

5. LANGUAGES AND IDEOLOGIES

In this chapter, I will explore the ways in which particular linguistic styles or languages are inextricably linked to the social situations in which they are used and, therefore, to the social relationships, identities and views of the world constructed in these situations. Bakhtin (1981) points out that every society is intrinsically heteroglossic, as each language is "stratified" into the forms and meanings constructed by its various regional, social, professional or generational groups. This stratification is attained through the ways in which language is used in particular social contexts:

"This stratification is accomplished first of all by the specific organisms called genres. Certain features of language (lexicological, semantic, syntactic) will knit together with the intentional aim, and with the overall accentual system inherent in one or another genre: oratorical, publicistic, newspaper and journalistic genres, the genres of low literature (penny dreadfuls, for instance) or, finally, the various genres of high literature. Certain features of language take on the specific flavor of a given genre: they knit together with specific points of view, specific approaches, forms of thinking, nuances and accents characteristic of the given genre." (Ibid.: 288-9, emphasis in the original)

Here I will seek to explore this 'social-ideological' dimension of the different languages spoken. My aim will be to investigate the ways in which people identify or alienate themselves from the particular modes of expression conveyed by particular linguistic varieties. The approach taken here is quite different from that of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964b; Blom & Gumperz, 1972), whereby linguistic varieties convey social meanings whose origin is to be found in the social or cultural system (see Williams, 1992). Here meaning originates in the social use of the language, in the particular genres shaped in the social activities of particular groups, and in the processes whereby people appropriate these modes of expression which are available in their society and transform them according to their own expressive intention.

To do so, I will have to identify and define these various styles and languages. Nevertheless, it is not really possible (nor theoretically appropriate) to do so with the traditional methods found in sociolinguistics, which are primarily based on detecting some measurable or observable formal features. The vision of language as an internally coherent system linking form and meaning is, in this sense, misleading¹. It fosters the impression that people simply adopt discrete linguistic varieties when they speak, and this overlooks the fact that people learn and appropriate these linguistic varieties in different ways (see Hill & Hill, 1986). This is why the way people speak, particularly in informal arenas, is only superficially amenable to systematic formal description. The sociolinguists' interest in phenomena like linguistic variation, code-switching and borrowing is usually based on the assumption that they are

dealing with some form of cohabitation between linguistic systems which should, in turn, be amenable to formal systematic description as well (ibid.). And this leads to a neglect of the fact that code-switching, code-mixing or linguistic interference, rather than being exceptional linguistic curiosities, are but the most obvious and visible forms in which these processes of appropriation take place. They originate in the essential dialogism of language, in the multi-voicedness and hybridity of the utterance.

This means that the way of speaking of a group of people can be analysed as an expression of the relationships between the social-ideological languages existing in their society. And, because this analysis is anchored on the situated use of the language, I must then be talking about the relationships between different social groups as they are constructed through discursive practice. The description of a particular way of speaking and its ideological aspects entails, in this sense, the representation of a social space constituted by a particular set of social practices, and of its relation with other social spaces, as manifested in the polyphony of the text, the interdiscursivity of practice.

In this chapter, I will try to describe the speech styles that the Ramblers and the Trepas spoke, and I will try to show how these ways of speaking contributed to establish the relationships between members of the groups, and their own perception of their position in society. In doing so, I will be looking at their linguistic practices as constituting regimes of truth. This refers to what we might roughly call the 'logic' of a group: that which regulates what is seen as appropriate to do and say and how it should be done and said (see definition in subsection 3.3/b). By analysing several aspects of the use of these styles within the groups, I hope I will provide a meaningful account of how the groups functioned -how they constructed their values and interests-, so that I can then go on to develop further important points in later chapters on language and identity.

In the first section (5.1), I will provide a description of the two speech styles that were spoken by Ramblers and the Trepas in the peer group; and I will seek to explain how (through their associated speech genres) they contributed to establish particular regimes of truth.

