arrived in Catalonia. Yet Luisa describes being unable to pass her Catalan exams at school; and her brother cannot get Level C because he took his first year of bachillerato in the Canary Islands; as stated by Luisa's brother, Jairo, "**el mismo catalán a los propios catalanoparlantes les pone barreras**" [the very same Catalan is putting barriers up against fellow Catalan speakers]. Both Luisa and Jairo are in many respect *ideal* Catalan speakers, but they are not the *idealised native speakers* that normalisation appears to be aiming for.

10.4 Limitations/future research

In answering the two research questions above, I have described and analysed Spanish-speaking Latin American informants' constructions of Catalan: how they incorporate Catalan into repertoire and how and why they form conflicting constructions. I have argued that representations of globalisation, and the sociolinguistic agencies of new migrants should, and will inevitably be, incorporated into language policies at 'structural' level. However, in concluding, it is also necessary to highlight what I recognise to be the limitations of the study as well as possible areas for future research in this area.

The first limitation to recognise is the fact that I am an outsider who is not a Catalan-speaker. When I started this study, I had no knowledge of Catalan; I could not even understand basic terms such as ‘please’ and ‘see you tomorrow’. I had intended to move to Catalonia to learn Catalan but family and work commitments dictated otherwise. Nearly six years later, I understand most written Catalan and a large amount of spoken Catalan. I accept that my own relationship with the Catalan language could be interpreted as a weakness: I certainly do not understand many advanced aspects of the Catalan language, and I am not able to converse in Catalan with Catalans. I have sought assistance with translation and transcription where necessary. However, my position has also given me very useful experience and empathy, which insiders, particularly native Catalan speakers, may lack. I too am a learner of Catalan, and I too have gone through my own learning path, albeit from a more secure position than some informants: I have been corrected for saying **español** instead of **castellano**; at first it annoyed me, but I soon learnt the reasons why; equally, I have been corrected on several occasions, and still am, for saying **España** (Spain) instead of **el estado español** (the Spanish state); I have also felt unsure about the reasons when Catalan speakers have switched to Catalan mid-utterance, or have even addressed me solely in Catalan knowing that I do not speak the language. And I have learnt that my perceptions change as my linguistic competence increases. So, even though I do not speak Catalan, I do understand many of the experiences described to me by informants in a way that a native Catalan speaker perhaps cannot. Put simply, I see more positives than negatives in this limitation. As an outsider, I have attempted to re-problematise the oft-idealised sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia, which has been traditionally (though not exclusively) constructed and dominated by insiders/Catalan speakers, and in many ways, not speaking Catalan has helped me.

This study has of course been limited to answering the research questions, and to meeting the aims, set out in the Introduction. Many other angles of analysis could have been brought in. In my review of the literature, I mentioned many other interesting approaches that I have not followed, but which would have brought out many other sides to the issues that I have raised in this study.

For example, I felt when analysing my transcripts that they were especially rich in non-standard varieties, and in interesting positioning of codeswitching in utterances. As such, I believe that they would have provided excellent data for structural-

descriptive analysis, as would the hours of all-Spanish interactions that I have not used, which have a wealth of potential data to describe in terms of structure, intonation, lexical and syntactic convergence, etc. Equally, issues of class, ethnicity and gender could certainly have been developed in detail had my aims been different, and my focus not been on recursivity. I could also have developed additional comparative angles on the nature of codeswitching in in-group and inter-group interactions.

There are also many other very interesting comparative angles that could have been brought in: Spanish-speaking Latin American new migrants in Madrid (Castilian-speaking), or in Girona (more Catalan-speaking), where the same issues could have been compared in different sociolinguistic contexts; or, other new migrant groups in Catalonia such as North Africans or Pakistanis, to compare how they are constructing Catalan. I believe that there would be room to replicate the analytic approach and methodology used in this study to such groups. These and many more alternative angles were not possible to address in any great depth in this study but would make excellent additional contributions to furthering knowledge in this field.

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Appendix 1

Un Cambio

Fue raro cuando me dijeron que nos íbamos. Me dijeron que el año escolar siguiente no solo cambiaría de colegio sino que también de ciudad y de país. Yo no quería irme, aquí tenía a mi familia y a mis amigos, les extrañaría mucho y además, ¿por qué mudarnos? Ya oía que los mayores decían que la situación estaba mal, que había crisis y que había poco trabajo. En el otro lugar habría trabajo, también mejor educación para mí y mis hermanos y que allí no me despertaría el ruido de tiros y los gritos.

Sabía que eran tiros de pistola porque cuando me asomaba a la ventana no veía luces lindas como en Año Nuevo, pero debajo de nuestro 8° piso habían una o dos personas corriendo y una o más acostadas en el suelo. Los gritos no eran de alegría o de emoción por ver las bellas luces en el cielo, eran gritos de miedo o tristeza.

Recuerdo que una vez vi como un hombre obligó a otro a meterse dentro de la maleta de su carro, creo que tenía una pistola, no sé porque mi mamá no me dejó ver antes de irnos rápido del aparcamiento. Eso fue hace bastante tiempo, tenía unos cuatro años pero aún me acuerdo.

Así que nos vamos. Me dijeron que es a Europa, pero aún no saben si a Milán o a Barcelona. Sé que Barcelona es donde serán los Juegos Olímpicos y que está en España, donde los toros, y que Milán está en Italia y que unas primas mías vivían en un pueblo cerca de allí. Estaría bien ir a Milán y aprender italiano...

Dos meses más tarde

Mi papá está allá desde hace mes y medio y ya ha conseguido trabajo y piso, tuvo mucha suerte. Digo que tuvo suerte por conseguir un piso decente tan rápido porque no le querían alquilar ninguno por tener acento *sudaca* como dicen allá. Creo que a parte de no tener a mi familia y ciertos objetos con valor sentimental que no me podré llevar será eso a lo que más me va a costar acostumbrarme. A ser la nueva, la extranjera, la diferente.

5° día en Barcelona

Hace cinco días que hemos llegado mamá, Patrick, Daniela y yo. Salimos para Maiquetía cuando era casi la madrugada, las luces de las chabolas del pie del Ávila aún estaban prendidas y aunque sé que simbolizan la decadencia de mi país cuando las vi desde la ventanilla del carro me parecieron bellas y me puse melancólica aunque seguía excitada por la gran experiencia que se me acercaba.

Hicimos las diligencias de antes de embarcar y como sobró tiempo nos tomamos con mi tío las últimas Maltas, Frescolitas, Hit Uva y Cerveza Polar en mucho tiempo, mientras mi mamá y mi tío hablaban de política y de como seguro que habría algún golpe de estado como ya habían habido muchos en otros lugares de Suramérica, decidí no hablar durante esa conversación ya que no sabía tanto como para opinar. Por fin tuvimos que entrar a donde nuestro tío no podía pasar por no ser pasajero y nos despedimos con muchos besos y promesas de escribir y visitarnos mutuamente, dijo que seguramente él iría a Barcelona a mediados de agosto, para las Olimpiadas. Al entrar lo primero que hicimos fue ir a ver las tiendas libres de impuestos del aeropuerto y comprar de nuestros dulces favoritos que sabíamos que allá no encontraríamos, procuramos no comer muchas y guardar para papá que nos dijo que nos esperaba en el aeropuerto de Barcelona.

El lunes pasado empecé las clases, lo que no me gusta es que aquí tienen otro idioma, el catalán, que se parece mucho al castellano pero que no es lo mismo y me cuesta bastante. Otra cosa que no me gusta es que tenemos clase por la tarde todos los días. Lo bueno es que ya tengo algunos amigos, en realidad son dos amigas, los muchachos solo fastidian, mi mamá dice que no me preocupe, que es típico de esa edad. Sin embargo hay algunos que me critican por ser extranjera y por mi acento, decían que me volviese a mi país. A Daniela no le pasa eso, ella y sus compañeros son demasiado chiquitos para preocuparse por eso. Aunque en el mercado las señoras están encantadas por que hablamos como las actrices de la novela, a veces es cómico como escuchan atentamente

cuando hablamos e intentan recordar a que personaje nos parecemos más.

Actualmente

He vuelto a leer estas páginas de hace ya casi diez años y comparo éstas memorias de nuestra inmigración a las de tantas personas que salen en las noticias y consiguen llegar a este país que es ahora como una nueva Meca y en la que buscan, no cumplir con su religión, sino buscar unas condiciones de vida decentes y un trabajo digno que les permita alimentar a su familia, ¿no es eso lo que todos queremos? ¿No es eso lo que merecemos?

En clase y fuera se dice que los extranjeros, sobretodo los *moros* y los *sudacas*, vienen aquí a quitarle el trabajo y a robar al español que tiene todo el derecho de estar aquí y de tener más privilegios que cualquier otro de fuera. Habrán olvidado que en la mayoría de los casos estas personas vienen de lugares que hace años fueron explotados por países del norte y que aún son explotados económicamente y que aunque intenten recuperarse no pueden por que el rico quiere ser más rico y hace que el pobre sea más pobre.

Todos somos personas, todos queremos vivir en condiciones dignas. ¿Importa de donde somos para merecerlo?

(short story by Ana Isabella Byrne Bellorín, aged 15, Barcelona 2001 [original])

Appendix 2

Excerpts of policy documents

Spanish Constitution: Article 3

1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the state. All Spaniards have the obligation to know it and the right to use it;
2. the other Spanish languages will also be official in the respective autonomous communities in accordance with their Statutes;
3. the richness of the distinct linguistic modalities of Spain is a cultural patrimony that will be the object of special respect and protection

(Spanish Constitution, Article 3 [1978], online at: <http://www6.gencat.net/lengcat/le-is/llein1.htm> (my translation of original).

1979 Catalan Statute of Autonomy: Article 3

1. The “own language” (*llengua pròpia*) of Catalonia is Catalan;
2. Catalan is the official language of Catalonia, as is Castilian, which is official in all of the Spanish State;
3. The Generalitat will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will adopt the necessary means to ensure that both are known, and will create the conditions that permit them to reach full equality with respect to the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia.

(Catalan Statute of Autonomy: Article 3 [1979], online at : <http://www10.gencat.net/gencat/AppJava/cat/generalitat/estatut/index.jsp>, (my translation of original).

Excerpts from the 1998 Language Policy Law (*Llei de Política Lingüística*)⁶⁸

Preliminary Chapter: Article 2: Catalonia’s own language

1. Catalan is Catalonia’s *own language* and *distinguishes it as a people*
2. Catalan, as Catalonia’s own language, is:
 - a) *The language of all institutions* of Catalonia, and particularly of the Administration of the Generalitat, local authorities, and public corporations, companies and public services, institutional media, education and place names.
 - b) *The language preferentially used* by the State Administration in Catalonia in the manner that it lays down, by the other institutions and, generally, by companies and entities offering services to the public.

Article 3: Official languages

1. Catalan is the official language of Catalonia, as is Castilian as well.
2. Catalan and Castilian, as *official languages*, may be used *indiscriminately* by citizens in all private and public activities without exception.. Legal procedures carried out in either of the two official languages have, as far as the language used is concerned, full validity and effect.

⁶⁸ Some key phrases that I discuss in 3.4 are highlighted in italics.

Article 4: Linguistic Rights

1. In accordance with article 3 of the Statute of Autonomy, and within the context of an active policy by the Generalitat to create a situation which allows linguistic rights and duties to reach *full equality*, everyone in Catalonia is entitled:
 - a) To be proficient in both official languages.
 - b) To express themselves in either of the two official languages, verbally or in writing, in their relations, as well as in private and public procedures.
 - c) To be served in either of the two official languages in the manner laid down by this Act.
 - d) To freely use either of the two official languages in all fields.
 - e) *Not to be discriminated against* on account of the official language they use.

Chapter 1: Article 9: The language of the Catalan Authorities

1. The Generalitat, local authorities and other public corporations of Catalonia, institutions and the licensed services and companies that they are responsible for shall use Catalan in their internal procedures and in relations between each other. They shall also normally use it in their communications and notifications addressed to individuals or companies residing within the Catalan linguistic area, without detriment to the right of citizens to receive them in Castilian on request.

Chapter 3:

Education

Article 20: The language of education

1. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also that of education, at all levels and types of schooling.
2. *Educational establishments at all levels shall make Catalan the vehicle of normal expression in their educational and administrative activities, both internally and externally.*

Article 21: Non-university education

1. Catalan shall normally be used as the vehicle of teaching and learning in non-university education.
2. *Children are entitled to receive their initial education in their usual language, whether this be Catalan or Castilian. The authorities shall guarantee this right and shall provide the appropriate resources to make it effective. Parents or guardians may exercise this right on behalf of their children, on request.*
3. The teaching of Catalan and Castilian shall be guaranteed in the curricula, so that all children, whatever their usual language may be when starting their education, can normally and correctly use both official languages by the end of their compulsory education.
4. In post-compulsory education, the educational authorities shall promote policies of syllabus development instruction and so as to ensure that proficiency in, and the use of, both languages are perfected so that all young people acquire the instrumental and cultural knowledge to be expected from such education.
5. Students shall not be separated either in centres or in group classes according to their usual language.
6. No graduation certificate of secondary education can be granted to any student who does not accredit that he or she has an oral and written knowledge of Catalan and Castilian at the appropriate level.
7. Certification of Catalan proficiency may not be required from any student who has been excused from learning it during their education or a part thereof, or who has carried out his or her compulsory education outside Catalonia, in the circumstances that the government of the Generalitat shall lay down by regulations.
8. Students who enter the educational system of Catalonia at a later time than usual shall receive special and additional support for the teaching of Catalan.

Article 22: University education

1. In higher education colleges and universities, teaching staff and students are entitled to express themselves, orally and in writing, in the official language of their choice.
2. The government of the Generalitat, universities and higher education colleges, within the field of their respective responsibilities, shall take appropriate measures to guarantee and

promote the use of Catalan in all teaching, non-teaching and research fields, including the reading of doctorate theses and the taking of official professional examinations.

3. Universities shall provide courses and other suitable resources so that students and teaching staff may improve their comprehension and knowledge of Catalan.
4. Universities may, if necessary, set specific criteria for linguistic use in activities related to international commitments.

(Language Policy Law (1998) (*Llei de Política Lingüística*) online:
<http://cultural.gencat.es/lleis/act1.html> – *English version*)

Appendix 3

Interview Questions

[categories adapted from Linguistic Minorities Project, (1985) The Other Languages of England. London: RKP.]

A. LANGUAGE SKILLS AND LEARNING

1. Which languages, or language varieties do you speak or understand?
2. What language would you describe as your mother tongue?
3. How would you describe your ability in Spanish and Catalan today?
4. Can you describe your experiences learning Catalan?
5. How many years full-time education have you had?
6. When did you first encounter Catalan?

1. Can you understand written Catalan?
2. Do you ever write notes, messages or anything else in Catalan?

C. HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGE USE

1. Can you explain to me how people use language in your home?

D. LANGUAGE AND WORK

1. Can you describe how you use languages in your work?

E. LANGUAGE OUTSIDE WORK

1. Who do you tend to spend time with outside work?
2. Do you think you use language differently in different groups?
3. Are there any particular situations where you are expected to speak Catalan?
4. How do you decide which language to speak with known and unknown people?

F. ATTITUDES RE. LINGUISTIC NORMALISATION AND MIGRANTS

1. Have you ever felt that you are discriminated against in Catalonia?
2. What do you feel about language policies?
3. What about language in schools?

G. IDENTITY

1. Can you describe your identity to me?
2. Do you feel Catalan or Spanish?

3. Do you think that your language is an important part of your identity?
4. Do you feel that your identity has changed in recent years?

H. PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Which member of your family was the first to come to Spain/Catalonia?
2. Would you say that you came to Catalonia/Spain (whichever relevant) for economic, political, cultural or other reasons?
3. Would you be happy to provide me with some additional personal details:
 - Age:
 - Marital status:
 - Intend to remain permanently in Catalonia?
4. Do you have any questions or comments?
5. Would you be prepared to meet me again to discuss issues further?
6. Would you be prepared to allow me to record your language use at home, at work and outside work?

Appendix 4

Original Spanish/Castilian/Catalan transcriptions

[1]

Claudia: yo creo, el catalán ha pasado mu.. mucho mucha, lo ha pasado muy mal y, como nosotros latinoamericanos, llegó el español en esta identidad, yo creo que si no habían llevado a negros africanos y no estuviera aquí, porque, porque la mezcla está allí, ¿entiendes?

SM: mm

Claudia: eh, estuvieron los indígenas, que pasaban del Orinoco al Caribe a llegar los españoles, eliminados, se les obligaron a hablar.. [...] pidieron a la reina negros esclavos para trabajar, porque los indios iban a los montes, huían y cuando los cazaban los mataban, y por esto, es lo que está en la historia... bueno, dice bueno, no tengo nada ni contra ninguna casa ni contra otra, pero que, esto el catalán no lo hizo, el catalán sí salía a negociar ¿entiendes?..

[2]

Claudia: *la meva besàvia era d'aquí i parlava català a la República Dominicana*

Miquel: *el meu pare era gallec i la meva mare era de la Manxa, d'Albacete, però malgrat tot ella es sentia molt catalana, perquè allà al seu poble, on va nèixer, va passar una infància amb molta guerra, sí, tota la guerra civil i tot això, i ella diu que va deixar de passar gana el dia que va vindre⁶⁹ a Barcelona, a Barcelona és on va canviar tot, sí, ella treballava, però aquí menjava tots els dies*

[...]

Miquel: *jo recordo que la meva mare era catalanista més que ningú, malgrat que ella mateixa no parlava bé el català, però el defensava, qualsevol persona que parlés malament del català, deia..., perquè ella estava molt agraïda a Catalunya*

[3]

SM: ¿tú hablas con Cristina en catalán?

Jairo: sí, catalán siempre

SM: y Cristina es de Venezuela, ¿no?

Jairo: pero ha mantenido el catalán por mis abuelos, son catalanoparlantes, en Estados Unidos viviendo muchos años, y regresó aquí con catorce años, en plena época Franquista

SM: mmh!

Jairo: y el problema es que la ayuda que hizo mi abuela y mi abuelo por mantener el catalán les, se tornó contra ellos, ¿no?, porque por ejemplo mi tío pequeño solamente hablaba catalán e inglés, y en la escuela era palo tras palo, porque estaba prohibido el catalán en esa época

[4]

Marta: mi padre sabe Quechua, pero él no ha hecho ningún esfuerzo ni yo por aprenderlo ni él por enseñármelo [...] en mi país, yo estoy hablando más por la gente de Lima la que vive alrededor mío, es como, como vergonzoso de que tus padres hablen Quechua, porque es como, son los indios ¿no?, hasta ahora sigue ese pensamiento de que la gente desprecia a los indios ¿no? mi bisabuela prohibió hablar Quechua a los, mis abuelos, el Quechua no te va a ayudar en ningún lado así que tú tienes que aprender castellano

[5]

Andreína: los inmigrantes son los que vienen a trabajar, a vivir a Cataluña, no los que vienen a estudiar [...] porque yo creo que se crean unas identidades distintas, una persona que viene sólo a estudiar sabe que va a volver a su país, yo creo que mantienen una gran parte de su identidad pero el otro trata de asimilarse a la cultura nueva porque quiere vivir en ese país

[6]

SM: y ¿viniste aquí por razones económicas, políticas, culturales?