In the second section (5.2), I will seek to analyse the use of the Catalan and Spanish languages from this perspective. In doing so, I hope to be able to detect the ideological worlds that are called upon when people choose to use one language or the other. Such an analysis will be different from the one performed in section 5.1 in a very fundamental way. In section 5.1, the language styles and regimes of truth will be analysed on the basis of their role in the construction of meanings and identities in the particular groups I studied. In section 5.2, I will be focusing centrally on the languages rather than the people. In an undertaking like this, it would be easy to fall into the trap of treating each language as a unitary entity, encouraged by the fact that it is much easier to tell which one is being used at any particular moment. Nevertheless, the notions of 'Catalan' or 'Spanish' need to be de-constructed here. It is important not to confuse what these languages are with their legitimised standard forms. The standard is but one of their possible forms, the product of the forces of linguistic unification imposed on the heteroglossia that exists amongst the people(s) that speak them (Bakhtin, 1981). What I will seek to do, therefore, is analyse the different types of voices that are animated through the use of each language. And I will do so mainly by focusing on instances where voices appear clearly contrasted in talk, what is commonly called 'code-switching'. Through the findings resulting from this, I intend to shed light on the relationships between the identities constructed by the groups and some political questions related to the use of Catalan and Spanish.

Notes

¹ Gumperz (1982) also speaks about linguistic "subsystems", although he does not make clear what the empirical correlate of a linguistic subsystem can be, and what relationship(s) it can have with the linguistic system as a whole.

5.1 Speech styles and regimes of truth

In this section, I will try to give the reader a sense of how the Ramblers and the Trepas talked. This is often difficult. Dialects, accents or linguistic styles are usually defined on the basis of a few phonetic or phonological traits, maybe accompanied by vocabulary lists. I will base some of my descriptions on a study of the linguistic repertoire of Barcelona carried out by Tusón (1985a, 1985b). In this study, Tusón does not consider the question of argot. This is probably because she uses mainly phonological criteria, and argot seems to function quite independently of different accents and even languages, as I will show in subsection 5.12.

The main thrust of my analysis here will be the description of the ideologies associated with the speech styles of the groups I studied, including the ways in which these groups defined their relationships with other speech styles and the types of people who spoke them. I will analyse ways of speaking as constituting regimes of truth, by which I mean socially relevant forms of legitimation and regulation of activities and displays. The first subsection will be devoted to the Ramblers' 'regime' and the second subsection to the Trepas'.

5.11 The 'simple' truth of 'Stylised Spanish'

The Ramblers spoke Spanish exclusively within their peer-group activities. This was the language they all spoke at home as well, even though three of them had a Catalan-speaking mother. Generally, the Spanish they spoke was similar to that of the Spanish-speaking Trepas: its features probably belong to the most widespread form of colloquial Spanish spoken in Barcelona amongst the new generations: use of the most popular forms of youth slang (see next subsection) and, phonologically, deletion of /ð/ in intervocalic position or /d/ at the end of a word; that is: /aβláº/ instead of /aβláðº/ for "*hablado*" (spoken), or /berdá/ instead of /berdáð/ for "*verdad*" (truth)¹. In addition to these, there is, of course, a vast array of features of speech, words and expressions that people might associate more or less with a colloquial or a formal style. Dictionaries usually signal these with the common abbreviations "fam.", "pop.", etc... To find ways of grounding these categories empirically in social usage is a complex matter. In actual social situations, the distinction formal/colloquial is often dependent on how the participants assess the significance of the forms used in relation to the narrative context. For example, in commenting some news item from a newspaper, it may make sense to bring in elements of journalistic jargon. But if we are to make empirical claims about the register-ascription of a form, we should find evidence of people recognising them as belonging to this register or reacting to them in some visible way. And this is not easy, as people normally speak in the way they are supposed to do, and their linguistic performances are therefore implicitly accepted, taken for granted.

An unexpected side-effect of the group discussions was that they provided me with some evidence of this kind. The group discussions were a half-formal half-informal context, an extra-ordinary situation where the expectations with regard to speech style were not always clear. Although these were conducted in a relaxed, familiar, sometimes collusive tone, there is plenty of evidence that the participants sensed such situations somehow as a public performance, particularly amongst the Ramblers. The exploitation of forms of swearing as a transgression illustrated in extract 2 (subsection 4.21/a) is evidence that the group discussions were seen as formal situations which could be discredited with humorous inserts of dirty language. Another interesting episode was the reaction with respect to Raquel's style of delivery. She explained the problems she had in her job, against a background of unusual silence, with a soft voice, well-kept rhythm and 'tidy' language [GB01: 776-789]. There was not a single word that one could potentially classify as too formal, but the situation came across as quite solemn, which allowed for Andrés' humorous reframing:

Extract 37

Andrés: [dos aplaudeixen] *bravo* · · >*bravo*
[two people clap] *Bravo, · bravo!*

Raquel: <*no es que me da mucha rabia es verdá*
No, it drives me mad. It's true!

Andrés: [fort] *esa es mi niña · mi raquel*
[loud] *That's my girl, my Raquel!* [GB01: 790-4]

Andrés reacted as if Raquel had been giving a speech on a public stage. Later he put on a character, as if he was Raquel's mother displaying her pride at her daughter's performance.

This example is evidence that these Ramblers men felt that Raquel's delivery pointed at a class of events which did not belong naturally to them, as if their friend had claimed a character or an identity different from the Raquel they knew. This is interesting, as it means that Raquel had (potentially) crossed a symbolic line which was of some significance. The following episode provides more revealing evidence of this boundary. Luis was complaining here about some members of the group who did not consider everybody's preferences when they negotiated where to go and what to do. The sensitive wordings he used are underlined:

Extract 38

[Two instances of simultaneous speech are bracketed within other people's Turns]

Luis: *posiblemente · porque es- siempre vamos juntos y llega un momento*
Possibly, because we always go together. and then a moment comes

que · "donde vamos" · · [Ricardo?: no sé] la gente n- se calla
when [somebody says]: · "where are we going?" · [Ricardo?: I don't
know]. People... keep silent

normalmente no[?] · pues llega una- un- sujeto determinado
normally, right? Well, there comes [fem-]a- [masc-]aa · given subject.

quien sea ·
whoever it may be...

Pablo: *un sujeto [veu greu escarnidora; noies riuen]*
"A subject!" [low, mimicking voice; women laugh]

Andrés: *un sujeto · y un predicado de >(xx) [veus de noies]*
"A subject, and a predicate of... >(xx)" [women's voices]

Luis: <*y dice · dice "vamos a tal sitio" · [algú: no; Andrés: no] sitio que*
and says, and says: "we are going to such place." · [somebody: no!
Andrés: no] A place which,

pues · que es secundado pues · por sus amigas por ·
well, which is endorsed, well, by her friends, by...

[Noies riuen; veus de fons]
[Women laugh; background chatter]

Pablo: [ben alt] *que ha ensayado ehta noche* · [noies riuen] (xxxx) *tío tío* ·
[very loud] *He's been rehearsing last night* [women laugh] (xxxx). *Boy,*
boy.

tú hah estao ensayando hombre [Ell riu] · *oye qué hacías cuando*
you have been rehearsing, man [laughing]. *Hey, what were you doing*
when we

(*llegamos*) [noies van rient].
(*cume?*) [women keep laughing]

Irene: *va callaros*
Hey, keep silent!

Luis: *vale ya me callo*
Okay, I shut up.

Noia: *no*
Woman: no.

Laura: [fort] *di di di di*
[loud] *Go on! Go on!*

Luis: *pues eso pues* ·
Well, that's it, well...

Andrés: *una vez que habla bien ya.*
For once he speaks properly now.