José Luis: sí, razones económicas, y, pero más que todo políticas, porque yo estaba bien en mi país, y de ver la situación en que está, cada día va para atrás, decidí venirme para acá a ver si ponía un negocio acá, y me ha ido difícil por lo que acá es muy complicado, acá es, me ha dolido no haber escogido para Estados Unidos, es más duro acá, se complica más la vida

⁶⁹ The Castilian verb *venir* is the same in Catalan, but many people use the 'non-correct' form *vindre*.

[7]

Amadeu: bueno, no directamente política porque no somos personas en el sentido activistas políticos, pero este, el desarrollo económico está muy tascado en Venezuela, y sí nos molesta la actitud hegemónica del gobierno ¿no?

[...]

Amadeu: y con calidad de vida

Marisa: y recuerda mucho o hace, resuenan muchas memorias del estado que uno siempre ha deseado para tener en su país ¿no? [...] esto nos resuena a nosotros mucho con lo que un día vivió Venezuela y con lo que nos gustaría que Venezuela viviera de nuevo

[8]

X: es muy lindo mi país pero mala suerte que estamos con tantos problemas, y más aún ahora que se han llevado más dinero, y nos han sumido más en la pobreza, ni modo

[9]

Martín: es es como otra inmigración, por ejemplo esta señora seguro que se ha, igual vendió la casa o algo así para venirse, no es el mismo caso que yo, no, [...] yo vine aquí a buscar trabajo, si no encuentro trabajo por aquí me volvía, y trabajaba allí

[10]

Josep: las personas que han venido aquí, los sevillanos, los extremeños, de pueblos secos donde no hay trabajo, que su Virgen es la mejor, mi chorizo, etc., [...] todo ese fanatismo que tienen allí abajo, pues vuelve, si ya has, tienes dinero, todo pagado, pues vuelve y disfruta de Sevilla, pues no, no, se quedan aquí, ven una calidad de vida que no tienen allí

[11]

Karina: yo en principio vine de turismo ¿sabes? mi hermana vive aquí muchos años pero me trajo, empecé a trabajar cuidando a personas mayores, digo es que tengo que hacer algo más ¿sabes? pues me volví a Perú para arreglar todos mis papeles, empecé a estudiar el catalán y empecé a buscar otro tipo de trabajo y ya me quedé, yo creo que la idea de toda persona extranjera cuando viene es primero ahorrar dinero para comprarte tu casa para dar una seguridad a tu familia en tu país, pero te cambia cuando encuentras a una pareja, cuando encuentras, cuando ves la calidad de vida aquí

[12]

Mar: mi familia me dice “venga, ven a pasar tus vacaciones, y si te gusta decide si te quedas”, bueno hagamos eso, pero la verdad que lo comencé a coger el gusto al quedarme aquí

[13]

Iliana: yo entré en el 2000, en el 2001 hubo amnistía, por los pelos entré

[14]

Sol: y yo *procuro sempre dizer*, mira yo en mi país estaba muy bien, muy bien, yo vivía muy bien, yo comía muy bien, porque hay muchas *pesonas que diz o* “¿qué hace tú aquí? ¿estabas en Brasil pasando hambre?”, yo digo en mi país yo nunca he comido mal, nunca ¿*entende?*

Manuela: y ¿por qué está aquí si no comes mal en su país?

Sol: y yo digo, y “porque yo soy tonta”, yo soy tonta porque ahora no puedo retornar a mi país porque ya he vendido mi casa, ya no tengo trabajo, yo no puedo *chegar* a mi país y quedar en casa de mi padre, pero *isto e outra coisa*, pero yo ahora, yo me *quero me quedar* aquí como tú quince años, no *quero me quedar aquí todo el tempo*

Manuela: no, ¿sabes por qué?, eres diferente que yo, porque mi hijo ha nacido aquí, ha nacido aquí, estudiaba aquí, y él dice que el se queda aquí

Sol: mi hijo también me *diz isso*, pero que se calle

[15]

Manuela: yo cuando yo he venido aquí en España yo llorando, un mes sin salir de calle porque no entiendo castellano ni catalán, yo no sé hablar, yo llorando un mes, yo yo, mamá, cuando es pequeño, pequeño el bebé, mi mamá hablaba tagalog conmigo [...] un mes allí sin bajar de calle, en mi habitación, yo sólo escribía cartas a mi país, a mi hermano y hablaba con mi madre, cuando venía madre del trabajo ya estoy contenta, porque sólo veo ella

[16]

SM: ¿cómo te sientes como inmigrante aquí?

José Luis: me siento muy mal

SM: ¿por qué?

José Luis: me siento mal, o sea, no había tenido una experiencia de estar así en otro país, entonces no sabía que, que ser inmigrante es tan duro, es algo que yo no he vivido en mi país

[17]

Mar: no, vente, que aquí está muy bien, que tú estás aquí, no sé, te pintan una maravilla, que no son, porque vienes a sufrir, te tiendan o no te tiendan la mano, tú vienes a sufrir aquí, ¿entiendes?

[18]

Gilma: las cosas de las cuales que se quejan muchas veces los inmigrantes, que no son graves también, no se quejan cuando ocurre en su país, [...] algunas veces siento que me hacen cosas, pero porque me lo hacen en catalán entonces me está discriminando, pero si me lo hace [laughs] un, alguien de mi país entonces no es di..., como no es discriminación entonces no es grave ¿no? pero es la misma cosa ¿no?

[19]

Iliana: yo pienso que los catalanes catalanistas son, tienen el racismo hasta en el idioma ¿vale? pero por color de piel no los veo tan racistas en cuanto a color de piel, yo me he tropezado regresivamente con unas, y no sé si eran catalanas, sí porque hablan mucho en catalán, y tuve una, me quiso pegar y todo la mujer, porque no le quería limpiar el suelo de rodillas, yo trabajaba en un restaurante, ella había derramado una copa de cava

[...]

X: disculpe buen provecho, ¿tiene veinte céntimos o algo para comprarme una bocata o algo?

Iliana: ostras, no tengo

X: por favor, que yo, yo la

Iliana: no tengo

X: bueno, ya me, disculpe

Iliana: venga

X: buen provecho y me disculpe

Iliana: [to the beggar] gracias... [to me] ecuatoriano... [...] y me agachaba un poco para complacerla, pero la tía quería que me pusiera de rodillas, me decía “negra” que me pusiera de rodillas, y bueno insultándome, me estaba ganándome la vida en este país, que no sé qué, que inmigrante de mierda, todo esto, y luego un día venía con la Pati por el Hospital Clínico que es una zona bien, a las once de la noche, yo llevaba seis meses aquí, y echaba loca llevaba un abrigo blanco, una bufanda blanca, y yo era tan morena, y viene un chico insultándome, pero esto, no diferenciaba lo que era un skin, viene insultándonos, y mi hermana estaba nerviosa [...]yo todavía andaba muy despistada, y el chico me ha dado un botazo, me ha pegado con la bota, bam, y he quedado, cuando me golpeó que, sí, yo intenté hacer un paso adelante y él se quedó muy cerca su cara a la mía, pero así, y me dijo que yo era una anormal, me dice “tú eres anormal hija de puta”, me deprimí, una semana un bajón y todo ¿sabes? [...] es una experiencia que nunca nunca voy a olvidar [...] las palabras me impactaron, ¿sabes? la manera como me lo dijo y la cercanía de su cara con la mía [...] suelo trabajar de noche, un chico que me dice “aquí las sudamericanas a prostituirse, tú en una barra no haces nada, tú tienes que ir a la calle a...” pero plan palabrotas y todo ¿sabes? pero así, pero que, soy muy violenta, cojo un cuchillo y casi se lo... porque dice “tía tú tienes que ir a prostituirte tú no haces nada detrás de una barra, sabes que nosotros somos españoles, tú tienes que ir a ganar la vida así” [...] uno de los que van a Cuba, tú te vas a Cuba por cuatro duros allí te tiras a todas que quieres, luego vienes hablando de todas las mujeres [inaud.] y encima ¿con qué derecho moral me dices a mí que no debería estar en tu país? si tú te aprovechas de la gente mía ¿sabes? estás aprovechando de mi gente, yo aquí no aprovecho de nadie, aquí estoy trabajando, no aproveché de nadie

[20]

SM: ¿y tú has tenido aquí experiencias de discriminación?

Mar: [sighs] uufff

SM: ¿sí?

Mar: claro, por ejemplo mira, voy entrando en un bar, a un bar restaurante, y claro me siento, y me dicen “no no, usted vaya a cierta parte”, y yo bueno “si yo me quiero sentar aquí que voy a pagar”

SM: ¿en serio?

Mar: claro

[21]

Sol: yo hablo mucho, me gusta hablar, pero si estoy esperando para ser atendida *no* médico tenemos una cola inmensa [...] y cuando *a* persona ve que hablo alguna *coisa* “mm mm” no habla ¿sabe?

SM: y ¿por qué crees que no hablan?

Sol: ¡¡racismo!! yo *penso e o* racismo porque yo no ando mal vestida, si *e* una persona que anda mal vestida..

Manuela: claro

[...]

Sol: cuando *chegaba* al metro [...] yo con esas *trances* que ha *posto* yo estaba como esas hippies y *as* personas *no* metro se quedaba así con la bolsa

Manuela: a igual me hace eso, [...] con el bolso así, yo, pensaba que va robar que se va robar

[22]

Marta: yo sentía discriminación por ejemplo cuando, eh, si estaba en el metro o en el bus, cuando yo, por fuerza tenías que acercarte a alguien porque tienes que pasar, entonces yo sentía que, que, que, que cuidaban el bolso ¿no? eh, cosas de ese tipo

SM: ¿y cómo te sentías?

Marta: yo me sentía mal mal mal, yo sé yo sé que por mi apariencia física ¿no?, ellos, es peruana o sudameric., sudacas como dicen ellos ¿no? [...] pero en parte yo lo entiendo ¿eh? porque hay mucho peruano que, que efectivamente ha ido a, a robar [laughs] sí, lamentablemente sí

[23]

Tania: después fui entendiendo, que bueno, se hizo difícil conseguir piso, situaciones de llamar por teléfono, y si eres latinoamericano el piso no está para, alquilar

SM: ¿te pasó eso?

Tania: sí sí me pasó, claro que sí, me, eh, de hecho vi anuncios que decían “no se aceptan estudiantes ni latinoamericanos”, perdón “estudiantes ni extranjeros” [...] a mí eso me chocó mucho, entonces ya te digo mi entrada fue particularmente muy dura en Cataluña

[24]

SM: y ¿has tenido mala experiencia de discriminación

Celia: no no no, no

SM: o de racismo aquí?

Celia: no

[25]

Emi: cuando lo discrimina a uno es cuando empiezan a hablar que los colombianos están todos así no sé qué, eso es lo único

Diana: pero por el idioma no

Emi: por el idioma no

[26]

Carmen: yo nunca me he sentido discriminada entre un grupo de catalanes si yo hablaba castellano, no, no tengo esa percepción

[27]

Amadeu: hasta ahora nosotros con el catalán no hemos tenido, no hemos sufrido ninguna forma de chauvinismo catalanista, o sea, para nada

Marisa: para nada

[28]

Claudia: no, no, la verdad que no, no, nunca, jamás, del resto de España, de otros sitios sí, sí, y hablaban castellano, pero eran por su forma de compor. de dirigirse a mí como extranjera y más por el color de piel, en ese sentido sí [...] pero aquí, el, yo tengo diecinueve años aquí en Cataluña y jamás un catalán-catalán, o sea decir, nunca jamás te hace sentir lo que, por lo menos, me han hecho sentir a mí, lo que me han hecho sentir uno de otra parte de España, por el hecho de que ellos temen que él le quiten el trabajo, el catalán nunca ha tenido esa necesidad o ese miedo a que le quiten el trabajo

[29]

Claudia: ¡cómo el andaluz! todos se apartan, todos a un lado y no digo que sean todos, pero te lo juro, son tan racistas [...] si son los que más inmigraron y los que han venido aquí a Cataluña, y si el catalán te ha recibido bien, porque quieres darle la patada al que viene, después, cuando tú ya no puedes hacer ese trabajo o te has cansado, o porque tú vives bien y no lo necesitas

[30]

Jairo: porque cuando te mueves fuera de Cataluña,

Belén: a mí una vez...

Jairo: la gente te mira fatal, es como si tú les robases algo

Belén: es que han hecho una campaña contra Cataluña muy fuerte, en España

Jairo: nos han hecho una política brutal

Belén: no, no nos pueden ver

Jairo: oh, ¡los catalanes!

Jairo: somos más cosmopolitas, estamos más cerca de Europa, Granada es casi África, y hay un concepto de español, de, de recio, de...

Belén: es como si nos tuvieran manía

[...]

Belén: yo cuando era más pequeña iba con mis padres de vacaciones allí al pueblo de mi madre, en Huelva, Andalucía y me decían “que bien, estarás contenta” y yo ¿de qué? y seguían “que has ido al extranjero de vacaciones”, y yo “¿qué?”, “claro que has salido de Cataluña, no estás en tu país de Cataluña”, pues vaya cosas que me dices

[31]

Mar: así como hay nacionalistas catalanes, y nacionalistas de la misma España, es decir, de ciertas partes, yo también soy nacionalista ecuatoriana, sí sí

[32]

Sol: mi hijo no tiene amigo catalán ni *españols*, os amigos de mi hijo eh es indio como se.. [...] yo nunca he visto a un paquistaní en un bar *bebendo*

Manuela: no no, he visto que en bares de paquistaní que todo lo veo como todo igual eh los cara de ellos, no se sabe ni hindú ni paquistaní, hay algunos que beben, y moros también que beben, dice que no beben y fuman pero beben fuman escondidos

Sol: unos sí

Manuela: si ellos dicen mentiras, a veces veo a un moro comprando un chorizo, y no comen cerdo dicen, sí sí sí, lo que aquí no trabajan y sólo ladrón, no puede ser de lujo comiendo bistec todo día, tienes que comer un bocadillo ¿no?

[33]

SM: ¿tienes amigos ecuatorianos serranos aquí?

Paulo: (curtly) no, yo no... en mi país se llama regionalismo, es como, como Nazi así como racista, y cosas así, ellos ellos son más blanquitos que nosotros, ellos son, ellos hacen a lo suyo, ellos son entre ellos, ellos no no no hablan mucho con uno

SM: ¿eso sigue aquí en Barcelona?

Paulo: es lo mismo

[34]

SM: ¿cómo aceptan a un costeño en Bogotá?

José Luis: bueno, lo aceptan con burla, con risa, les causa gracia, la forma en que hablan los costeños, les causa gracia, esa gente del interior

SM: y ¿tú crees que hay una discriminación allá, contra el español de costeños?

José Luis: no, discriminación directa no, no me parece, lo que sí es, es, hay rivalidades, rivalidades, el costeño le echa vaina al cachaco, y el cachaco le echa vaina al costeño, así, rivalidades

[35]

Paulo: ah sí cuando llegué aquí a Barcelona, y llegué y lo primero que me hablaban fue en catalán

[36]

José Luis: pues me sentí raro, pero ¿qué hablan? me parecía raro lo que hablaban porque había palabras que salían muy claras, que son, lo dicen en catalán pero salen muy claras en español, o en

latino, en castellano, como dice uno, y empecé a preguntar, entonces me dijeron “no, porque están hablando en catalán” y entonces me empezaron a explicar lo del catalán porque no tenía ni idea

[37]

Andreina: cuando lo oí fue cuando llegué a Barcelona [...] que había escuchado por la calle el catalán, y luego en la universidad ya entré con la realidad de que era una lengua que se usaba dentro de la institución porque yo suponía que el catalán sólo lo utilizaban la las familias catalanas

[38]

Mar: eh, bueno, llegué a trabajar en un bar, y claro ellos te hablaban sólo el catalán, no me había familiarizado muy bien con el idioma [...] cuando son nacionalistas catalanes, no, por educación ni siquiera te cambian el idioma, que saben que tú no lo hablas entonces no te lo cambian

[39]

Marta: cuando, cuando yo llegaba y entraba en una tienda y me preguntaban que, que, si yo quería algo en catalán y yo no entendía nada, pero yo, yo estoy segura que, que estas personas sabían de que yo no era, que yo no hablaba catalán porque si me ven es, uh, no soy de, de Cataluña ¿no?

SM: y ¿cómo lo, cómo lo percibías cuando te pasaba eso?

Marta: me sentí incómoda, me sentí incómoda porque es un poco de, este, el hecho de sentirse nacionalistas, y saber de que, que era visto que yo no era de aquí, que me hablen de esa manera, yo me sentía mal, como, un poco de discriminación con la gente que no es de Cataluña

[40]

Tania: el amigo que te quería contar el amigo italiano nuestro Mario, reci..., él había hecho un intento por hablar catalán y le pidieron que no lo hiciera porque lo hacía muy mal, sí, entonces él

Jorge: [laughs]

Tania: desde ese día agarró pues mm su respectiva fobia, o sea nada, se puso muy furioso con los catalanes, no quería saber nada de ellos

[41]

SM: ¿y cuándo fue la primera vez que oíste el catalán?

Pati: en Colombia

SM: ah ¿sí? ¿cómo fue así? eso es raro ¿no?

Pati: sí, sí, sí, me pasó una cosa extraña, yo estaba trabajando en una panadería, y, de dependienta, y bueno le dije a mi jefe que me iba a ir, que en quince días me iba, y allí venía un hombre a comprar pan, y decía que era español, y entonces resulta que mi jefe estaba haciendo un apartamento, un bloque y este señor era el que dirigía la obra, pero se veía un, pobre, un hombre así un poco mendigo ¿sí? y me dijo ¿Carlos? no recuerdo su nombre, me dijo “que ya le he dicho al español que tú vas a España y si va a venir por aquí, dice que quiere hablar contigo”, y vino, y me fui con él a tomar con él algo en un bar, y me dice, y me empezó a hablar en catalán, era catalán, me dijo donde vivía, erm, le enseñé la dirección donde iba a venir, que iba a vivir por la Plaza España, me dijo que era muy buena zona, me dió la dirección de su hermana

SM: ah ¿sí?