Luis: *y el grupitoo · tres o cuatro [...]*
The little group · three or four [...] [BG01: 891-915]

Luis was trying to describe an old conflict in the group without naming anybody. The need for an indirect style led him to use the word "*sujeto*" (subject). The word belongs to very specialised registers, such as grammar (as Andrés' remark suggests) or journalistic genres. It probably comes from the jargon of the police, that is, from the way they name unidentified suspects. I remember one of my teachers at school saying to a misbehaving student: "*eres un sujeto*" (you are a [bad] subject). Later on, the word *secundado* (endorsed), more proper of written or media styles, pronounced with maybe too much solemnity -including the /ð/, which did not normally occur in Luis' speech-, created another humorous situation. Luis was treating the situation and his own self-presentation as too formal. Pablo even asked him (jokingly) if he had been *rehearsing*, as if he was giving a speech. The amusement generated by Pablo's contribution almost ruined Luis' intervention.

The exploitation of this boundary between, what we might call, the formal and the informal, or the high and the low, could therefore be made in two directions. 1) Low-on- high direction would be when popular discourses were used to discredit or subvert the more public ones. Extract 2 mentioned above is an example. Also, the Trepas were practically unable to talk about sex in the group discussion, because their practice of bringing in the voices of popular rituals of courting created much hilarity. Another interesting

example was what happened to a Trepas woman who usually dressed and spoke more formally than her friends, as she was closer to mainstream forms of femininity. On an occasion where she used a distinctive slang expression, her friends laughed at her because they felt it was at odds with her usual way of speaking [IA03: 1020-41; IA05: 686-719].

The opposite direction, high-on-low, is illustrated by the two last extracts. These findings are consistent with Bakhtin's (1981) claim that popular genres often exploit their relationship with more authoritative ones and acquire their meaning out of this dialogical relationship. Bourdieu also points out that "'popular speech' is one of the products of application of dualistic taxonomies which structure the social world" (1991b: 93), and later he adds that it is produced by "the pursuit of expressiveness based on the transgression of dominant censorships" and as a form of expression of particular forms of masculinity (1991b: 93-4). Indeed, in the extracts I have shown, it is significant that this virtual 'policing' of the forms of expression was exerted by the men. The role of the women was limited to the production of reactions to the central scene rather than participating in it, which was generally the rule in this group discussion².

My contention is, therefore, that these examples are evidence of the symbolic relationship that the group established between their world and the voices of authority incorporated in mainstream public discourses (the media, the school, the administration). Although I have indicated that this opposition was constructed (at least more actively so) by the men, in this subsection I am actually arguing that it constituted the central tenet of a regime which the men managed to impose within the functioning of the group as a whole.

a) Stylised Spanish

The way of speaking of the Ramblers men did not only exploit the possibility of transgression vis-à-vis authoritative forms of expression. It also expressed a remarkable separation, a distance, almost a split from them. The distinction is important in as much as the exploitation of transgression also occurred amongst the Trepas, while this symbolic detachment was more characteristic of the Ramblers. The Trepas were much more ambivalent with regard to formal discourses. And this, I will argue, indicates that there was an important contrast in the way both groups constructed their position in society. I will first try to describe some formal traits of the way of speaking of the Ramblers and the types of people and activities with which it is commonly associated. Later I will move on to describe how it contributed to the shaping of their way of thinking and reasoning.

The Ramblers men spoke in a type of accent associated with an ideological space of considerable weight and tradition in Spanish culture. It had some connections with the southern Andalusian dialect. In the case of the Ramblers, though, it did not contain any examples of elimination of the /θ/ versus /s/ distinction, which is the most perceptible and stigmatised feature of the Andalusian dialect: for instance /sená/ instead of /θenár/ for "*cenar*" (to have supper). The features which the Ramblers men produced with considerable frequency were: a) deletion or aspiration of implosive /s/, which according to dialectologists is substituted for variations in vowel quality in the formation of plurals (/liβrɔ/ instead of /liβros/ for "*libros*" -books) (Tusón, 1985b), for a marked vowel lengthening in some extracts I recorded, and for an aspirated /h/ in medial position (/ehkwéla/ instead of /eskwéla/ for "*escuela*" -school) (ibid.)³; b) there were some instances of the aspiration of the velar fricative /x/, together with deletion of final /r/ (/muhé_/ instead of /muxér/ for "*mujer*" -woman); and elimination of the /λ/ versus /j/ distinction, which produces palatals ranging from /ç/ to /j/ (ibid.). The intonation patterns, vocal quality (with a marked pharyngealisation) and pitch (particularly loud) of this way of speaking are also very characteristic. These phonological features did not occur all the time.

The Andalusian dialect is commonly associated with peasants or the lower classes. The predominantly rural region of Andalusia, in southern Spain, has supplied a workforce for centuries to industrial centres

such as Madrid, Barcelona, the Basque Country and other European areas. In Catalonia, the term "andalús" is often synonymous to "immigrant" (Rodríguez-Gómez, 1993). Flamenco singing is usually performed in this variety. The associations of the dialect come from the social extraction of its speakers and, of course, from the way middle and upper class people have chosen to represent them. Therefore, in literature and popular comedy, Andalusian is used to impersonate characters such as servants, peasants, prostitutes, pimps, drunkards, workers and the like. It may help to represent witty and funny individuals, or conversely, dumb and aggressive ones, depending on the needs of the narrative, but it always indicates low social origins. Some common 'compliments' to women shouted by men across the street (and often perceived as sexist) are usually uttered in an Andalusian voice. Tusón points out that it is often referred to as "funny", "incorrect" or "colourful" (1985a: 102). Within this section, I provide further examples of the meanings constructed through this accent by both the Ramblers and the Trepas.

Two more important points need to be made with regard to who used this Andalusian accent and how. The first is that it was used almost exclusively by the Ramblers men, except in cases of crossing. I have said above that some features of Andalusian were very widespread, at least in the Spanish spoken by young working-class people, including women. Nevertheless, the gender differences in accent between the Ramblers men and women were almost categorically demarcated by the elimination or aspiration of implosive /s/ as described above. This was accompanied by features of intonation which are more difficult to define, or other consonantal features such as aspiration of /x/, which the men used very irregularly. But it was the elimination/aspiration of /s/ that was most visible: I twice observed women scolding their male friends for "*eating their esses*". My impression was that these features were more frequent when the men got particularly playful or wanted to stress the meanings conveyed through this type of voice. In appendix 1, I provide an extract (92) of an episode where the Ramblers men were lost in their car and had to stop and discuss what to do calmly. There were significantly fewer features of Andalusian in this situation than in others. On the contrary, there is an episode (presented in extract 8) where I recorded women dropping esses as they teased one of the men. This may well be due to the particular voices they adopted for teasing on that occasion. These two examples suggest that the use of this speech style was associated with particular activities (or genres) rather than imprinted on individuals by virtue of their sex. Their association with gender came from the role that these activities and genres played in the construction of gender identities.

The final point is that the Ramblers did not 'really' speak in Andalusian dialect. As I have discussed above, they did not draw consistently on the features of the dialect. Moreover, only one female member came from an Andalusian family, and two brothers had one Andalusian parent. The rest of the members' parents (except three who had a Catalan-speaking or Galician parent) came from the North of the Spanish Meseta, where dialectal forms are closest to standard Spanish. In the group discussions, one member affirmed that he had an Andalusian accent [GB03: 177-87]. In my view, the style of the Ramblers men represented a particular form of appropriation of Andalusian features, which served to construct their particular form of masculinity⁴. And this is supported by the fact that the degree to which men used Andalusian features did not seem to have much to do with their family background but with their commitment to particular masculine values, as I will seek to argue in the present and next chapters. This is why I will call this accent "Stylised Spanish" as a form of colloquial Castilian which was different from what dialectologists mean by "Andalusian".