Pati: sí, pero lo que pasó fue que no me dió ninguna foto, ni me dió ninguna carta, y él [inaud.] con todo el mundo, hacía muchos años que había perdido contacto con las, la familia, y cuando llegué allí, porque vive en el barri, en el casco antiguo, su hermana mayor, era artista, cuando llegué allí y le dije que yo había hablado con su hermano, que su hermano le mandaba recuerdos, porque el hermano me había mandado a decir, pues la mujer se echó..., tuvo que, tuvo que sentarse, casi se, se puso mala, mala [4 seconds] y no se lo creía, me decía que no, que no podía ser, que pensaban que su hermano estaba muerto

SM: no puede ser

Pati: sí sí, la mujer se puso toda..., yo fui con un amigo y, y tuvimos que ponerle por aquí [pointing to her back] cosas porque estaba que se..., y no me creía, y entonces, después no sé si me llamó ella o la llamé yo, no recuerdo, y me dijo rotundamente que ella como no tenía ninguna prueba, y digo “mire, yo no estoy buscando nada”, o sea, yo, lo que mandó a decir su hermano y me siento como un poco obligada ¿no? o sea como un deber o, porque el señor se veía buena persona, y yo no fui nunca más, porque yo pienso que ella creía que yo buscaba algo, pienso

[42]

liana: me dejó sola el primer día [working in a bar], y yo ya ves no sabía nada, y llegó una chica y me pide y me dice “*un tallat si us plau*” y empiezo yo *un tallat*, yo no me acuerdo lo que era un *tallat* ¿sabes? y empecé *tallat tallat* buscando en todas las botellas *tallat tallat* no encontraba, había abierto todas las neveras buscando un refresco que se llamaba *tallat*, nada nada, cuando veo que no encuentro nada voy yendo a la chica y le digo “disculpa, es que *tallat* no me queda” y ella había entendido que era que yo no había captado lo que me pedía y me dice “perdona, es un cortado”, pero vaya de, si has embarcado hace dos días no lo entiendes nada, nada

[43]

Mar: que cuando estaba trabajando en el bar, que bueno, llega y me pide, en ese entonces no sabía lo que era un *tallat*, que es un cortado, un *tallat*, y yo me quedo “un momentito” “pero señorita atiéndame” pero hablando en catalán todo, ¿me entiendes? claro yo a los tres días

[44]

Mar: un día me pidieron, las pedidas de unas mesas y otras cosas más y lo único que entendí, fueron, dos tres frases de las diez, le digo “¿me podrías hablar castellano por favor?” y bueno se me queda callada y poco antes de retirarse de la tienda me dice “tienes, que estás aquí en Cataluña, y has venido aquí”, o sea, me hizo tan despectivamente, tan despectivamente

[45]

Pati: yo trabajaba, aquí se dice de cara al público, a sea, en un bar musical por la noche [...] una vez un chico joven me dijo, que a veces no te lo esperas porque la gente joven, tiene otra mentalidad más amplia, me pidió, un zumo, no sé, y no entendí lo que me dijo, no más, había llegado hace poco, y me dijo que, dice “tú estás aquí, tú comes de nosotros, si tienes que aprender el catalán”, y me quedé, no sé, te lo puedes esperar más como de una persona mayor, pero ¿una persona joven? pero luego me di cuenta que sí que la gente joven también son catalanistas

[46]

Josep: yo normalmente sí, si voy a un bar digo algo en catalán

Karina: pero muchas veces ha pasado, se dice “ah ¿qué?”

Josep: y normalmente normalmente al momento tengo que traducir porque..., cualquier cosa, un café *un cafè sol*, ¿cómo? *un cafè sol* [with emphasis] ni eso, ni eso entienden o no quieren entender o sea

Karina: por rabia

Josep: por rabia o por manía dicen “¿cómo dices?” “*cafè sol*”

[...]

Josep: mucha gente suramericana, sí vale, si es el primer mes vale, pero si dices “*un cafè sol*” no te entienden y la misma empresa no les

Karina: no les exige

Josep: ya no obligarles, pero sí decirles un poco, mira aquí hay un idioma y hay que aprenderlo [...] sabes que vas a cualquier cafecito de esos, de cadenas y son suramericanos, no hay manera

[47]

Gilma: me identifico inmediatamente como venezolana [...] me decían “¿eres colombiana? ¿eres cubana? ¿eres dominicana? ¿eres..?” Venezuela, ¿Venezuela es qué? ¿qué es eso Venezuela? ¿no? ¿no? entonces suramericano es todo todo ¿no? [...] un señor allí en el bar, este, muy aprensivo con la cosa de la inseguridad ciudadana y esto, entonces hablaba de que alguien, que él fue asaltado que lo robaron que no sé qué ¿no? [...] cuando iba a decir suramericano él trató de identificar un país suramericano para decirle era suramericano de, mejicano por ejemplo ¿no? pero como me conocía a mi quizás se le traicionó la conciencia, ¿no? dijo “era venezolano” entonces, este, y yo le decía bueno con la misma seguridad con la que él me dice “¿y cómo sabías que era venezolano?” “bueno era suramericano” yo le dije “puede ser que era suramericano pero yo estoy segura que venezolano no era” [laughs] los venezolanos tenemos menos, menos problema que otros suramericanos, en ese sentido ¿no?

[48]

Tania: aquí me hicieron sentir diferente por el acento, cosa como tú eres de Suramérica o preguntas como, ¿tú eres ecuatoriana?” “no” “¿eres argentina?” “no” “soy venezolana”, “ah es lo mismo”, cuando tú dices “no es lo mismo” porque no se trata de quien sea, los latinoamericanos homogéneos,

porque no somos homogéneos, dentro de la riqueza que tenemos está precisamente lo diverso, me di cuenta de eso, y por el otro me di cuenta que acá, claro me ven como latinoamericana entonces fue muy curioso porque yo claro, o sea que me obligaron a identificarme con los latinoamericanos

[49]

Paulo: porque somos como de la costa, de la playa, somos más, somos más sueltos también, para dialogar

[...]

SM: ¿no tienes a nadie acá?

Paulo: no, nadie, tengo mis amigos que es como mi familia, mis amigos dominicanos [laughs dryly]

SM: es que tus amigos aquí son más caribeños

Paulo: mis amigos son caribeños todos, costeños de Colombia, los dominicanos, la gente de nosotros mismos

[50]

Jorge: y cuando yo llego y me encuentro aquí con personas no sé, del Caribe, como gente de Venezuela, parece como si yo no, como si ellos fueran de la costa atlántica o si, o sea, que no fueran, que fuera el mismo país, que ese límite no tampoco importa, por eso digo que el colombiano es como de pasaporte

[51]

SM: ¿a veces oíste esa palabra, sudaca?

Marta: claaaaro, claro

SM: ¿en qué situaciones?

Marta: entre sudacas, lo más gracioso, entre colombianos o peruanos que me veían a mí “oye sudaca” me gritaban ¿no?

SM: ¿sí?

Marta: y yo me acercaba y “hola” los saludaba ¿no? preguntándoles cómo estaban, y cosas de ese tipo

SM: ¿a quién?

Marta: a los, a mis, a mis paisanos, pues a los peruanos o los ...

[52]

Martín: es la identidad de quien vive aquí, [...] ya estamos aquí [...] la convivencia la tienes que construir en en donde estás

[53]

Amadeu: hemos tenido, otro tipo de conciencia de nosotros mismos, pero eso va unido no sólo al cambio espacial sino decisiones que hemos hecho con nuestras vidas [...] queremos integrarnos más a la sociedad catalana por, este, casi comemos completamente catalán, todavía nos permitimos algunos venezolanismos los fines de semana pero en general en la semana es casi catalana

[54]

Patricia: y decía “pero tú ¿de dónde eres?” porque, yo decía de Barcelona y después se ha picado conmigo “ah sí hagamos de Barcelona una ciudad independiente como Hong Kong”, pero no, no se trata de eso, sino que yo no puedo relacionar con el resto de Cataluña porque no conozco el resto de Cataluña, y el resto de España muy poco, así que Barcelona me siento identificada, en general, Barcelona es de donde soy

[55]

SM: ¿cómo podrías definir tu identidad?

Carmen: mmm, no sé, pues yo, catalana o castellana, es que [laughs] *xarnega*, nos llaman *xarnegos* a nosotros, pues *xarnega*, a mí no me importa, no sé, es que me considero catalana y cas., y española o cata. o castellana, los dos

SM: ¿sí? ¿una más que otra?

Carmen: mmm, no, es que por identidad me considero más catalana, pero por idioma, a lo mejor más castellana, pero los dos, realmente los dos

SM: es decir ¿tienes dos identidades en competencia, una lingüística y una nacional? ¿estás diciendo?

Carmen: sí, [laughs], algo así, pero como yo hay una gran generación ¿eh? en, en Cataluña como yo, creo que somos la generación puente [laughs]

[56]

SM: tú llevas bastante tiempo aquí ¿te sientes

Manuela: ¿catalán?

SM: algo española o catalana?

Manuela: yo me siento como español, no catalán-catalán

[57]

Jairo: y coño, yo soy español, ¿no? soy catalán, antes era muy radical catalán y ahora reconozco que sí, que estamos en España, y primero es mi región que es Cataluña y después viene un estado que se llama España, pero yo soy incapaz de llevar una bandera española [...] sí, a mí me gustaría que algún día si los catalanes son tan radicales y tan federales y tan independientes, y no sé qué, que digan, vale, a partir de ahora hacemos un ejército catalán, a ver quién va

Belén: nadie

Jairo: [smiles] a ver quién va, y ¿no? ejército profesional, que funcionara igual que...

Belén: nadie, nadie

[58]

SM: ¿cómo te defines tú Josep? ¿qué eres?

Josep: yo soy catalán

SM: ¿eres catalán-catalán, o catalán?

Karina: [laughs]

SM: ¿o catalán-español?

Josep: no

SM: ¿o más catalán que español? ¿sólo catalán?

Josep: me siento catalán-catalán

SM: ¿catalán-catalán?

Josep: catalán-catalán

SM: ¿te sientes algo español?

Josep: no, no, no siento nada, ni tradiciones ni nada, ninguna tradición española, nada nada, no ¿eh?

Karina: [laughs]

Josep: ninguna ninguna

[59]

SM: ¿y tu identidad?

Paulo: ¿cómo que es eso?

SM: ¿eres europeo, francés, catalán, ec.,?

Paulo: [abrupt] yo soy ecuatoriano, soy ecuatoriano

SM: ¿más que nunca o va cambiando?, es que muchos latinoamericanos dicen “bueno con el tiempo me siento un poco español, catalán..”

Paulo: no, como ello no me siento nada

[60]

José Luis: es duro ¿no? la belleza que es el país de uno ¿no? sí, allí me di cuenta, digo “dios mío mi país es maravilloso” así me di cuenta

SM: así que ¿te sientes más colombiano que antes?

José Luis: uuuffff [nodding] me siento muchísimo más

[61]

SM: y tú identidad, ¿con el tiempo, te sientes un poco española, o catalana?

Celia: siempre más dominicana que nunca, porque sí, la tierra de uno nunca la olvida, y siempre uno sigue siendo con ese, con ese amor de su tierra [...] siempre añoro a mi país, mi familia

[62]

Celia: todavía no lo he sacado, está en trámite

SM: y cuando tengas eso, ¿te vas a sentir, bueno..

Claudia: bueno allí sí, allí voy a sentir siendo española

[63]

SM: ¿y vas a sacar la nacionalidad española más tarde?

Mar: no, no, no, no

SM: ahora dices no ¿pero quizá después?

Mar: quizás después pero hasta aquí no [...] para ser ciudadana hay que nacer en un sitio

Mariana/Sadia: no, no

Mariana: no necesariamente

Sadia/Mariana: no, no, no, no

Mar: no necesariamente lo entiendo, pero yo he nacido en Ecuador y no me quiero cambiar la nacionalidad

Sadia: no, tú puedes tener las dos nacionalidades

Mar: no puedo traicionar a mi país de esa manera

Sadia: no, pero eso no es traicionar porque tú lo que, tú vienes aquí para trabajar y tú tienes la residencia por cinco años, y si más o menos tú puedes tener la oportunidad de hacer tu carné de identidad español lo haces porque tienes más facilidad de vivir igual que tener derechos igual que los españoles aquí

[64]

liana: colombiana cien por cien de pura cepa, sí sí, yo, e incluso, hacerme la nacionalidad, que sé que es un papel

[65]

SM: como ya están hablando en catalán, pensando en catalán, escribiendo en catalán, ¿creen que un día se van a sentir catalanas un poco o españolas?

[Hilda/Emi/Diana laugh out loud]

SM: ¿cómo puedes describir tu identidad?

Hilda: yo colombiana, o sea, un poquito de las dos cosas, muy poco española, porque no, tal vez si hubiésemos nacido aquí tal vez española

Diana: o si hubieran venido más pequeñas pero es que vinieron grandes

Hilda: más pequeñas me siento más colombiana, y un poco española, pero un poquitito sólo, no mucho

SM: y ¿tú Emi?

Emi: igual, también colombiana

Diana: pero ella cuando está, cuando estaba, así se le sale el acento

[66]

Felipe: me crié en Caracas, pero cuando era niño me señalaban como español porque mi padres eran españoles, y tuve problemas graves de identidad toda mi vida ¿no? pero yo siento ya con la madurez que yo soy de la raza humana y ciudadano del mundo y si me identifico con algo soy americano de Latinoamérica

[67]

SM: y para terminar estoy mirando cosas de la identidad ¿no? si te identificas con esta tierra

Pablo: no, no

Marco: jamás me identificaría con ninguna

Pablo: no porque, no porque no me he identificado ni con la mía

Marco: yo tampoco pana

Pablo: aparte también, somos hijos de inmigrantes

SM: entonces, ¿son italianos?

Marco: no, tampoco

Pablo: no, tampoco me siento italiano [...] somos apatrias

Marco: bueno eso un poco..

[68]

SM: ¿eres catalana?

Sara: eh, sí, soy catalana, soy

SM: ¿eres catalana-catalana?

Sara: soy catalana, soy española, soy europea, soy ciudadana del mundo

[69]

Carolina: múltiple identidad, además, ahora, hace doce años, tengo la nacionalidad española, o sea que, imagínate, es, es, de, ay, a ver, es que, esto es tan, más complicado ¿no? porque claro yo, yo creo que se tendría que inventar una nueva palabra ¿no?, que recogiera esta realidad

SM: y ¿esa identidad, crees que es la misma identidad que tenías hace doce años?

Carolina: no, es una identidad que se ha ido construyendo en estos últimos doce años, o sea, esto estoy segura

SM: y ¿qué parte hace el idioma en esa construcción para ti?

Carolina: ¡hostia! que, que en mi caso no ha pasado tanto por el idioma, [...] porque yo como cous cous, porque yo hago un tamal, me hago una moussaka porque..

[70]

Maya: hombre, ¿identidad cómo?

SM: no sé, identidad de quién eres, cómo te sientes

Maya: es que yo no me siento enteramente mejicana pero tampoco me siento enteramente española, yo me siento ciudadana del mundo, y eso es algo que otras personas no entienden porque, que no eres española o mejicana, es que es un problema porque aquí en España yo soy extranjera, mejicana, pero en Méjico también soy extranjera, soy española

[...]

SM: ¿y un poco así catalana te sientes?

Maya: no, catalana no me siento, [Patricia laughs] no, no sé porque siempre..., notas esta actitud un poco reaccionaria contra..

[71]

Luz: yo soy peruana, yo soy peruana, pero ahora tengo elementos culturales catalanes y españoles y europeos [laughs] [...] pero no podría identificarme con la nación peruana, no soy nacionalista pero, ni con la nación peruana, ni con la nación catalana, ni con la nación inglesa, ni con la nación española, soy anti-nacionalista

SM: ¿como te autodenominarías entonces?

Luz: soy de la zona andina, si quieres, de la región perua., de la región latinoamericana, más me identifico como latinoamericana que como peruana

SM: ¿y crees que eso ha cambiado en los últimos diez años, tus percepciones de tu identidad?

Luz: sí, y tanto, ha cambiado porque he podido ver otras realidades, otros aspectos culturales, y entonces me ha ayudado a relativizar el término nación

[72]

Claudia: bueno me siento, normalmente sie., sólo, sabes que, quizá decirlo, es mucho pero ciudadano del mundo, y si de de sentirme catalana, cast. española, es que claro, soy, me siento muy dominicana ¿entiendes? entonces, sí que, me siento muy bien aquí, entonces ya, pero sí, que, vamos a decir que catalana porque, porque, es que es diferente al resto de España, es una, es una cosa, son especiales, [...] no te harán sentir, no sentirás esa hipocresía, n., no sé, es algo como..

SM: y ¿desde que tú viniste aquí tú ves que tu identidad ha cambiado?

Claudia: mm, me siento más dominicana por echar de menos a la tierra [...] por ver lo que pasa aquí ¿entiendes? cosas que no sabía, estudiar la historia más, más profundamente de mi país y que pasó en otra forma con el catalán mm, de, hacer, eh, que no hablan su idioma ¿entiendes? nosotros pues pasamos de otra forma, de, yo qué sé, lo que es la esclavitud del negro, cambiaba su identidad, que no hablara su idioma, no tenía su propio nombre

[73]

Claudia: *què són , vint, vint-i, vint-i-un anys ¿no?* veintíun años que tengo aquí.

Miquel: *més de la meitat de la seva vida se l'ha passat aquí*

Claudia: sí ¿no?.

Miquel: *i ella diu que és Dominicana, però bueno..., val serà dominicana, sí, és veritat, però...té passaport espanyol també, però, té passaport dominicà, però..*

Fernanda: *però són els sentiments, els papers poden dir molt, però si tu ets d'un país, ets d'un país..*

Miquel: sí

[74]

Karina: es muy curioso, sí, mira, yo yo soy eh peruana de nacimiento, catalana de corazón, y española por interés

Josep: [dry laughter]

Karina: eso es lo que soy yo

Karina/Josep: [laugh]

SM: y ¿qué fuiste cuando llegaste aquí por primera vez?

Karina: peruana, peruana-peruana, no quería ni, no quería ni tener la nacionalidad española, ahora la tengo ¿eh? porque no he perdido la mía, tengo la doble nacionalidad y, pero, es lo que soy [laughing]

[75]

Yanet: yo soy, nacionalmente, de nacionalidad soy catalana, eso es verdad, catalana, pero de alma soy más, soy más colombiana

SM: y, ¿pero tú dirías “soy española” en alguna ocasión?

Yanet: [laughs] fijate que es complicado ¿eh? porque en Colombia sí que me tocaba decir “soy española” y me sentía yo muy rara diciéndolo, “¿pero tú de dónde eres?” “pues yo soy española”, yo siempre tengo que añadir el ‘pero’ “soy española pero”

SM: es interesante que consideras tu nacionalidad catalana

Yanet: catalana [...] porque he nacido en una zona de España que es Cataluña, que bueno lucha por tener una identidad propia ¿no? y que lucha por conservar una lengua y por conservar unas tradiciones, y lo he mamado eso también, yo *hablo* el catalán

[76]

Luz: es discriminatoria, sí, están, es una discriminación positiva, es que es así, ellos mismos lo dicen, es discriminatoria contra el castellano porque lo ven como peligro

[77]

Carmen: se discriminó al catalán porque se impuso el castellano, entonces yo entiendo que una manera de conservar la cultura y la identidad de un pueblo es a través del idioma [inaud.]