b) The 'simple' truth

The fundamental rule of formation (Foucault, 1972) of the discourse associated with Stylised Spanish could be labelled as 'the simple truth'. It constituted a regime of truth which helped to produce and recognise particular representations of reality while ignoring or denying the possibility of others. The language generated within this space of reference had to be a "simple language". This simplicity does not necessarily speak about structural simplicity of the grammar or vocabulary. An early second language learner of Spanish would clearly not understand the Ramblers if just acquainted with the basics of the

language. 'Simplicity' here refers to the way statements and thoughts were produced and presented, and to the rejection of forms of expression which conveyed formality, tightness, sophistication or distinction. It refers to subjects being positioned as 'simple people' and displaying simplicity and naturalness. This does not mean that these people were in fact simple, unintelligent or boring, as this simplicity could be administered in very complex ways. In the case of the Ramblers, it was congruent with a form of organisation which provided fun, affection and security, and which coped with the complex demands of modern life on the person⁵.

It is not easy to represent a way of thinking. As I browsed through the data in search for the 'telling' example⁶, I had the feeling that it was everywhere but hardly visible at any particular moment. The group discussions provided some interesting examples again, as participants often struggled to establish their particular views on some contentious issue. But again, the regime of truth operated not in particular statements, but in the way the discussions were developed; and often my interest was not caught by what they said, but by what remained unsaid. I will seek to illustrate my point by commenting on various extracts of the argument on household chores that took place in the Ramblers' group discussion:

Extract 39

[Paula was reproaching the men for not being forthcoming enough with household duties in their homes]

Paula: *por qué tú no tienes que hacer la cama · igual que tú- tú tampoco la*
Because you don't have to make your bed. Just like you- you don't

haces
make it either.

Andrés: *y por qué- y por qué hay que hacerla?*
What f- what should we do it for?

Paula: *cómo que por qué hay que hacerla?*
What do you mean "what should we do it for?"

Ricardo: *por qué hay que hacer la cama si luego la vas a desacer?*
"What's the point of making the bed if you are going to undo it later?"

[**veus de fons**]
[background voices]

Paula: *para qué comes si luego tienes que volver a comer · > · no comas*
Why do you eat if you have to eat again later. · > Don't eat!

Irene: *<la otra, tía*
<There's the other [silly] one. Girl! [GB02: 389-400]

The simple truth is best when it is obvious, almost hitting the eye. Ricardo was clearly teasing Paula, seeking to subvert her seriousness, and probably avoiding the possibility of having to acknowledge that he should work more at home. Although his argument was not really an argument, he could count on the other men recognising his point rather than hers. This is the kind of voice which is put on in many comedies or in Spanish Music Hall genres, where the grave and complicated problems of middle or upper class characters are rendered simple, somewhat hilarious and mundane by the cook or the servant, who

sees things with a unique clarity, a penetrating authenticity. In British drama, similar voices are commonly expressed through speakers of northern dialects. An example is the famous concluding remark in the film "Life of Brian": "you cum from nothin', you go to nothin'; what have you lost? Nothin'!". Such a position also allowed Ricardo to display a typical masculine detachedness and self-sufficiency, and the possibility of exploring the matter further was avoided.

It may be argued that Ricardo was 'only joking', and that he would listen to reason in another situation. Indeed, the significance of his move cannot be inferred from this situation alone, but from its position within the whole set of activities and statements found in the group. My argument here is that Ricardo's stance was part of a subtle, implicit drive. The Ramblers men were protecting their form of masculinity by rejecting or ignoring any view that would put aspects of their identity into question. This was largely possible because the activities of the peer group were orientated towards having fun, which made this type of intervention more likely to gain recognition. Nevertheless, in the following extract there is evidence of another type of strategy:

Extract 40

Paula: No, but you don't say to me that it is not so, because it's true. I have been in your place and you have just sat down [and not helped your mother to tidy up the table, etc.]

Pablo: Okay

Paula: What do you mean "Okay"? And why do you >have to just sit down in your place?