[78]

Felipe: incluso lo digo por mis abuelos, que no sabían hablar castellano, hablaban sólo catalán, o valenciano [...] por ejemplo mi mamá, que dejó de hablar catalán de niña, cuando iba al colegio, aunque sus padres hablaban sólo catalán, ella iba al colegio en la época de Franco [...] tuvo una educación tal que le hicieron odiar el catalán [...] ahora quizás está pasando al revés, quizá se han ido al otro extremo, también es criticable como lo hacen, pero bueno, se entiende en el fondo

[79]

Pablo: a mí me parece un error gravísimo

SM: ¿por qué?

Pablo: imagínate un gerente, que la empresa por algún motivo lo envía de Madrid a Barcelona y tiene familia y tiene niños, y simplemente lo envía por un año o dos años, tiene que venir esa persona a Barcelona y aprender, aprender catalán para después volverse a Madrid, que no le va a servir para nada [...]

Pablo: pienso si una lengua tiene que desaparecer desaparece allí punto, ¿se habla latín hoy en día? [...] y tratar de imponerlo es algo, si te pones a ver es antinatural, cosas por imposición son antinaturales

[80]

Pati: no veo mal que defiendan su lengua, lo que pasa es que lo quieren imponer, eso es lo que yo veo mal, o sea lo que hicieron con ellos, en lo, cuando Franco y tal, que ahora sea al revés y ellos quieren imponer con el castellano

[81]

Gilma: yo sentía que había una presión exagerada, que había una cosa casi represiva con el idioma ¿no? este, surte a veces un efecto al contrario cuando intentas forzar, este, creo que el efecto es el inverso ¿no? empieza el rechazo, y además porque eso lleva una connotación despectiva hacia el otro idioma

[82]

Iliana: que no se imponga, porque a la hora de imponerme, es que, pongo la barrera, hálbame español

[83]

Marta: yo creo que no debería ser esto impuesto, nada que es impuesto tiene, tiene un buen fin

[84]

SM: ¿y tú crees que podrías ser catalana sin hablarlo?

Sara: a ver, depende, depende de lo que entendamos por catalán, si un catalán es cualquier persona que haya nacido en Cataluña entonces ¿qué más da que hable catalán, castellano, inglés o lo que sea? pero yo creo que si entendemos catalán como identidad cultural entonces sí que tienes que hablar catalán, y tienes que tener un mínimo de conocimientos de lo que ha sido tu historia y cultura

SM: y ¿qué consideras tú?

Sara: [laughs] ¿yo?

SM: sí

Sara: yo creo que catalanes son todos los que viven en Cataluña, aunque no hablen catalán

[85]

Carmen: pues lo que, el castellano y el catalán son dos lenguas oficiales, no solamente catalán, que eso es lo que me molesta ¿sí? por ejemplo si yo hablo castellano me dicen “pero ah ¿tú no eres catalana?” digo “pues sí, pues las dos lenguas son oficiales, y entonces yo hablo la que más cómoda me siento”, y eso por ejemplo me molesta

[...]

SM: mm, ¿tú crees que tienes que hablarlo para serlo? tú eres catalana

Carmen: no, yo no creo que hay que hablarlo para serlo, creo que ellos piensan que tengo que hablarlo para serlo

[86]

Yanet: allí es catalán y es dura aparte

SM: ¿sí? ¿tiene una política?

Yanet: tiene una política catalana, entonces tú tienes que hablar en catalán, contestar el teléfono en catalán, dirigirte a las personas en catalán, tampoco te lo dicen pero tienes que dirigirte en catalán siempre, si luego te hablan en castellano hay gente que sigue dirigiéndose en catalán, yo no

[87]

Anonymous:

SM: ¿y cómo es la política así del uso de idiomas en el tu trabajo?

X: es un poco laxa, ¡¡eso no lo escribas!! [laughing nervously]

SM: no no no no, no no no, ni pongo el nombre ni nada, no, tienes que confiar en mí, yo cambio el nombre

X: ay vale vale vale vale...es que políticamente, es, es oblig., oficialmente, la lengua oficial de esta región, de este país, unos lo llaman país, yo le llamo región

[88]

Josep: hace años que hablo castellano [at work] [...] porque son muy tozudos, les hablas en castellano, que tendríamos que hacer al revés, y si no les gusta pues, lo que digo yo, que vuelvan a su casa a ver si les dan de comer, ¿no?, y aparte lo he vivido, en la oficina había un andaluz que decía que, bueno, que criticaba a los catalanes, los criticaba pero sin motivo, ¿no? criticar por criticar, lo que te decía del fútbol ¿sabes? o sea, en su casa sólo se ponía TV3 para el fútbol, porque jugaba el Madrid, quitaba el volumen y ponía la radio en castellano, ¿no? o sea gente muy cerrada, muy cerrada, que no, que esto es España es España

[89]

Carolina: pues yo veo, vamos a decir, normal la reacción que han tenido [...] una lengua cuando queda como enclaustrada, ¿sabes? que queda en una jaula de cristal, y luego lo sacas al mundo y resulta que hay cosas que han cambiado ¿no? [...] persiguen una cierta pureza en el lenguaje, la normalización no se adapta a la, la manera de hablar sino a las leyes gramaticales, entonces hay allá, hay ciertos roces

[90]

Belén: son palabras tan,

Jairo: que hay palabras que yo no entiendo, no sé ni qué quieren decir, ¿sabes? y tengo que girar el reverso y leerlo en castellano porque es que no me entero

Belén: nosotros hablamos un catalán vulgar

[91]

Yanet: y me acuerdo, de ver el examen de catalán y de castellano ¿no? y el examen de catalán eso era una porrada, eso era muy muy muy muy muy muy difícil, exigiéndote muchísimo

[92]

Luisa: lo que pasa es que en en las clases de catalán, de mi idioma, de catalán, ponen un nivel extremadamente alto, yo cuando hago, por e., yo estoy haciendo segundo de bachillerato, ¿no? el último curso antes de la universidad, entre el castellano saco ochos, el catalán siempre suspendo, cuando yo soy, hablaba catalán toda la vida, pero no es el mismo catalán el que se habla [...] es tan difícil que la gente, es que se pone mucho en contra también, es absurdo

[93]

SM: y la situación de los catalanoparlantes en las otras partes de España

Sara: simplemente no lo hablan y ya está [laughing]

SM: ¿no quisieras tener derechos lingüísticos fuera de Cataluña?

Sara: no, ¿por qué?

SM: bueno, si vas a ir a vivir en Madrid o en Málaga

Sara: no, en Madrid hablan castellano entonces yo, si me voy a Madrid voy a hablar castellano

[I then explained the situation of French schools in Canada]

Sara: pues yo no, no, y la verdad es que no me gusta nada la idea

SM: ¿no? ¿por qué no?

Sara: porque si quieres hablar catalán te quedas en Cataluña, y si no, te vas a otra parte, para mí mi idioma y lo que yo hablo no me representa a mí misma, yo soy algo más que un idioma

[94]

SM: y ¿tú crees que deberían tener derechos lingüísticos fuera de Cataluña, por ejemplo?

Carolina: ¡uuuff! no, yo creo que, que donde, adonde vayas ves un poco lo que veas en el sitio, ¿no? porque si no, imagínate, esto puede llegar a ser lo, a volver una torre de babel y no te entiendes con nadie ¿no?

[95]

Tania: están tratando de equilibrar el el catalán, junto con el castellano o el inglés, que estos políticos están pensando no en un bilingüismo sino en un trilingüismo como propuesta política, es decir, minimizar la fuerza del castellano

[...]

Felipe: para una plaza de profesor visitante de cualquier parte del mundo a Barcelona o a Cataluña, pedían enviarles el el currículum y los papeles, de doctor, enviado o en, o en catalán o en inglés, no en castellano, o sea, si tienes un título, yo qué sé, de Venezuela, en castellano, lo tenías que traducir al inglés o al catalán

Tania: es muy curioso

Jorge: [laughs]

Felipe: es un poco exagerado ¿no?

[96]

Carmen: que intentan potenciar más el inglés que el castellano, y eso ya me parece absurdo, no existe que dos lenguas puedan co-existir al mismo nivel, va a haber siempre una lengua que tenga más dominio sobre la otra

[97]

Gilma: por ejemplo los taxistas son muy inquisitivos en aquello ¿no? con el idioma insisten, un taxista se molestó mucho conmigo porque le dije "OK" [okei] [laughs]

SM: ¿qué dijo?

Gilma: enfurecido, "no es posible que los suramericanos vengan aquí con esta manera de hablar, a venir a decir 'OK' aquí", este, "ustedes bajo la influencia norteamericana" [laughing] pero se puso muy bravo muy bravo

[98]

Paulo: uno viene aquí a buscar el dinero, no viene a estudiar, uno viene a buscar el dinero a ganarse la vida, [...] no estar así de manos cruzadas, ¿sí me entiendes?

[99]

Celia: [...] me gustaría aprenderlo el catalán, porque es un, es un dialecto, y sería bueno aprenderlo, pero es que no me da el tiempo porque el trabajo que tengo no me da el tiempo

[...]

SM: y ¿cuánto tiempo llevas acá?

Celia: el diez de noviembre tengo once años

SM: ¿y hablas un poquito, o entiendes un poco de catalán?

Celia: ¡¡nnnnada!!

[...]

SM: ¿nunca fuiste a ninguna clase gratis?

Celia: no, no, no, no no no no no no no, no, no, yo trabajo así de doméstica

[100]

Mar: no me da el tiempo, me gustaría, por lo menos para poder hablarlo, otro detalle mira, tú no tienes el acento, [...] te cambian automáticamente el idioma porque ellos tampoco te ayudan a hablar [...] saber hablar y escribirlo, claro me abrirá dos puertas más, pero es que no son, que me quita un tiempo, lo que me interesa a mí aprender es el inglés, el idioma inglés me gusta muchísimo

[101]

Emi: tal vez si fuera una lengua mundial

Hilda: porque si el catalán nada más sirve para en Cataluña, no sirve para vivir en otro país como el inglés que es mundial, sirve para hablar en cualquier sitio que te entienden

[102]

José Luis: no, porque pues no me ha llamado la atención

[...]

SM: ¿y algún día lo vas a hablar? ¿lo ves?

José Luis: de hablarlo, no sé, ¿entenderlo? es que aparte no es interesante, eso es lo que no te motiva, cuando tú vas a Estados Unidos o a Inglaterra, todo el mundo quiere aprender, hablar inglés porque es lo bueno, tú en cualquier parte donde vas y hablas inglés, cualquier persona te entiende, pero como es un idioma que solamente vamos a escuchar aquí, ¿entiendes? yo quiero ir a otra ciudad, en España, y si voy a otra ciudad en España ya me olvidaré del catalán ¿entiendes?

[103]

Iliana: si me caso y tengo un hijo aquí ya me quedaré aquí pero como no lo sé, es que estudio catalán cinco años ¿vale? me voy a Zaragoza tres cientos kilómetros de aquí, no me sirve de nada, estudio el inglés yo voy a mil kilómetros, me voy a Alemania, me voy a Francia, me voy a China, y el inglés me va a servir, son los mismos cinco años

SM: pero no estás estudiando inglés tampoco

Iliana: tampoco [laughing] pues allí me perdí ¿ya?

[104]

María-Cecilia: a mí tampoco me ha llamado la atención, no me ha llamado la atención

[105]

SM: escuchando las experiencias ¿ya te has animado un poco así, bueno a lo mejor me inscribo en un curso?

María-Cecilia: no

SM: ¿no? ¿por qué no?

María-Cecilia: es que no me gusta

SM: pero te vas a quedar aquí ¿no?

María-Cecilia: por lo que veo el papá dice que se queda aquí, el papá de ellas

Emi: bueno mi papá se queda a vivir aquí y muere aquí y todo

SM: ¿sí?

María-Cecilia: él sí

Diana: yo pienso que la gente que por lo menos como ella que ya tiene su familia que está casada que ya tiene sus hijos, le cuesta más decidirse por hacer un curso que gente joven porque al curso que yo voy hay mucha más gente joven que que..

[106]

Felipe: yo creo que es una lengua muy cercana a las raíces del castellano y el francés entonces o el italiano entonces una lengua fácil de entender, no estamos hablando de hablar en alemán o en holandés o en sueco ¿no?

[107]

Pati: yo lo encuentro muy mal de mi parte no haber aprendido el catalán

SM: ¿cuántos años tienes aquí?

Pati: doce, yo lo encuentro *muy* mal, pero soy una persona a que me cuestan mucho los idiomas, entonces no lo he intentado

[108]

Manuela: un poco difícil para mí ¿eh? porque es más fácil los europeos aprender el catalán que los como nosotras que soy de ori.. asiática, es más difícil para mí aprender catalán, los pronun.. para pronunciar para mí es muy difícil

[109]

Cristi: yo prefiero aprender inglés que aprender catalán

Yael: yo igual

Cristi: también lo que

Yael: que no nos ha hecho falta

Cristi: en el trabajo, no lo necesitamos

[...]

SM: ¿y no lo van a aprender?

Cristi: tenemos que hacerlo, tenemos que hacerlo, pero, no sé, no me gusta

Yael: no me llama mucho la atención

SM: pero ¿qué tal que tengan que buscar otro trabajo un día en otra agencia?

Cristi: ya allí si nos pondremos las pilas a correr a aprenderlo [laughing] pero no, no es, no me gusta

[110]

María-Cecilia: donde yo trabajo, mi jefe, él es catalán y él dice que no le gusta el catalán, y él no lo habla, y ellos me hablan a mí en castellano, ellos son de aquí y no les gusta

[111]

Paulo: aquí hay mucho, mucha ¿cómo se llama? muchos bares que son de latinos y allí no precisa hablar catalán, van muchos latinos y él que va al bar latino ya sabe que tiene que hablar su castellano

[112]

Sara: no, porque en realidad tampoco lo necesitan, entonces para ellos es algo completamente inútil, y yo en parte lo entiendo, porque ¿para qué lo vas a aprender si..?, yo si me voy a Gales no voy a aprender galés

SM: ¿no? ¿por qué no?

Sara: no, porque hablo inglés

[113]

Amadeu: no he estudiado formalmente, lo que he hecho es ver televisión, leer periódicos y poco a poco he ido entendiendo, y como es de la familia latina pues de la familia romance, todo suena a conocido, erm me hubiera aburrido a seguir un curso formal, seguramente lo necesito pero me hubiera aburrido, y también me quiero demostrar que puedo aprender un idioma por mi propia cuenta

[114]

Jorge: estudiar en la escuela de idiomas no, pero sí me he sentado, ah, enfrente a la televisión, de TV3 a escuchar, y con radio a escuchar, y a leer los periódicos, leer de vez en cuando algún libro así que sepa que es fácil de leer, y entonces de alguna manera sí he estudiado pero, pero por mi cuenta

[115]

Karina: yo escribo puedo decir, modestia aparte, perfectamente en catalán porque he estudiado hasta un nivel que puedo incluso hacer oposiciones y me gusta el idioma, o sea siempre me ha interesado

SM: ¿cuánto te faltó para llegar a ese nivel?

Karina: nada, medio año

[116]

SM: y ¿y cómo fue tu experiencia aprendiendo catalán?

Luz: ¿mi experiencia? la verdad que, creo que no me di cuenta [laughs]

[...]

Luz: entré en una universidad que, netamente catalana y en un ambiente catal., cien por ciento catalán, porque el grupo de compañeros, eran, catalán, y, y la verdad que no me di cuenta, me fue fácil realmente aprender el idioma

[117]

Hilda: yo como agobiante porque al principio no entiendes nada y te atrasas

Emi: te atrasa en los estudios

Hilda: sí

[...]

Emi: prefiero todo en castellano

Hilda: mitad y mitad

SM: ¿y María-Cecilia, que preferirías?

María-Cecilia: en castellano

[118]

Carmen: yo en el colegio lo estudié todo en castellano, catalán era otra asignatura, y ahora es diferente porque ahora es todo catalán y el castellano es una asignatura más, o sea, ahora se ha dado la vuelta a la tortilla

[119]

Luisa: yo creo que en la situación actual del catalán, se necesita dar clases en catalán, porque si no la gente lo iría perdiendo, si yo no hubiera tenido toda la primaria en catalán, yo creo que no lo hablaría o ni lo escribiría con toda la facilidad con que lo escribo, el castellano como es más un idioma de la calle, es que es imposible no aprenderlo

[120]

SM: ¿tú crees que los castellanoparlantes en Cataluña deberían tener un derecho de

Sara: a elegir, no

SM: ¿por qué no?

Sara: porque sí, educación de, si educación depende del gobierno catalán, y el gobierno catalán decide que las clases en primaria se dan en catalán pues se dan en catalán, y si no te gusta te vas a Madrid [laughing]

SM: y ¿crees que eso es justo?

Sara: ¿creo que es justo? mira, yo lo que creo es que hay elecciones cada cuatro años y que si no te gusta Pujol porque es nacionalista y hace hablar catalán a tus hijos pues vas y votas a otro

[121]

SM: ¿tú crees que tener la escuela sólo en catalán ha sido una ventaja o desventaja para tu hijo?

Sol: desventaja mi hijo, desventaja total

SM: ¿por qué?

Sol: por *isto* porque él está estudiando, él no sabe *o* que está *escribendo*, él *escribe* pero él no sabe *o* que está *escribendo*, tenía que tener a una persona para traducir *para ele saber o* que estaba *escribendo*, y sobrevivir, como *ele* dice cuando va a la *escola*, *diz* “estoy yendo a la guerra”, cada día decía eso [...] mi hijo lleva *dois* año *estudando* aquí, *sempre* está repitiendo como se *diz* aquí *sempre* está en la misma serie *no* mismo año

[122]

Manuela: yo estoy contenta, de mi hijo, que porque él sabe sabe del catalán, que castellano, en inglés, él habla bien tagalog y entiende tagalog, ese lo entiende todo tagalog y en catalán perfecto

[123]

Amadeu: me parece un poco opresivo, sí, porque es una nacionalización obligada, ¿no? y que atenta contra la universalidad pues de la cultura, me han dicho, no lo he comprobado, que no enseñan cosas como el Siglo de Oro español, es decir, que es como no enterarse de quien es Shakespeare [...] yo preferiría un régimen mixto

[124]

Iliana: yo pienso que se debe hacer proporcional, ¿sabes? mitad y mitad, porque es que no se puede, es una imposición, ellos siempre les fue muy mal y tienen mucho rencor contra Franco porque Franco les prohibió hablar catalán, pero ellos también son franquistas, porque ellos ahora, ellos están haciendo exactamente lo mismo

[125]

Josep: yo creo que habría que enseñar los dos idiomas, esto sí, para mí sí, mientras estemos en España pues hay los dos idiomas ¿no? yo creo tendría que ser una cosa bastante equitativa, y luego dentro de las otras, de las otras enseñanzas que hay pues, ya sea, ciencias sociales, matemáticas, como hacerlo para un tanto en catalán, un tanto castellano o hacerlo todo en castellano o mitad y mitad

[126]

SM: algunos me dicen que preferirían un sistema como mitad mitad

Luisa: eso sería como lo ideal, lo perfecto, pero como el idioma no está por igual [...] no está por igual, el catalán se ha perdido y se está perdiendo, por eso lo imponen de esta manera, aunque está mal hacerlo, si si si tú haces escoger a la gente, siempre escogen el castellano, por eso lo tienen que forzar un poco

[127]

Maya: yo fui una vez a San Cugat, todos en la escuela hablaban catalán y a mí me sorprendió mucho porque en mi escuela en los patios, por ejemplo, oías poco catalán, oías más castellano por ejemplo, en clase a veces con los profesores hablan catalán, pero fuera de clase castellano

[128]

Luisa: en el aula así se hace [Catalan], pero luego, fuera siempre es en castellano [...] incluso en la clase de catalán, muchas veces el profesor llama a la atención si no hablamos en catalán el profesor que yo tengo actualmente dice “si no lo haces en cas., catalán no, no te escucho” ¿no? porque intenta hacer que nosotros hagamos, hablemos catalán entre nosotros, pero es que no

[129]

SM: y en el colegio ¿todo está en catalán?

Emi: sí, menos castellano, el español

Hilda: castellano, español [laughter all round]

Emi: a veces a mí cuando estaba en el otro colegio el profesor de matemáticas me hablaba en castellano, él que sí hablaba en catalán era el de catalán

[...]

SM: y ¿ustedes tienen algunas clases donde tienen que hablar catalán?

Emi: sí, la de catalán

Hilda: todas son en catalán, pero

Diana: pero la que exigen que hablen en catalán es catalán

[...]

SM: y cuando están jugando, así con los amigos, fuera del aula, ¿qué usan?

Emi: castellano

SM: ¿todo?

Emi/Hilda: sí

SM: ¿no mezclan?

Emi: no

SM: y ¿eso es común? ¿todos hablan castellano?

Hilda: sí, en las clases sí que hablan en catalán, pero ya fuera de clase no

SM: pero los alumnos que son catalanoparlantes, ¿hablan en catalán?

Hilda: no, en castellano

SM: ¿y regresan al aula y usan el catalán?

Emi: pero con los profesores, sólo con los profesores

Hilda: sí, sólo con los profesores

SM: y si ustedes dos están trabajando con una amiga que es catalanoparlante ¿ella cambia al castellano con ustedes?

Emi: a veces sí a veces no, a veces ella habla en catalán y todos la respondemos en castellano

SM: y ¿eso pasa fuera de la clase también, en la calle por ejemplo?

Hilda: no, fuera de clase no

[130]

Maya: cuando llegué al principio por ejemplo una profesora de matemáticas que daba la clase en catalán me dijo “este primer trimestre voy a dar la clase en castellano por tí” y pues hacer los exámenes en castellano, y eso es lo que hizo, y a partir de la mitad del año empezó a hablar catalán porque se suponía que yo estaría más acostumbrada

[...]

Maya: en asignatura de catalán pues por ejemplo, había, hay un grupo de repaso, para los que van muy atrasados

[131]

SM: y ¿cómo fue el primer día?

Emi: mal

Hilda: fatal [laughter]

[...]

Hilda: el primer día que yo fui, que yo fui, realmente no entendía nada, nada nada nada, pero como a mí me pusieron con una española en, para sentarme yo, después tenía que preguntar a ella, y cada vez que le preguntaba “ay ¿qué significa eso?” y ella me decía ¿no? me decía entonces “para que entiendas mejor yo te hablo en ca., tú me preguntas a mí lo que no entiendes y yo te explico, pero pa’ que aprendas más rápido yo hablaré en catalán y tú tratas de responderme en catalán”

[132]

Jairo: mi caso es que yo hice todo, el primero de bachillerato lo hice en Canarias, pero luego regresé e hice el segundo y tercero, y aprobado, pues allí me dicen que no tengo el nivel C

Belén: porque el primer año no lo hizo en Cataluña, eso es una tontería

[...]

Jairo: además yo vengo de una familia que ha querido mantener el catalán y ha luchado por, por, yo no tengo por qué hablar catalán si mi madre es venezolana y mi padre es boliviano, y yo era muy luchador de Cataluña, sí, por culpa de mis abuelos, *tens que mantindre⁷⁰ el català, que el català és una identitat, que sent català t’obrirà moltes portes...* para qué, para que luego a los 28 años me digan que usted no tiene, no sabe catalán

[133]

María-Cecilia: pero cuando yo asistí a las reuniones en el colegio las reuniones las decían todo en catalán

Emi/Hilda [laugh]

María-Cecilia: todo, y yo, uno que otro lado

[*Emi/Hilda* continue laughing heartily]

María-Cecilia: no las entendía, todas ¿no?

SM: ¿no podías preguntar “por favor, pueden

María-Cecilia: no porque es que todos hablaban eh ca., catalán todos, y los padres también los que iban a hacer una pregunta era en catalán, todo en catalán

Diana: es como que, como que da vergüenza, todo el mundo en catalán y que venga una y diga “por favor me lo comunicas en castellano” como que, como que no

[134]

Manuela: no no no, no lo sé, no puedo pedir porque la mayoría allí, son poco extranjeros donde va mi hijo

Sol: pero ¿si habla contigo sola tú no *poide* pedir que me hable en español?

Manuela: cuando una cosa que no le entiendo está explicando algo, por favor que me explicas, pero después de reunión

[135]

Martín: yo mejoré mucho mi catalán a partir de ella, con, hablar con la maestra, hacer tareas en catalán, hay muchas cosas que, que mi hija las sabe en catalán, el nombre de los huesos las sabe en catalán, y no en castellano, y los mete dentro del castellano

⁷⁰ Jairo uses *mantindre* instead of the standard correct form *matenir*.

[136]

Celia: siempre en mi castellano porque yo me entiendo correcto

SM: y por ejemplo, si vas a un lugar, una tienda, cualquier cosa, y la gente te, se dirige a ti en catalán, ¿cómo reaccionas?

Celia: le digo que no me hable en catalán, que yo lo, no sé catalán, que yo lo que sé es castellano, me hablan el castellano sin problema

[137]

Jorge: todos excepto con el señor del banco porque ya me dice las cosas que debo decir [laughs] y él ya se ríe, y me corrige cuando, sobre todo con la 'l' esta, la que es imposible

[138]

Maya: no me sale del alma, [Patricia laughs]. por así decirlo, no me sale natural, [...] y me cuesta, tengo que pensar le doble para hablar por ejemplo, pero de escribirlo no tengo ningún problema

[139]

SM: y en la casa ¿ya usan algunas palabras de catalán?

Amadeu: ah sí, sí Marisa, le encantan los giros, los giros lingüísticos, entonces dice *no passa res*

Marisa: *no passa res* [shouts from the kitchen]

Amadeu: que lo dice mucho

[...]

SM: y ¿por qué escoges el catalán?

Marisa: mm, por dos razones, una para irme integrando y otra porque me gusta, [laughs] hay palabras que allí, formatos de palabras que acogen muy bien, *abraçada* por ejemplo, este, un abrazo, pues *abraçada, a poc a poc, a poc a poc, una mica, una miqueta*, uso las palabras que muy lindas me resuenan

[140]

Patricia: eh Laura, haz un "*iaio Miquel*"

Laura: [putting on a rural Catalan accent, Laura performs her imitation of what they described as a "typical village oldie with the typical *capell* and *xoriço del poble*"] [*beret and village chorizo*] *ja hi ha xoriço del poble de iaio Miquel perquè.. el iaio Miquel té una casa molt bonica, i jo tinc a la Manuela que és la meva dona, sa's⁷¹?* [Laura and Patricia laugh a lot]

Patricia: *la teva muller*

[141]

SM: y en su casa, por ejemplo, ¿alguien usa catalán?

Emi: con mi padre [all laugh] porque sale con unas frases, unas palabras catalanas, *una mica* [Hilda laughs] *si us plau* [others join in laughter] las más comunes

SM: y ¿entre ustedes usan el catalán de vez en cuando?

Emi: sí, de vez en cuando con ella, con mi hermana

SM: y ¿cómo se siente su mami cuando se ponen a hablar catalán?

Emi: se ríe

Hilda: no, a mí me dice "a mí me hablas en español porque si no no te entiendo nada" [laughter] mi papá dice, cuando a mi mamá le dice "¿tienes dinero?" [she answers] "¿eso qué es? dinero no, erm, plata" entonces mi papá le dice "di plata no, di-nero, di-nero" [laughter]

Emi: mi padre también se ha españolizado

[142]

Emi: lo único acostumbrados que estamos que tenemos es decir es en catalán es *déu déu déu*

Hilda: *déu*

Emi: es la única palabra que usamos

Hilda: no más utilizamos una palabra de ellos

Emi: usamos bastante *déu*

⁷¹ The standard correct form for *sa's* would be *saps*.

[143]

Carolina: jugamos mucho en catalán, ¿no? te burlas un poco de aquellos rasgos que son muy sentidos, de la manera de hablar ¿no? entonces como el hola, se dice que los catalanes hablan como que llevaran una patata en la, en la boca, una papa

[144]

Hilda: yo a veces con mis amigos por molestar sí les hablo en catalán

Emi: yo también

[...]

Hilda: ellos hablan en castellano y yo a veces me pongo a hablarles en catalán

Emi: por fastidiarlos

SM: ¿y qué dicen?

Hilda se ríen, que les hable en castellano

[145]

Iliana: y le digo aparte, yo prefiero hablar el español que es un idioma que es el cuarto idioma mundial antes de hablar el catalán que lo hablan cuatro *iaios* más de sesenta años todos

[146]

Iliana: me metí en el agua y, y estaba el agua, estaba pero super bien, y digo, “*aquesta aigua està molt chévere*” o sea, toda la frase en catalán pero le quedaba el chévere costeño allí, y y bueno me han dicho en castellano o el español me dicen “nos está jodiendo el idioma” [laughs] “es que tía nos estás jodiendo el idioma” [...] o sea no me entienden ellos que yo haga esto pero yo qué sé, a mi me dan ganas de hacerlo, me gusta

[147]

SM: y ¿sí identificas a otra persona como inmigrante?

Carolina: ah pues inmediatamente cambio al castellano

SM: ¿saludas en catalán o

Carolina: nooo, no porque bueno, hay siempre, hay rasgos, de la, a ver, hay algo a veces que te da información ¿no?

[148]

Iliana: hay muchas dependientas me empiezan hablando en catalán, entonces cuando yo entro así y me hablan en catalán les digo “disculpa, es que no soy catalana” y a veces les digo “es que mira, no soy catalana”, o sea como les digo “no ves que soy morena que no soy catalana, que soy diferente”

[149]

Carolina: ahora ya se habla de la generación de nuevos catalanes [...] los de origen africano [...] y entonces ahora por ejemplo puedes encontrarte a un chico negro en la calle fuera de, o en Barcelona mismo, y le hablas en, en castellano y te contesta en catalán porque es catalán, o sea educado en catalán, y entonces claro tú a lo mejor pensando que, que, que el hecho de ser negro lo identifica como inmigrante, por ser un rasgo, resulta que no, que sus padres tienen treinta años viviendo aquí, él nació, fue, escolarizado en catalán

[150]

Paulo: estamos en Cataluña y es el dialecto de ellos, el idioma de ellos, y ya no se lo puede cambiar ¿eh? es su su, como decir su costumbre, su idioma es así, lo de Cataluña ya no se les puede cambiar [...] aunque aquí Cataluña no sea un país, pero entre la cabeza de ellos esto es un país, que Cataluña es un país

[151]

Paulo: pero a mí no se me pega nada, sí a veces “tío” “vale” pero de allí yo paso, yo soy ecuatoriano y yo hablo mi lengua mi dialecto y ya ya está

[152]

Hilda: normal

[...]

Diana: la cuñada de una prima mía que también es catalana y ella me está hablando en castellano y y habla tan rápido que que cambia y empieza a hablarme en catalán, pero como yo no entiendo yo igual

sigu hablando con ella y de repente otros cambian al castellano o mete unas palabras del castellano dentro del catalán, pero yo pienso que no es por nada malo ni por discriminación

Emi: que se confunden

[...]

Diana: a mí me pasa, en esa tienda que voy, y pido algo y digo “¿cuánto es?” y me dan el precio en catalán, con números catalanes

SM: y ¿por qué?

Diana: no, yo pienso que es porque la señora, a lo mejor está atendiendo a otra persona en catalán, y empieza a hablar conmigo y se le olvida y automáticamente me dice el precio o lo que me va a decir me lo dice en catalán, pero no por nada especial, yo pienso que es que es inconscientemente que lo hacen

[153]

Cristi: y ellos cambian de un idioma a otro inconscientemente y te están hablando en español por ti, y de repente empiezan a hablar en catalán, pero no se dan cuenta

[...]

Yael: hay gente que les, algunas palabras no las saben en español, las saben en catalán, entonces a ellos mismos les cuesta mucho trabajo y sin darse cuenta cambian

Cristi: pero no es consciente

Yael: que se confunden

[154]

Luz: es tema de comodidad porque los que están acostumbrados a hablar catalán, ya les cuesta hacer la traducción en español, entonces para ellos cometer, cometer faltas, para, para hablar catalanizadas en castellano, [laughs], entonces prefieren seguir hablando en catalán

[155]

Sol: digo a *eles* que no, que no me hable en catalán porque no *compriendo*, *entao por isto* cuando *eles* *querem* hablar una *coisa* que no *quer* que yo me entere hablan catalán, pero apunto cuando tengo *oportunitadade* apunto que hablaron más o menos y llego a casa y *pergunto* a mi hijo *¿o que quer dizer isto?* e mi hijo *diz o* que tengo duda *¿entende?* yo *pergunto* a mi hijo *e o día siguiente* yo ya sé *o que hablou* de mí

[156]

José Luis: están hablándome y me hablan en castellano, o sea, español normal, y de pronto, hmm, se pasan al catalán

[...]

José Luis: me manejan así de esa broma, me confunden, o sea, tratan de confundirme, eso sí sí

SM: ¿y por qué crees que hacen eso?

José Luis: por discriminación

[...]

José Luis: claro, cuando les he molestado entonces se cambian

SM: ¿sí?

José Luis: para que uno no les entienda

SM: y ¿qué haces tú?

José Luis: digo frases que se usan allá que ellos no las conocen aquí

SM: sí, ¿por ejemplo?

José Luis: por ejemplo, “o no joda”

[...]

José Luis: si vienen acompañados se hablan en catalán entre..., que me parece molesto también

SM: ¿sí?

José Luis: en catalán en catalán, empiezan a hablarlo en catalán entonces no entiendo y es tan fácil hablarlo, en español, para que entendamos los tres

[157]

SM: ¿pensarías que [cambiar al catalán] tiene otro significado?

Claudia: no, no suelo ser negativa en ese sentido, no yo no, no, porque es su idioma y lo veo lo más, lo más normal que lo hagan

[...]

Claudia: yo tengo 19 años aquí en Cataluña, y jamás un catalán-catalán, o sea decir, nunca jamás te hace sentir lo que, por lo menos, me han hecho sentir a mí, lo que me han hecho sentir unos de otra parte de España

[158]

Pati: yo me sentí, con mi hermana quizá no, [puts on high exaggerated voice] “estos catalanes, no sé qué, son muy mal educados”, mi hermana, sabes, te has dado cuenta que mi hermana es un poco así, protestor, [high exaggerated voice] “que son unos mal educados y que” pero yo me sentí bien, como, integrada

SM: entonces ¿que te hablara en catalán así te gustó?

Pati: sí, yo me sentí muy integrada, en ningún momento me sentí mal

[159]

Belén: eso de que tú eres *mestre* tampoco lo vemos, yo desde mi punto de vista del castellano, ¿eh?

Jairo: yo no lo veo bien

SM: ¿por qué?

Belén: porque es imponerle tu voluntad a ..

Jairo: claro,

[...]

Belén: que aquí viene mucha gente a trabajar y no podría trabajar, ni estudiar, si solamente se hablara catalán [...] es que parece que lo estás desprestigiando, que lo estás,

Jairo: no sé, yo no lo encuentro bien.

[I then referred to Pati's response]

Belén: pero la gente de fuera sí, pero tú a un castellano, por ejemplo a mi padre, le hablas en catalán y él te dice que le hables en castellano y no le hablas, mi padre se enfada mucho

Jairo: y entonces aparecen los radicalismos, [...] a mí, si una persona, costeña o australiana, me dice..

Belén: sí, “háblame en catalán que lo quiero aprender”,

Jairo: me dice, por favor “tú háblame en catalán”, perfecto yo te hablaré catalán

[160]

Andreína: que por primera vez le hablaban en catalán la hacía formar parte del grupo [...] que entonces ella antes se sentía discriminada, es lo que yo interpreto, yo creo que es normal [...] yo sentiría que es una manera de marcarme como extraña

SM: y ¿qué opinas de la campaña?

Andreína: es que la campaña puede tener distintas aristas, una persona que quiere quedarse a vivir en en Cataluña, que quiere interaccionar en la lengua, el que usa el catalán con ella significa que la inserten, que la tomen en cuenta, mientras para otras personas podría ser una manera de complicarle la vida [...] yo creo que que van a haber reacciones negativas y positivas, y creo que van a ser más negativas que positivas

[161]

Claudia. *hi ha un anunci de la tele que surt un noi que és marroquí, un negre i un altre de, ¿de qué país? que le dicen “hola Hassan, hola bon dia, parla'm el català, que jo vull aprendre el català”*

[...]

SM: ¿y qué opinan de eso que hay que dirigirse al inmigrante en catalán en vez de en castellano?

Fernanda: me parece bien

Miquel: está bien, está bien, *de cara al immigrant*

Fernanda: para ayudarle

Miquel: *per ajudar-li a que es trobi millor, perquè és veritat que un immigrant, encara que sigui immigrant, si parla en català, puja la seva..., no sé*

Fernanda: *qualitat de vida*

Miquel: *qualitat de vida, les relacions amb la gent, tot, els problemes baixen [...] i a la feina si saps parlar català, malgrat que siguis estranger, i sobretot si ets negre, africà, que es vegi, que la gent es dongui compte que sí està parlant català, uf! puja punts, un montón, un montón*

[...]

SM: pero esa clase de campaña, también, si todos los catalanoparlantes se pusieran así, a hablar catalán con los extranjeros, puede causar problemas también, ¿no?

Miquel: no, ¿por qué?

SM: porque si el extranjero no entiende el catalán lo puede tomar mal

Miquel: no, canvies d'idioma i parles en castellà o en qualsevol idioma, si veus que ell respon bé, pues segueixes parlant en català; si veus que ell et respon en castellà, doncs canvies

[162]

SM: porque para ti, tú hablas catalán perfectamente

Yanet: mm

SM: nunca lo vas a tomar así

Yanet: no, nunca lo voy a tomar así, ¿mm? depende

SM: ¿sí?

Yanet: a veces sí que notas cierta agresividad como en la manera de dirigirte hacia ti en el idioma como diciendo “a ver, a ver si hablas catalán”, “ya que estás aquí tienes que hablar catalán, que se note que tienes que hablar catalán, y yo sólo te voy a hablar en catalán”, entonces supongo que hay gente más sensible y menos sensible a eso ¿no?