Pablo: <Yeah, ·· (of course).

Ricardo: Because this is what they have got him accustomed to doing=

Andrés: =Because it's his home.

Paula: No- Well, alright, I will also do it next time ·· and let your mother do everything. Do you think this is alright?

Pablo: I have never told you [to do] anything!

Irene: [laughs] >Christ!

Pablo: <Have I ever said anything to you?=

Paula: =Bu- but do you think it would be right. Pablo, if I went >to your place, and I just sat down?

Pablo: <I have never told you [to do] anything [Irene laughs]

Luis: You- you- one moment! You certainly-

Mateo: You have already- you are >getting the topic out of >proportion

Luis: <Shut up, Mateo, wait a minute.

Pablo: <Everything happened- everything happened as we were eating in my >plot [holiday home] and you

Mateo: <>she's already getting the topic out of proportion

Pablo: <went and said: "Gosh, I haven't done anything today. What will your mother say?" and I say "What is she gonna say? Nothing!"

Paula: But this has happened to me very seldom. [GB02: 578-607]

In this case, Pablo did engage in a serious discussion, but he did it by not acknowledging Paula's presupposition that people had to clean on their own initiative. For him, the question was simple: she had cleaned because she had chosen to do so. His argument was presented as if it was so plain and obvious that it was not worth to discuss about it. Because she had not been told to clean, she could not claim that she received any unequal treatment, neither could she expect others to feel obliged. Again, this does not mean that Pablo had not got the point, but that he was not prepared to recognise that he was at fault. The men (including crossers) teamed up against Paula's allegations and colluded in this denial. But there is later evidence that they obviously understood and recognised what she meant. Mateo pointed out that, after all, such duties had always been done predominantly by women [GB02: 230-6]. Luis responded with a very interesting ad-hoc questionnaire of hypothetical 'masculine' duties and asked the women if they

would be prepared to do them in the way the men were [IB02: 756-850]. His point was directed towards showing that men's inadequacies (never explicitly acknowledged) were matched by other inadequacies on the part of the women.

Another common strategy of the men was to produce particular cases that seemingly denied the validity of a general statement. For instance, in this discussion, they could always point to some duty or job they usually did or had done [GB02: 140-241]. Seemingly, the debate on whether women generally got lower wages was centred by the men on cases which constituted evidence of women getting very good wages [GB04: 520-548].

Now the functioning of this regime of truth must be understood within the context of the peer group, where most activities were orientated to having fun. It is quite significant that the Ramblers group discussion rarely ceased to be a continuation of the fun they organised when they met by themselves, as this allowed the participants to maintain their usual positions and ways of speaking. Informal conversations in pubs and discos were not aimed at clarifying any particular issue, unless it affected the organisation of the group or the relationships between the members. I have also shown in subsection 4.21 that the ritual aspects of many masculine events consisted of threats to- and defenses of face. This aggressive-defensive ethos was somehow transported to the group discussion. Rather than discussing Paula's point, they were responding to her interventions as an attack on their face needs, and therefore they felt they had to subvert her views in some way. Some of the situations in this discussion also had parallelisms with the way men disrupted women's conversations by introducing trivial remarks or dirty jokes (see subsection 4.22/b). These types of stances also imposed a certain way of talking and doing things when the whole group was together, and even more when the men dominated the central scene with their jokes and games.

In principle, the 'simple truth' did not mean that some particular issues could not be discussed, but it very much determined the way they were discussed. The favourite topics of conversation were those having to do with the fun world of young people as described in chapter 4, but the Ramblers could also focus on other topics. A famous example was the argument they had had on the right to abortion. There had been such entrenched and irreconcilable views that the whole group had decided not to raise the issue again.