[...]

Yanet: ah si eres de familia extranjera seguro que no hablarás bien el catalán, ¿no? también los prejuicios que se tienen con todo eso, algo así, o luego dirigirse a mí en catalán, y están haciendo una entrevista también de trabajo en castellano, y la persona en un momento dado, cambiar de lengua ¿no? y hablar el catalán peor que yo, [laughing] que también te hace gracia una persona de aquí que hablaba el catalán bastante peor que yo

[...]

SM: y ¿cuál es la reacción cuando tu catalán es mejor que el catalán de ellos?

Yanet: sorpresa, siempre, “ah ostras, hablas catalán, ah, pues pensaba que no” ¿no? y a mí lo, el dolerme el decir pues “si pensabas que no ¿por qué te diriges a mí en catalán de esta manera” ¿sabes?

[...]

Yanet: pero es algo que puede doler, aparte, yo lo digo porque lo he vivido también

[...]

Yanet: y he trabajado de camarera ¿no? y pues esto lo vives, y que te hablen en, que tú te diriges a ellos en, en castellano porque no los has oído hablar tampoco, y que te hablan en catalán muy cerrado y mirándote incluso mal, ¿no? entonces allí yo creo que empieza a rozar la discriminación, un poco

[...]

Yanet: allí está el problema, que entra el idioma como herramienta de discriminación.. entonces, es, eso yo creo ¿no? y en, es una herramienta más para un tipo de gente que ya es así, entonces claro, luego, pues hay muchos extranjeros y muchos inmigrantes que le cogen manía a la lengua, al catalán, mi tía por ejemplo no habla catalán y lleva 20 años aquí, no lo habla

[163]

Sara: era camarera de discoteca [...] yo de normal me dirigía en español, en castellano, porque la mayoría de clientes eran castellanos, y lo que me hacía mucha gracia [...] venían catalanes, y los catalanes siempre siempre siempre siempre me pedían lo que querían en español, pero yo me daba cuenta que eran catalanes porque oía, o porque les oía hablar en catalán o por el acento o por lo que fuese, entonces yo les respondía en catalán porque sabía que para ellos les era más cómodo ¿no?, como un poco por educación, y ellos seguían hablando conmigo en castellano, porque una camarera siempre es [laughing] un tipo de mujer que.., la idea que tienen los catalanes de de las camareras, son chicas que no han estudiado mucho y que, no sé, por supuesto catalanas no, una camarera catalana es como algo imposible, en contra, es la idea que tienen, y que, y que, las tontitas de detrás de la barra, ay no, y no entienden que tú puedes, puedes hablarles en catalán y que puedes estar estudiando sociología, eso no [...] les contesto en, pero no es, no les sale, no preguntes por qué, no lo sé, pero eso me hacía mucha gracia [...] yo al principio me mosqueaba mucho, pero luego te acostumbras y al final te hacen gracia [laughs]

[164]

SM: y y ¿cómo te sientes así cuando cambian así?

Andreína: pues yo, [laughs] yo no me siento ni bien ni mal porque como yo entiendo la lengua

[165]

Emi: antes cuando no entendía me daba rabia porque no lo entendía, pero ahora que lo entiendo me gusta que me hablen en catalán

Diana: pero yo pienso que es porque no lo entiendes

Emi: porque no lo entienden no se comunican

Hilda: sí, ahora a mí no me, a mí me gusta que me hablen en catalán, que me de igual también que me hablen en catalán y en castellano, que me hablen en catalán porque así, uno sí escucha más la pronunciación y aprendo más

Emi: y aprendemos más rápido

Hilda: para mí se me fue la rabia, para mí el proceso fue así

[166]

Tania: yo a veces me he sentido incómoda, porque sí me ha pasado que en plena conversación cambian al catalán, sobre todo porque no lo manejo del todo bien y la gente que hace el cambio sabe que no lo manejo del todo bien [...] no entendía de pronto lo que querían decir con eso, no lo sabía interpretar, creía al principio que era una manera de estar ellos muy juntitos, y no, después voy entendiendo que es un cambio natural, en la medida de que son bilingües pues es absolutamente normal

[167]

Carmen: a veces por ejemplo la gente mayor, no es porque no quieran hablar castellano, es que yo creo que les cuesta mucho hablar castellano, [...] diferente puede ser la gente joven, a lo mejor no cambia por cuestiones nacionalistas [...] pero yo no tengo ningún problema, y no sé, si nos entendemos cada uno hable lo que quiera

[168]

Iliana: si tú vas a una lencería, por ejemplo, te digo por mi casa, la gente mayor, en español entras hablando español, ellos te siguen hablando catalán, y por aquí la gente te sigue hablando en catalán

[169]

Karina: yo creo que es por educación

Josep: es educación, de la cultura

Karina: sí

Josep: la cultura propia que está propia de su país, que es si viene de allí educados de una manera

Karina: es la mentalidad, yo jamás lo interpretaría como una discriminación o como un.. ¿sabes? de que me cambien el idioma, no yo siempre lo he interpretado bien aun no sabiendo catalán cuando llegué [...] yo les decía “hablen en catalán que yo quiero aprenderlo” ¿sabes? [...] pero yo creo que también es, porque hay mucha gente que se estanca

[170]

Luisa: mucha gente, no sé explicarlo pero, mucha gente está aquí y no quiere estar aquí, y está aquí por razones económicas o razones pues su familia aquí y no quiere, y al no quererlo como que rechazan, [...] si tú vas a otro país si no te, si no has querido ir a ese país no es problema de los demás, es *tu* problema, y aunque no te haya gustado pues estás aquí ahora y tienes que integrarte

[171]

X: aquí en está segunda hay una de 24 horas, está abierta día y noche, la farmacia

Luz: ¿la que está ahí abajo? ¿hay otra por aquí cerca? ¿sabe usted?

Y: no, por aquí, no.

Luz: estoy buscando una, una

Y: no, ya tiene que bajar luego hacia el centro, pero por aquí no, la más cerca es aquella

Luz: sí, sí, gracias

[172]

Patricia: buenas, ay perdón

SH: ¿está usted antes o usted [inaud] estado?

Patricia: no, estaba aquí antes

SH: gracias [after taking payment and putting purchase in bag]

Patricia: de nada

SH: gracias

Patricia: de nada

[173]

Martín: hola buenos días

SH1: hola

SH2: hola

Martín: hola ¿qué tal?

SH1: [to other] vale muchas gracias, buen viaje adiós buenos días

SH1: ¿qué..

Martín: hola, póngame unos espárragos por favor, unos gordos

SH1: ¿estos?

Martín: sí, [4 secs] bueno no hay nada más

SH1: ¿nada más?

Martín: sí

SH1: tres con noventa

Martín: bueno, a ver si mejora el tiempo ¿eh? estaba oyendo en la radio que la madrugada en Sevilla suspendieron todas las salidas

SH1: las salidas sí, lo bonita que es la procesión

Martín: sí

SH1: que son divinas

Martín: cierto

SH1: es una lástima

Martín: nunca he estado, a ver si un año voy para allá

SH1: yo soy andaluza

Martín: ¿ah?

SH1: y es guapísima, unas veces cuando éramos pequeños nos íbamos para Semana Santa todos los años

SH2: es precioso, es que.. cuatro, cinco y quince veinte

Martín: gracias

SH1: hasta luego

Martín: adiós buenos días

[174]

Martín: es que la gente habla castellano y pu.. y pudiendo hablar en castellano la gente no habla catalán, porque el castellano es como más, universal digamos, donde el catalán es más presente es en los pueblos en el interior de Cataluña

[175]

Luz: hola, bon dia

SH: bon dia

Luz: em poses això?

SH: què més?

Luz: mig quilo de kivis, altres enciams tens?

SH: això o iceberg només

Luz: quant és?

SH: tres amb setze

[...]

SH: i deu, merci⁷²

Luz: val,⁷³ gràcies

[176]

Patricia: hola, buenas, d'aquests no teniu en negre?

SH: de quins?

Patricia: d'aquests, bueno, són vestits o són tops? perquè

SH: són vestits de nena petita.

Patricia: ah, mira

SH: [laughs]

[...]

Maya: [inaud.]

Patricia: què?

⁷² Strictly speaking, *merci* is not considered correct Catalan by many due to its French origins, although it is commonly used in Catalonia. The standard correct Catalan form would be *mercès*, which is not so widely used.

⁷³ The term *val* is an adaptation of the Spanish *vale*. A standard correct Catalan equivalent would be *d'acord*. The Spanish *vale* is also commonly used in Catalan.

Maya: sesenta-y-cinco euros

Patricia: bueno, *es que tampoc és que sigui prêt-à-porter*

Maya: *home! però això no val*

[...]

Patricia: *estic acostumada a més curtes*

SH: *l'agafes al vies i ja està, comença curteta i acabes tenint-la més llarga.*

Patricia: *sí, merci*, mmm*⁷⁴

[177]

F: *hola*

Karina: *hola bona tarda, una consulta, mira, estic embarassada i m'han dit que he de prendre àcid fòlic, vale? però no sé ni quan ni a quina hora, ni si puc menjar, si no puc menjar, res*

F: *sí, generalment*

Karina: *em sembla que va amb recepta i tot això, no?, bueno*

F: *bueno, si estàs embarassada i t'han recomanat àcid fòlic, s'et pot donar sense recepta, eh? de fet, l'àcid fòlic el que fa és evitar malformacions a la medula òssia del fetus i llavors, jo diria que és una al dia*

Karina: *m'ho mires?*

[...]

V: *mira aquí ho posa, generalment és un mes abans de quedar-se embarassada, però bueno, si no és igual, al moment de quedar-se, quan ho saps, i tres mesos després de la misma [reading the product information] o sigui en principi són tres mesos, ara si t'ha dit durant tot l'embaràs, doncs, mal no fa*

Karina: *sí, mira, jo en principi m'emporto una*

[178]

SH: *¿qué buscabais vosotros?*

Patricia: *toma.. tomàquets i pomes.*

SH: *tomàquets? com els voleu que siguin més tous o no tan tous? aquests són més tous allí tinc uns altres que són una miqueta més durs*

Cust: [to stallholder] *sí gracias*

SH: [to Patricia] *venga ¿qué más quieres?*

Patricia: *sí, esos son más sua.. más blanditos*

Cust: *¿cuánto me has dicho?*

SH: [to other customer] *uno con treinta y seis, és igual [regarding the change]*

Patricia: *ja està*

SH: *ahora, ¿manzanas, de cuál?*

Patricia: *deja las manzanas gràcies, no, no gràcies, estem bé amb els tomàquets de moment*

SH: *veintinueve*

Patricia: *gràcies*

SH: *que vaya bien, déu*

[179]

SM: [before entering the shop] *esta vez, puedes hacer una prueba, empiezas en castellano y haces un cambio al catalán, para ver como sale esto, si no te molesta*

Luz: *no, qué va*

[in the shop]

SH: *¿quieres alguna pasta? ¿cómo está el bebé?*

Luz: *¿el bebé? está muy bien, ya lo ves*

SH: *¡si lo hemos visto nacer!*

Luz: *sí, sí em veies cada dia, bueno, que anava a comprar i tal*

SH: *està maco, maco*

Luz: *sí, és que està gran*

SH: *està molt maco*

Luz: *sí*

[paying fifteen minutes later]

SH 2: *vale, tres con treinta y seis.*

Luz: *sis cèntims vols?*

⁷⁴ an asterisk * will be used to indicate non-standard forms after the initial explanation.

SH 2: *trenta-sis, com vulguis, sí, és igual el que tinguis, fem-ho així*

[...]

SH 2: *no res, ja està, ja està, mira, tres, això fan cinc i el cèntim, ara sí, gràcies*

Luz: *això, molt bé, gràcies*

[180]

Luz: cuando se dirigió a mí al principio me habló en castellano, cuando yo le contesté en catalán ella cambió de registro al catalán inmediatamente

SM: ¿y lo mantuvo, no?

Luz: lo mantuvo, sí, hasta el final

SM: ¿y por qué crees que se dirige a ti en castellano?

Luz: porque soy latinoamericana, porque se nota que soy latinoamericana, entonces es habitual, me pasa mucho eso, ¿eh? a veces siguen con el registro en castellano, y a veces, como en este caso, cambian al catalán y ya está

[181]

Cristina: *bon dia*

Bar: *bon dia i bona hora*

Cristina: *café amb llet si us plau*

Bar: ¿y tú?

SM: *un café amb llet si us plau*

Bar: jo'er, todo *si us plau*, ¿os caliento un poco la leche?

Cristina: *si no plou...*

[...]

Bar: *tu no vols sucre, no?*

Cristina: *no, gràcies, si us plau* [giggles], *aquestes són les noves samarretes del Harley?* ¿de este año? de puta madre

Bar: *i ara tothom vol camisetes de la Harley-Davidson*

Cristina: ¡hombre claro!

Bar: *des que ha passat la, d'allò, ara tothom vol*

Cristina: ¿pero esta es la de Calafell?

Bar: *sí, i a Benidorm* también encuentras, *no és qüestió de volguer o no volguer*⁷⁵

Cristina: este fin de semana *està a Terrassa, les Harley*, al festival de música country

Bar: coño, coño

Cristina: *sí, sí*

[...]

Cristina: ahora que estás aquí, Inma, no es por hacerte trabajar, ¿eh? pero me harás una *torrada*?⁷⁶ una *torrada* sin mantequilla, *amb oli d'oliva*

[182]

Martín: [to me as we enter] aquí por ejemplo están escuchando la radio en castellano, es un signo digamos de..

[10 seconds]

Martín: *hola, una barra de quart si us plau*

SH: vale

SH: [to other customer] hasta luego

Cust: hasta luego guapa

SH: ¿algo más?

Martín: *no*⁷⁷

SH: cincuenta y ocho, gracias.

Martín: vale *gràcies*

⁷⁵ The standard correct form of *volguer* would be *voler*.

⁷⁶ The standard correct form for *torrada* would be *tostada*.

⁷⁷ I checked with one of my transcribers (who knows Martín) whether this 'no' constitutes catalán or Spanish. Their answer was that they supposed that he was speaking in Catalán because of his particular accent while speaking in Catalán.

[183]

SM: tú pediste en catalán, y ella te contestó

Martín: en castellano

SM: ¿esto es normal por aquí?

Martín: sí, sobre todo en las tiendas

[184]

Patricia: *hola*

SH: hola

Patricia: *les pizzas que tens aquí de què són? les pizzas*

SH: ¿de qué son o cómo son?

Patricia: *de què son*

SH: ¿de qué son?

Patricia: *sí*

SH: de atún, champiñones, jamón en dulce y queso y de anchoas.

Patricia: *em, què t'agradaria més?* [to Maya]

[185]

Martín: *bon dia!*

SH: *bon dia!*

SH: [to other customer] suerte

Cust: suerte

Martín: *jo volia unes pomes, què me les agafó jo?*

SH: usted mismo

Martín: sí muy bien

SH: [to other customer] adiós

Martín: [to other customer] *déu*

SH: [to other customer] que le vaya bien señora

SH: ¿junto?

Martín: sí.

SH: uno cuarenta y tres

SH [to another woman who's leaving]: ¡hasta luego!

Woman who leaves: *déu*

SH: adiós

[186]

Martín: bueno en catalán se me nota menos que en castellano, el acento, eh, porque bueno como lo aprendí aquí pues, lo aprendí pues digamos correctamente

[187]

Mariana: *bona tarda casa meva! bona tarda!*

Doris: buenas tardes señorita

Mariana: *he dit! he dit "bona tarda"! he dit "bona tarda"! bona tarda! com et dius?*

Doris: *bé*

Sadia: *molt bé*

Mariana: *no, que com et dius, el teu nom*

Doris: Doris

Mariana: eso, tú eres Doris, ¿y tú?

Sadia: Sadia

Mariana: Sadia, eso, Sadia y Doris, *mira, t'he portat el cartell*

Doris: venga

Sadia: espera, que voy a la cocina, que voy a trabajar, que estoy haciendo un servicio

Mariana: [laughs] *no m'entens?* no me entiendes? *que t'he portat el cartell* que te prometí

Martín: una Fanta

[...]

Doris: ¿qué tiene? ¿qué es lo que van a hacer estos días?

Mariana: un espectáculo musical que estamos haciendo en, *que estem fent a, al Convent de Sant Agustí*

Doris: [animated] tú háblame en castellano, que yo el catalán, yo llevo diecinueve años aquí y no me ha entrado nunca.

Mariana: ¿no te entra? pero es fácil

Doris: no me entra, no me entra, y de verdad que no me..

Mariana: ¿y has tratado?

Doris: he trabajado con catalanes, todo con catalanes

Mariana: y ¿has podido, ha., *parlar una mica*?

Doris: es que no, me entra, yo como que me gusta más mi castellano que, porque el catalán es aquí no más, en Cataluña, después tú, te entras en los Estados Unidos, que el inglés y toda esa cosa, nada ves, sólo aquí, ¿a que sí?

Mariana: ¿pero lo entiendes? ¿a que sí?

Doris: un pelín, un pelín, pero no mucho, es que yo no le ..

[...]

Mariana: pero mira, *quant de temps, quant de temps*..

Doris: (screams) ¡no me hables en catalán! vuelvo y te repito, no te jode la vi..

Mariana: que ¿cuánto tiempo tienes en Cataluña?

Doris: ¿yo? diecinueve años

Mariana: (screaming in disbelief) ¡¡diecinueve años!!!

Doris: no entiendo catalán..

Mariana: oye, yo llevo, yo voy a cumplir doce y lo *parlo*

Doris: pero no me gusta a mí..

Mariana: lo hablo y lo entiendo y todo, hasta me atrevo a escribirlo

Doris: no me, no me hable en catalán que, yo me apunté y dije “esto no”, y otra vez, y me apunté, una cosa de estas

Mariana: de la Generalitat

Doris: sí, y digo, “no, no, no, esto no me va a mí” [laughing], que no, no me entra, no me entra

[...]

Mariana: de comer siempre hay ¿no?

Doris: sí, pero si uno no trabaja, no hay nada

Mariana: *la feina, és la feina*

Doris: claro

Mariana: *com diuen els catalans*

Doris: ésta está con el *català*, que se le ha metido ahí, no lo sé, si tú vas en el metro y te habla un, un *català*, te habla en catalán, pero si a un, te hable catalán, claro tiene allí, pues, ¿a que sí? ¿a que sí?

Mariana: sí

Doris: viene un paisano tuyo tú no le hablas catalán, luego no

Mariana: nooo

Doris: ¿entonces?

Mariana: echando broma sí, echando broma puede ser

Doris: no, ya lo sé

[...]

Doris: a ver, a ver, ¿no van a cantar una canción o qué?

Mariana: bueno, pero apaga, apaga esa vaina

Doris: hostias pero yo te esperaba que me digas algo

[188]

SM: ¿y tú crees que eso es muy poco común, que se use catalán entre latinoamericanos aquí?

Mariana: ahhh, si podemos hablar nuestro idioma hablamos nuestro idioma, a no ser que hay un catalán presente y hablamos en catalán

SM: es decir, tu comportamiento fue muy poco usual para ellas

Mariana: seguramente, como que yo estaba obligándolas casi o forzándolas a que me dijeran algo en catalán, de alguna manera lo estaba haciendo a propósito ¿no?, sondeando el terreno como dice uno

[189]

Mariana: aquí ya se empezó a medio cabrear ¿no?

SM: sí

Mariana: no me hables en catalán [laughs]

SM: y ¿por qué, por qué se habría fastidiado tanto?

Mariana: no entiende

SM: ¿no entiende? ¿cómo crees que ella lo interpretó?

Mariana: no, que bueno [sighs unhappily] o sea porque cuando yo le digo que ella lleva diecinueve años y yo llevo doce y yo *parlo* y hasta le le, igual le chocó, a lo mejor le molestó que yo presumiera de que yo sí lo hablo con menos años que ella ¿sabes?

[190]

Mariana: *bona tarda familia! ai quantes cares conegudes, tu! quina vaina⁷⁸ més maca!*

M1: vaya cubana mala

Mariana: ¡cubana no! ¡cubana no! ¡venezolana, chico! bueno, *faig la promoció, fem la promoció de l'espectacle "Animal Music", "Animal Music", músics que són animals*

M2: *si es un animal fort ja va bé*

Mariana: *un animal fort? què vols dir amb això? ah?*

[Mariana sings one of the songs from the play. Then she tries to sing it in Catalan, leading to discussions about how to translate key words]

Mariana: *i ara en català?* [singing] *lluna*, [stops singing] *i com es diu arroyo en català?*

M1: un arroyo?

M2: a ver arroyo...

Mariana: [singing] *lluna, lluna... no li diguis al riu?*

M2: no, arroyo no es *riu* ¿eh?

M1: *riera, riera, no, no que quedara millor "no li diguis al remans"*

M2: *no li diguis al remans?*

M1: *que el meu amor ha passat*

M2: ¡oh! qué bonico, ¿no?

[eight all-Catalan turns follow]

M1: [inaudible: offers money to go away]

Mariana: *no, no, no, si jo estic fent promoció*

M1: no, no, déjate de hablar catalán

Mariana: no, no, compra la entrada

M1: no, no, déjate de entradas, ni hostias... [Mariana laughs]

M2: no, de regalo [trying to give her the money]

Mariana: *que es pensa aquest noi, que jo estic aquí demanant limosna tu? què fort! pa' que me vaya..* [laughs] bueno, tómate una cerveza, no, a ti ya te di [pamphlets, of the show]. ¿!quién falta, quién falta!?

[191]

Mariana: ¿significado? es como mi manera de asumir el bilingüismo de acá ¿no? y como el espectáculo se llama *Animal Music*, que entonces hay gente que tiende a decir 'ah, *Animal Music*' porque creen que es en inglés, y resulta que no, que es *Animal Músic* [with Catalan pronunciation] igual es por, en aquel entonces estaba por, como con la influencia pues de los ensayos con gente catalana, hay textos y canciones en la obra en las que hay expresiones en catalán

[...]

SM: yo lo estoy mirando y veo que en el asunto de la identificación, ustedes dos están utilizando el castellano ¿no? usando el

Mariana: mmm

SM: catalán para la función de promocionar

Mariana: mmmm, bueno igual fue una cosa inconsciente, repito ¿no? que como es un espectáculo que iba a participar en un festival muy catalán pues, esto del Grec, y y con elenco cast.. catalán, de alguna manera eso para mí era como entrar con muy bien pie en en el ambiente artístico catalán

[192]

Mariana: depende del lugar y de la situación, a veces me he dado cuenta, hace poquito me pasó, no me acuerdo de dónde fue, que quise comenzar a hablar en catalán y la persona como que igual por mi aspecto físico o porque ella se daba cuenta de que yo no era de aquí eh casi como diciendo 'déjame hacértelo más fácil' ¿sabes? a veces la gente de aquí si encuentran que les hablas en catalán y que te defiendes bien pues te siguen hablando en catalán y a veces pasa lo contrario, que como creyendo como te ayudan para que no te, pa' que no pases trabajo, entonces te hablan en castellano, como para que no se te complique la vida digamos

⁷⁸ **Vaina** is a very marked form of Colombian and Venezuelan Spanish, meaning any "thing" that you are talking about, often with emotion.

[193]

Mariana: bueno esto ya creo que no tiene nada que ver no con el catalán ni con el castellano, que lo que el hombre es un antipático [laughs] yo creo que simplemente fue que se molestó él pues, no le interesó ni el espectáculo ni ni ni hablar catalán ni nada

SM: pero no está diciendo 'déjame en paz, no quiero ir a la obra', él lo está expresando lingüísticamente

[...]

Mariana: a lo mejor si le hablo todo el rato en castellano, esto es una cosa que me está pasando por la mente ahora, la simpatía y la dulzura que nos atribuyen a nosotras latinoamericanas, este, quizás el hombre hubiera estado más dispuesto a escucharme, que si hubiera hecho toda la promoción en castellano "mira es una obra en que yo actúo" que tal y cual, eh, quizás no hubiera habido rechazo, aunque tampoco me consta el hombre, no sé, supongo que no era catalán que era un español

[194]

Mariana: ¿y me ofreció dinero?

SM: te ofreció un euro

Mariana: para que me callara y me fuera [Mariana ponders the situation unhappily for 6 seconds]

SM: él te regaña así y tú devolviste el regaña en catalán ¿entiendes? en vez de decir eso en castellano seguiste en catalán

Mariana: igual fue una actitud mía de llevarle la contraria, o sea, igual me afectó en el momento su comentario

[195]

SM: [regarding the football match] lo vi con el esposo de Mariana, la venezolana, que él es muy hincha de..

Claudia: t'en recordes de la Mariana?

Miquel: sí

Claudia: *vam anar a la Boqueria*, [a Market in central Barcelona] *i un xou, amb la guitarra, hola bon dia, que parlava català i la gent li parlava castellà, sí, que era...*

Miquel: *al veure que era llatina, li parlàven en castellà, és normal*

[196]

SM: ¿por qué usas vaina allá?

Mariana: es, es una manía que tengo, usar las expresiones venezolanas como para, es como una manera de evidenciar, ¿no? la palabra venezolana vaina, es, mucha gente lo identifica principalmente con Venezuela y a veces con Colombia también, entonces es así como, hacer una *barreja*, de de venezolano con catalán, pero por manía mía, no hay ninguna motivación especial

[197]

SM: y ¿qué opinas de la 'vaya cubana mala'?

Mariana: lo de mala no sé por qué lo dirán, no sé si se lo dirán por traviesa, pero lo de cubana ya estoy tan acostumbrada, que por mi aspecto físico, morena y de cabellos rizados y tal, la gran mayoría de las veces la gente piensa, a la primera que soy cubana, y ya después piensan si les digo después que no soy cubana entonces me dicen 'ah entonces debe ser dominicana' pero rara vez aciertan a la primera, mi nacionalidad, pero es como un lugar común, es como que si todas las mulatas tiene que ser cubanas a la fuerza, ¿no? y si no son cubanas pues son dominicanas

[198]

Andreína: hola! *quant vals mediu kilu de pepinus?*⁷⁹

Y: lo que pese

Andreína: ¿lo que pese?

Y: muy difícil de hacer..., o más o menos, medio kilo pepinos, y por ejemplo el tomate se puede poner

Andreína: vale *i si posa tras* pepinos?

Y: *tras* no, tres

Z: [inaud.] y se lo pone tan raro, la esa, la..

Andreína: tres, y qué ¿otra cosa? ¿tomate? tomate debe ser más fácil

⁷⁹ The standard correct form would be *quant val mig kilo de cogombres?*, although *pepinus* is a common adaptation from the Spanish *pepinos*.

Z: ¿a poner lo mismo?

Andreína: *quant vals*?*

Z: sesenta y nueve céntimos

Andreína: aha, y, *medio kila de tomates, si us plau*, están buenos para hacer *pà de tomata?*⁸⁰ [a Catalan staple of tomatoes on bread]

Y: éstos siempre salen bien porque son muy colorados, que se dice, ¿qué más?

Andreína: *no més*⁸¹, *moltes gràcies*

Y: usted, uno con quince, ¿tiene quince céntimos?

[Y & Z speak in Catalan to another customer]

[199]

Andreína: eran antipáticas esas señoras [...] pero yo creo que ella no quería hablar catalán conmigo

SM: mi interpretación de esta interacción es que tú cometiste un error de pronunciación con la ‘e’

Andreína: mm hh, no lo sé, es que allá no sé si me está corrigiendo cómo lo debo decir en catalán bien o si me está corrigiendo cómo debo decir en español

SM: bueno yo imagino como si dices *i si posa* que es obvio que estás hablando catalán

Andreína: que estoy *intentando* hablar catalán

[...]

Andreína: yo sentí en ese momento, recuerdo [laughing] a las dos señoras, yo sentí a la señora agresiva conmigo, ay, justo en ese momento cuando ella me estaba corrigiendo yo no pensé que ella me estaba corrigiendo el catalán, yo pensé que ella me estaba corrigiendo hasta el español, no lo estaba diciendo bien y me estaba corrigiendo

[...]

SM: entonces en este ejemplo no hablan catalán contigo, ¿por qué crees?

Andreína: puede ser pues, porque son antipáticas, que bueno, está persona no habla nuestra lengua y no me voy a poner aquí a hablar catalán con ella si no va a entender tampoco ¿no? prefiero hablarle en castellano, o es posible que, bueno, que para esa persona el catalán sea su, su lengua de comunicación con los propios de su comunidad, y que me identifique a mí como una persona ajena a su comunidad y por lo tanto no usa la lengua con una persona extraña a su comunidad

[200]

Z: estoy enamorado y contento [singing]

Andreína: hola

SH: hola ¿qué buscáis?

Andreína: algo que no engorde

SH: pavo

Andreína: ¿pavo?

Z: [to female customer] señora

Y: [to Z] tú no dices a nadie que la de aquí era tu mujer, está buena la mujer ¿eh?, a mí me gustan las mujeres, no me gustan los tíos

SH: el jamón sin grasa [to *Andreína*], gracias preciosa [to the female customer, who leaves]

Y: hombre la mujer está muy buena

Z: pero buena

SH: a mí me gustan más los vinos más que las mujeres

Andreína: ¿ah sí?

SH: para las mujeres estoy harta, por aquí pasan cuatrocientas nenas al año, dice que lo poco gusta y lo mucho cansa

Andreína: y ¿a cómo está el kilo de pavo?

SH: el pavo, está el fiambre a 7.15, y el pavo natural a 14.27 el kilo

[...]

Andreína: *quans val un quart kil*⁸² ¿cómo se dirá “queso de cabra”?

SH: ¿cómo se dice queso de cabra?

Andreína: en catalán

SH: ¿cabra?

Andreína: queso de cabra

⁸⁰ The standard correct form would be *mig kilo de tomàquets, si us plau, estan bons per fer pà amb tomàquet?*

⁸¹ The standard correct form would be *res més*

⁸² The standard correct form would be *quant val un quart de kilo de formatge de cabra?*

SH: *formatge de cabra*

Andreína: *formatge de cabra, quans val medio kilo de formatge de cabra?*⁸³

SH: *quatre amb setanta-cinc* [clearly]

Andreína: *quatre amb setenta-i-cinc*

[...]

Andreína: ay! *vull un quars* de kil* de formatge de cabra*

SH: *molt bé!*

[...]

SH: *formatge* es queso, o sea, que hay muchas [palabras] que *s'assemblen una mica i altres que no*

Andreína: *altres no*

[...]

Andreína: *i aquestos products*⁸⁴ *són de catalá., de Catalunya o..?*

[a long explanation, in Castilian, follows about several products and their origins]

SH: *la llonganissa* sí, y el salchichón sí, es típico de Cataluña, pero el *xoriço* no

Andreína: el chorizo no, *cinc*

SH: *molt bé! dos amb quarant-sis*

Andreína: *fa calor*

SH: *molt bé, molt agraït*

Andreína: *moltes gràcies, cinc*

[201]

Andreína: algunas veces por mi curiosidad de lingüística, yo expreso palabras, frases en catalán para ver como reaccionan los catalanes pero la mayoría de los casos yo hablo castellano

[202]

SM: me pareció interesante porque tú iniciaste el cambio ¿no?

Andreína: uh hum, y él me siguió

Andreína: dice *llonganissa* en catalán y luego el resto en español

SM: sí, sí, entonces lo que yo vi es así, catalán en las interacciones de las transacciones

Andreína: commercial [...] y ¿si él pensó que si me hablaba en catalán toda esa información que podía darme sobre los productos catalanes yo no lo iba a entender? porque también he escuchado catalanes que dicen hacen el cambio de código por cortesía porque bueno “la otra no me va a entender entonces yo hablo castellano”

SM: entonces ¿qué interpretas de eso?

Andreína: yo interpreto que él está viendo mi esfuerzo por practicar mi mi catalán básico, y en esa parte considera que la información que puede darme en catalán quizás yo no lo entienda y prefiere cambiar a, al castellano que está seguro que yo lo voy a poder entender

[203]

SM: y ¿cómo funciona en tu casa con

Claudia: en mi casa pues,

SM: con tu hija y tu esposo?

Claudia: pues sí suele, mi hija y mi marido siempre en catalán

SM: ¿siempre?

Claudia: siempre siempre, es algo como muy, para ellos

SM: y ¿con tu esposo, qué usan [ustedes]?

Claudia: yo uso el castellano, a veces sí decía, “ah tenemos que siempre hablar así en catalán” ¿entiendes? pero, hay cosas que no las sé pronunciar por ejemplo y dice ay de una vez para más comodidad por ejemplo pues lo, la lanzas en castellano

SM: y ¿él te contesta en castellano o catalán?

Claudia: sí, castellano, castellano

SM: ¿no lo mezclan entonces?

Claudia: mm, no, no no no, a veces se mezcla, pero ya, si empiezas en castellano castellano ¿eh? ya, pero ellos dos siempre, siempre se dirigen en catalán, en catalán sí

SM: mm, y ¿con tu hija?

Claudia: mi hija y yo pues, en castellano, más que nada, sí en castellano

⁸³ The standard correct form would be *quant val mig kilo de formatge de cabra?*

⁸⁴ The standard correct form would be *aquests productes*.

[204]

SM: ¿cómo hablan normalmente? ¿tú hablas castellano?

Claudia: sí.

SM: ¿tú contestas a Claudia..? [to Fernanda]

Claudia: *en català*

Fernanda: *depèn*

Miquel: *a vegades li contestes en castellà també*

Claudia: sí, sí

Fernanda: *normalment en català*

[205]

SM: y tú por ejemplo, Miquel, ¿hablas catalán con Claudia?

Miquel: no, normalmente hablo con ella en castellano porque nos sentimos mejor, el poco tiempo que estamos juntos interesa que yo me pueda entender con ella, me entendería igual, pero es más fluido si yo hablo el castellano

Claudia: sí

Miquel: *aleshores, si jo li parlo a ella, li parlo català i ella em contesta en català, sempre, habitualment, i això no vol dir que la Claudia no s'enteri⁸⁵, sinó que s'entera⁸⁶ perfectament*

[206]

SM: ¿tú normalmente hablas catalán o castellano en la casa?

Fernanda: [laughs]

SM: *o barreges?*

Fernanda: *jo li parlo en català i ella, bueno, em contesta en castellà, és que jo i el meu pare sí que parlem en català*

Claudia: *a vegades barrejo, però no molt, a ver, hi ha* [laughs]. ¿cómo se dice? ella misma rectifica por, *com s'ha diu⁸⁷, la, sí a vegades, però..*

Fernanda: *sempre ha sigut⁸⁸ així, desde petita jo he parlat en català i ella m'ha contestat en castellà, i llavors..*

[207]

Fernanda: *anirem al cine?*

Miquel: *avui?*

Fernanda: *sí, em vas dir que aniríem*

Miquel: *a la tarda, si vol la mama*

Claudia: yo tengo una cita

Fernanda: *a quina hora?*

Claudia: en la tarde, a las cinco

[...]

Fernanda: *anem junts*

Miquel: *¿què?*

Fernanda: *anem junts*

Claudia: como siempre, siempre se van juntos al cine

Fernanda: *no, no, no, anem junts a acompanyar-te*

Claudia: ¿a mi cita?

Fernanda: a tu cita y después *anem tots junts al cine, què anem a veure? vàrem anar junts a veure Peter Pan i el papa dormint i jo..*

Claudia and Miquel [laugh]

Miquel: *a estones*

Fernanda: ¡ay! el Joan.., ayer hablando: “¿mañana vas a venir al cine?” ¡ibamos a ir al cine!

Claudia: pues dile que..

Fernanda: me va a matar

Claudia: *demà a la tarda*

Fernanda: *mmh, tinc soneta*

⁸⁵ The standard correct form would be *no s'assabenti*.

⁸⁶ The standard correct form would be *que s'assabenta*.

⁸⁷ The standard correct form for *s'ha diu* would be *es diu*.

⁸⁸ The standard correct form for *ha sigut* would be *ha estat*.

[208]

Miquel: *menja*

SM: *gràcies*

Miquel: *no, perquè si esperem a que vinguin!*

SM: *salud*

Miquel: *gracias*

Claudia: *l'hi he posat una mica de tomàquet*

SM: *ah, molt bé!*

Claudia: *oli d'oliva, que es molt típic de Catalunya, el pà untat o refregat amb tomàquet*

Miquel: *ja s'han refredat els espaguetis*

Claudia: *sí, no? estan freds?*

Miquel: *sí, és que com que estàvem esperant..*

Claudia: *ostres, bon profit!*

Fernanda : *gràcies, igualment*

Claudia: [to me] *vols que te lo caliente?*

SM: *no, está bien, sí*

Claudia: *qui lo⁸⁹ ha fet? tu? el papa?*

Fernanda: *sí, els dos*

Claudia: *mmh! poca llet de, llet de.. ¿cómo se llama? "llet de nata"*

Miquel: *nata*

Claudia: *nata, no n'hi havia molta?*

Miquel: *n'hi havia una mica*

Claudia: *molt poca, no?*

Miquel: *sí, i també vaig posar llet normal*

⁸⁹ The standard correct form would be to use *ho* instead of *lo*.

Appendix 5⁹⁰

List of Informants

Most of the 44 informants below are linked to the overlapping social networks of three key informants: *Mariana*, a Venezuelan actress and singer, who is an old friend of mine; *Claudia*, a Dominican hairdresser and cleaner; and *Andreína*, a Venezuelan student. Pseudonyms are used throughout. Following this list, I present a table of the 11 focus informants whose interactions I recorded.

My three main informants

Mariana

Mariana was my first contact for finding informants in Barcelona. She is Patricia and Laura's mother. She works as an actress and singer. Mariana is an old friend of mine from Venezuela. I have known her family for fifteen years: before, during and after their migration to Barcelona. Mariana speaks Catalan, and enjoys improvising linguistically with Catalan and marked Venezuelan Spanish. She also speaks English. Mariana's appearance is mixed African and European. I interviewed Mariana at home, then on a future visit recorded her interactions. We then had a follow-up interview.

Claudia

I originally met Claudia through my sister in Barcelona. It was Claudia's invitation to a party at her home that enabled me to make contact with her large circle of friends associated with Latin America, which unsurprisingly, overlapped loosely with Mariana's large circle of friends. Claudia was thus my second main contact for informants in Barcelona. Claudia lives near Mataró, a town along the coast from Barcelona. She is married to Miquel, a Catalan speaker, with whom she speaks mainly Spanish, and has a daughter, Fernanda, who alternates flexibly between Castilian and Catalan with either parent. Claudia lives very comfortably yet continues to work as a hairdresser and cleaner. Claudia has studied Catalan for several years and speaks it with errors. Claudia refers to her mixed African and European appearance during interviews; she also has distant Catalan origins, and is very pro-Catalan, equating the suffering of the Catalans under Castilianisation with that of the indigenous and African populations of Hispaniola, the island that the Dominican Republic shares with Haiti. I interviewed Claudia early on during my data collection, and recorded her family having lunch on a later occasion. At the same time, I took the opportunity to interview her husband and daughter.

Andreína

Andreína is a student in Barcelona, and my third main contact for informants in Barcelona. At the time of interview, she was in her late twenties. She shares a flat with Gilma, a fellow Venezuelan student. Andreína has taken two Catalan courses at university and speaks Catalan with errors. Andreína described her appearance as a mixture of African, indigenous Venezuelan, and European⁹¹. I interviewed her at her apartment and a few days later recorded her interactions at a local market. We then carried out a follow-up interview.

⁹⁰ I have placed this Appendix at the back of the thesis to make it easier for the reader to refer to it.

⁹¹ As stated in the Methodology chapter, I describe the appearance of some informants as 'Latin American' in a general sense for informants who would readily be identified as Latin American by unknown interlocutors. Where black or mixed-race informants have referred to their own African origins or appearance, or where I believe this to be relevant to interpreting their interview responses or recordings, I will use the term 'African' appearance.

Other informants

Amadeu

Amadeu, married to Marisa (Mariana's friend), is an academic, doing independent research. At the time of interview, he was fifty years old. He lives in Sabadell, a town on the outskirts of Barcelona. He learns Catalan informally, and speaks a few words. I interviewed Amadeu and Marisa one evening over dinner at their apartment.

Belén

Belén is a **castellana**⁹²: her main language is Castilian, and her parents are immigrants from the south of Spain. She is married to Jairo and speaks Castilian in most situations. She was educated in a Catalan-medium school. She works in a hospital. I interviewed her together with Jairo at the apartment of Jairo's mother, Cristina.

Carmen

Carmen is also a castellana. Her family are immigrants from the south of Spain, and Castilian is her exclusive home language in Barcelona. She was born in Barcelona, understands Catalan perfectly, but never speaks it; she does not write in Catalan either. I interviewed Carmen in London, where she works as a teacher.

Carolina

Carolina is an actress, thirty-eight years old at the time of interview, and a friend of Mariana. Carolina was born in Venezuela, with a Colombian father and a Salvadorian mother. At the time of interview, she had been in Catalonia for ten years. She came to Catalonia to study, and now lives with a Catalan partner in a middle class neighbourhood in Barcelona. She intends to stay permanently in Catalonia. Carolina has Level C in Catalan, which is needed for jobs demanding a high level of Catalan. I interviewed her one day at Mariana's house.

Celia

Celia is from the Dominican Republic. She is a domestic worker in her late 40s. She has been in various parts of Spain for many years. She speaks no Catalan and understands virtually nothing spoken in Catalan. Celia's appearance is African; we met at the Dominican bar where I was recording Mariana's interactions.

Cristi

I met Cristi and her sister Yael through a Cuban acquaintance in London. Both have strong Cuban accents. Neither speaks Catalan, and both express varying degrees of comprehension of Catalan. I interviewed Cristi and Yael in a bar next to their office.

Cristina

Cristina is the central link between the various groups: she is a friend of Mariana's and Claudia's, and the mother of Jairo and Luisa. At the time of interview, she was in her late forties. Cristina was born in Venezuela, and speaks Catalan at home with her children as this is the language that she used to speak with her mother in Venezuela. Both of her parents were born in Barcelona. Cristina arrived in Barcelona at the age of sixteen. Her appearance is European. After interviewing Cristina, I later recorded her interactions.

Diana

Diana is a twenty-four year old Colombian. She is part of Iliana's circle of friends. She finished high school in Colombia, and is studying Catalan. Her appearance is mixed African and European. I met her on one occasion for a group interview that Iliana set up.

Emi

Emi is Diana's friend, and Hilda's sister. She is fourteen years old, and had been in Barcelona for three years at the time of interview. At the time of the group interview, she was going through the

⁹² I use the term **castellano/a** to refer to adults whose parents are Castilian-speaking established migrants from elsewhere in Spain.

tough experience of adapting to Catalan-medium instruction, and was proud of her increasing ability to speak and write in Catalan. Her appearance is mixed African and European. The interview was set up by Iliana.

Felipe

Felipe is a university lecturer, a friend of Andreina's. Felipe's four grandparents were Catalan speakers. His father was a Catalan speaker, although Spanish was used as a home during his childhood in Venezuela. Felipe has lived in Barcelona for four years. He does not speak Catalan. Felipe's appearance is European. I interviewed Felipe with his wife Tania, and a Colombian friend Jorge, at their apartment.

Fernanda

Fernanda is Claudia's daughter. She tends to alternate between Castilian and Catalan at home with each parent. She is a student, with a strong Catalan identity. Her appearance is mixed African and European. I recorded her language use and interviewed her over lunch one day at her home.

Gilma

Gilma is a Venezuelan student and is Andreina's flatmate. She has been in Barcelona for four years. She does not speak Catalan and sees no need to learn it as she intends to return to Venezuela after completing her studies. I interviewed her at her apartment.

Hilda

Hilda is Diana's friend, and Emi's sister. She was eleven at the time of interview. Having started Catalan-medium school at a young age, she is the most able in Catalan in her family. Her appearance is mixed African and European. I interviewed her in a group interview at her house.

Iliana

Iliana, a thirty-two year old Colombian, is Pati's sister; both are friends of Claudia, and both know Mariana. Her migration has been traumatic: she has gone through the stresses of overstaying her visa until an amnesty arose, has been insulted in a bar, and has been attacked by a skinhead in an unprovoked racist attack. She works in bars and domestic work. Iliana often expresses negative sentiments about learning and being addressed in Catalan, even though she has several Catalan-speaking friends and enjoys borrowing words from Catalan. She speaks a little Catalan. Her appearance is mixed African and European. I interviewed Iliana over lunch one day.

Jairo

Jairo is Cristina's son, and Luisa's brother. He lives with Belén, with whom he always speaks Castilian; he always speaks Catalan with his mother, sisters and grandparents. His mother is Venezuelan and his father Bolivian. Jairo is in his late twenties, and he works in a hospital. Jairo was educated in Catalan, but, the cause of much resentment against language planners, did not get a Nivel C (Level C) Catalan qualification as he spent one key high school year in the Canary Islands. Jairo's appearance is European. I interviewed Jairo and Belén at Cristina's house, where I stayed on two occasions.

Jorge

Jorge is a Colombian student in Barcelona, in his twenties. He does not speak Catalan but has made informal attempts to learn the language by regularly reading in Catalan. He speaks what in Latin America is often seen as an idealised, classical variety of Spanish: educated Colombian Spanish from Bogotá. He is a classmate of Tania, who is Andreina's friend. I interviewed Jorge at Felipe and Tania's apartment.

José Luis

José Luis was 32 at the time of interview, living with other Latin Americans in a house in Ciutat Vella where no Catalan is spoken. At the time of interview, he had been in Barcelona for nine months. He describes a very tough migration. We met at the Latino party at Claudia's, then met up late one night the following week and carried out the interview over several beers. José Luis harbours considerable resentment against Catalan speakers who do not switch to Castilian, perceiving it as discriminatory. He speaks no Catalan but understands a little. His appearance is African.

Josep

Josep is Karina's husband, a friend of Claudia. Josep works in IT. We met at the party at Claudia's house. Josep is a Catalan-dominant speaker⁹³. He expresses strong nationalist sentiment: he is in favour of independence; he feels no affinity to Spanish culture; he does not even support the Spanish football team. For Josep, the terms Spain and Spanish refer to a foreign country. He expresses particular resentment at Spanish speakers who make no effort to learn Catalan. He is bitter that he cannot even order a coffee in most downtown bars in the 'language of his country'. His wife, Karina, from Peru, regularly laughs at his laments. After an original interview, Karina and Josep carried out recordings for me in a central zone of Barcelona. I asked them to use language as they normally would do, but also asked them to not switch from Catalan on occasions.

Karina

I met Karina and her husband Josep at the Latino party at Claudia's. Karina was aged thirty-four when interviewed. Karina is cited by her friends as a model example of integration. She speaks and writes fluent Catalan. Her appearance is Latin American. I interviewed Karina and Josep together, then recorded their interactions at a later date.

Laura

Laura, aged fourteen at the time of interview, is Patricia's sister, and Mariana's daughter. She speaks Castilian with no Venezuelan accent; she also speaks fluent Catalan and English. I interviewed her at home.

Luisa

Luisa is Cristina's daughter; she always speaks Catalan with her Brazilian boyfriend, and with her mother and brother. She was seventeen at the time of interview and still at school. She also speaks fluent English. I interviewed Luisa at home, whilst staying at Cristina's apartment.

Luz

Luz is Peruvian, lives in a town near Barcelona, and speaks Spanish only at home. Her husband's parents are immigrants from southern Spain. She was thirty-eight at the time of interview. She speaks and writes Catalan fluently and uses it in her work. Her appearance is Latin American. I interviewed Luz early on during the data collection and recorded her shopping at a later occasion, doing immediate follow-up discussion about how she interpreted the interactions.

Manuela

I met Manuela at the party at Claudia's house. Manuela is Filipina and speaks Tagalog, English and Spanish. She regularly codeswitches between Tagalog and English with Filipino friends in Barcelona. She is in her mid thirties, and lives with her mother and teenage son in Ciutat Vella; the main home language is Tagalog. She does not speak Catalan but understands it. I interviewed Manuela with her Brazilian friend, Sol.

Mar

Mar, from Guayaquil in Ecuador, is in her mid twenties and had been in Barcelona for one year and eight months at the time of interview. She had previously studied for three years at a business university in Ecuador. She found a bar job after three days in Barcelona. Her process of migration has been tough. The interview took place impromptu at the Dominican bar. She uses the occasional Catalan word with friends. Mar's appearance is a mixture of African and indigenous Ecuadorian.

Marco

Marco, Pablo's cousin, is a Venezuelan of Italian origin. He speaks Venezuelan Spanish. Marco was a student in Madrid and visiting his cousin at the time of the interview.

⁹³ I use the term Catalan-dominant in the specific case of Catalan speakers who speak Castilian with a strong Catalan accent, and often with interference from Catalan grammar and vocabulary.

María-Cecilia

María-Cecilia is the mother of Hilda and Emi. She speaks no Catalan and only understands a few basic terms. She is proud of her daughters' achievements in adapting to Catalan-medium education but shows no intention of learning Catalan herself. She joined in the group interview at her house.

Marisa

Marisa is Venezuelan, married to Amadeu, and lives in Sabadell, on the outskirts of Barcelona. She is a freelance worker. She only speaks a little Catalan, but enjoys using favourite words in her daily repertoire. I met Marisa and Amadeu in a bar opposite her friend Mariana's apartment and interviewed them at their apartment in Sabadell over dinner.

Marta

I met Marta in London, through my work. Marta had just finished studying in Barcelona for one year when I interviewed her. Her father is a Quechua speaker and spoke the language with her grandmother. Both made a conscious effort that Marta should not learn Quechua, associating it with low prestige and social stigma. Marta's appearance is Latin American.

Martin

Martin is Argentinian and lives in the same central neighbourhood as Mariana's family. He works as an actor and a street performer. He is a friend and occasional performing colleague of Mariana. He is married to a Spanish actress. At home, the family normally speak Spanish/Castilian. We met on Good Friday to do a recording. Martín had been in Barcelona for sixteen years at the time of recording him. I recorded his interactions first, then did immediate follow-up questions, and then interviewed him. Martín speaks Spanish with a marked Argentinian accent; he says that he stands out less as a foreigner when he speaks Catalan. Martín's appearance is European

Miquel

Miquel is *Claudia's* husband. He is a Catalan-dominant speaker; his parents were immigrants from the south of Spain and Galicia. He speaks Catalan with his daughter and mainly Castilian with Claudia. I recorded his home language and interviewed him over lunch one afternoon.

Maya

Maya, from Mexico, is a university classmate of Patricia (Mariana's daughter). She was fifteen when she came to Barcelona with her parents. She finished her secondary education after starting Catalan-medium schooling aged fifteen. She understands and writes Catalan but speaks mainly Spanish. Her appearance is European. I recorded her shopping one day with Patricia, and interviewed her after.

Pablo

Pablo and Marco are Venezuelan cousins of Italian ancestry. Pablo owns a restaurant in a coastal town near Barcelona. Neither speaks Catalan. I interviewed Pablo and Marco at Pablo's restaurant.

Pati

Pati is a friend of Claudia. We met at the party at Claudia's house. She lives in Barcelona with her sister Iliana. She understands Catalan very well but cannot speak it. She studied two years of secondary education in Colombia. Pati's appearance is a mixture of African and European. I interviewed Pati on two occasions in bars.

Patricia

Patricia is Mariana's daughter, and Laura's sister. She was born in Venezuela and arrived in Barcelona aged six. At home, she speaks Spanish and English (she has an English-speaking father). Patricia's Spanish still has Venezuelan characteristics; at the time of interview, she was at high school. By the time we did the recordings, she was at university. Her appearance is a mixture of African and European. I interviewed Patricia at home, then recorded her interactions on two occasions, and carried out immediate follow-up interviews to discuss the interactions.

Paulo

Paulo works as a hairdresser and in bars. We met and carried out an impromptu interview over a few beers at the Dominican bar; it was a meeting place for *costeños* from Guayaquil on the Pacific coast of Ecuador. Paulo has also lived and worked in France and speaks very competent French. He speaks no

Catalan and finds the language difficult to understand. He has a very positive attitude about Catalonia and its language. His appearance is African

Reyes

Reyes is a castellana; her parents are immigrants from the south of Spain. She was born in Figueres, north of Barcelona. She speaks and writes Catalan fluently. Her interview responses reflect a certain degree of resentment against Catalan speakers, particularly looking back bitterly to her childhood years as a Castilian speaker in Figueres. When I interviewed Reyes and Cristina at Cristina's apartment in Ciutat Vella, Reyes was Cristina's flatmate.

Sara

Sara is Catalan, and comes from a small town in the Pyrenees; I interviewed her when she was twenty, during her university studies in London. She speaks Castilian with a notable Catalan accent and laughs at her own pronunciation.

Sol

Sol is Brazilian, and had been in Barcelona for three years at the time of interview; in the interview, she explained that her son started Catalan-medium school aged sixteen and struggled terribly. She has many regrets at selling up and moving to Barcelona, feels trapped, longs to go home to Brazil, but has little to return to. Her life is a struggle, and she has little engagement with the Catalan language. At the time of interview, Sol's Castilian was characterized by frequent borrowing and mixing with Portuguese. Sol is a friend of Cristina, and we met at the party at Claudia's house. I interviewed her together with Manuela on one occasion.

Tania

Tania is a Venezuelan student, married to Felipe. She speaks a little Catalan. Her appearance is European. I met Tania and Felipe through Andreina, and interviewed her with her husband, Felipe, and a Colombian friend, Jorge.

Yael

Yael is Cristi's sister. Both are Cubans, and they live and work together. Yael has a strong Cuban accent. She speaks no Catalan but understands a considerable amount. I met Yael and Cristi through a Cuban acquaintance in London. I interviewed them in a bar next to their office.

Yanet

Yanet, a friend of Sara, is a student in Barcelona. At home, she speaks Castilian/Spanish with her Colombian parents. Her parents had been in Barcelona for twenty-five years at the time of interview. She was born in Barcelona and had all of her education in Catalan. She was aged twenty at the time of interview. Yanet's appearance is a mixture of African and European.

Appendix 6: Table of informants whose interactions were recorded

Name	Female /Male	Approx. total length of all recordings (minutes) ⁹⁴	Recording excerpts presented in the study: place	Other interlocutors in excerpts presented in the study (U=unknown; K=known)	Me present/ interacting?	Recording excerpts presented in the study: when	Informant asked to speak Catalan?	Academic/ professional background
1. Luz	F	70	Town outside of Barcelona: [171] street; [175, 179] shops.	[171] 2 passers-by (U); [175] shop assistant (U); [179] 2 shop assistants (K).	[171, 175, 179] present, not interacting.	April 2004.	Yes.	Educated professional
2. Patricia	F	170	Central Barcelona: [172] shop; Middle class area in central Barcelona where Catalan commonly spoken: [176] shop; [178] market; [184] shop.	[172] 1 cashier (U); [176] 1 shop assistant (U) & Maya; [178] 1 stallholder (U) & Maya; [184] 1 shop assistant (U) & Maya.	[176] not present; [172, 178, 184] present, not interacting.	[172] Oct 2003; [176, 178, 184] April 2004.	[172] no; [176, 178, 184] yes.	University student
3. Karina	F	70	Middle class area in central Barcelona, mixed Castilian & Catalan: [177] shop.	[177] 1 shop assistant (U) (Josep present, not interacting in this interaction).	[177] not present.	April 2004.	Yes.	Educated professional
4. Cristina	F	140	Cuitat Vella: [181] bar.	[181] 2 bar staff (K) & me.	[181] present, interacting.	Oct 2003.	No.	Educated professional
5. Martin	M	40	Central Barcelona, mainly Castilian area: [173, 182, 185] shop.	[173] 2 shop assistants (U); [182] 1 shop assistant (U) & 1 customer (U); [185] 1 shop assistant (U).	[173, 182, 185] present, not interacting.	April 2004.	[173] no; [182, 185] yes.	Educated artist
6. Mariana	F	140	Central Barcelona, mainly Castilian area: [187, 190] bar.	[187] 2 bar staff (K) & Martin; [190] 2 customers (U).	[187] present, not interacting (1 did join in later); [190] not present.	Oct 2003.	Yes.	Educated artist

⁹⁴ This column gives the figure for the total recorded data that I collected with each informant, including recorded data that is not presented in the study. The excerpts presented in the study make up a part of this total figure.

⁹⁵ As stated in the Methodology Chapter, recordings that I made of Josep attempting to maintain Catalan are not included in this study.