In practice, some types of topics were only rarely taken up by the Ramblers group as a whole: these were politics (economy, taxation, Spanish and Catalan nationalism, environment, international relations, feminism, etc...), and 'culture' in its more colloquial sense as meaning 'learned' (literature, theatre, history, art). And, if taken up, they were little developed: Laura reported once on a ludicrous tax increase which had affected their parents' family business. So I made a couple of comments regarding the reasons why the Barcelona city council had raised taxes (to cover the debt of the Olympic Games) and the possible electoral consequences. My bid to discuss the topic further was, nevertheless, unsuccessful. My repeated comments did not meet the minimum expression of response of any kind, as if they had not been said. The conversation moved to a discussion about the exact name of the tax and the heavy taxation upon the self employed [NB11: 70-150]. The episode might not be of significance in itself; only if we bear in mind that this was the situation where we got the closest to discuss any political issue whatsoever during my fieldwork, in stark contrast with the Trepas. In the interviews, they all made it clear that they were not interested in politics. Two of the men had joined trade unions in their workplaces, but they did not appear to be significantly involved in them. In the group discussions, they talked about politics because I asked them to, and it was clear that they were only vaguely acquainted with the political opinions of their friends and had little common ground. The only common thing was that they were staunch non-voters. They distrusted politicians and anything that had to do with party politics, which they seemed to regard as a mere power game where politicians pursued their own personal interests only.

Another important feature of this regime was, as I perceived it, the discourse of personal preference: this consisted of framing opinions, sympathies and attitudes in terms of personal taste, of "liking". This

discourse was adopted, in my view, to present personal decisions and manifestations of character in irrational terms, as a product of non-voluntary personal tendencies. Given the meaning of "to like" and "taste" in our culture, this discourse relieved subjects of personal responsibility for their options, thus avoiding the need for debating justifications or explanations. This made it possible to accommodate diversity in some aspects without perceiving it as a threat, but it also freed individuals from acknowledging that their sympathies and opinions might be changed through reflection and initiative.

This perspective was used quite successfully by Andrés in the group discussion to defend his miscellaneous tastes and hobbies, which were quite different from the rest of the men. Soccer allegiances were also treated in this way, although there seemed to be an anti-Barcelona Football Club consensus amongst the men. Three of the men said that they did not speak Catalan because they did not like it or because they hated everything Catalan [GB03: 10-216], and none of their friends considered this as an opinion worth debating. Ricardo, for instance, simply said that he felt different about Catalan, that he "liked" it [IB08: 696-715]. This particular 'non-polemical orientation' and their disassociation from public political debates led them to hold very contradictory political beliefs, at least in terms of traditional politics: combinations of leftist ideas (socialism, communism, civil rights, trade unionism, anarchism) with openly racist stances against black people, "*moros*" (Northern African Arabs or Berbers) or Catalans, or even with sympathy with some of the tough policies of the Franco regime. Probably, these contradictions were also caused by the fact that they never discussed these matters in depth, and therefore they had little chance of building a coherent understanding of political issues, or at least of creating some form of common ground within the group itself.

c) Identity and regime of truth

My contention here is that the regime of the simple truth served to produce and sustain the form of masculinity constructed by the Ramblers men, what I have called 'simplified' masculinity. I have used the term 'simple' to highlight the fact that this type of identity is based on relatively traditional and commonplace ideas about what masculinity is about (displays of homophobia, sexual prowess, physical strength, self-sufficiency, detachedness, spontaneity, naturalness). The ways of talking and playing of the Ramblers men contributed to the production of these different aspects of masculinity displays and to the protection of their interpersonal validity by rejecting, denying or discrediting any discourses, practices or statements that might pose a threat to them. In this sense, this regime of truth consisted of exerting control over the meaning potentials available within the peer group.

The effect of this regime on the construction of other types of identities was, I believe, very noticeable. In subsection 4.23 I already argued that people involved in crossing were subject to teasing or scorn. In this sense, beneath a discourse that paid lip service to the freedom of individuals, any form of identity other than the dominant one became problematic, thus limiting the possibility for people to explore new identities.

The position of the women within this regime of truth was often problematic as well. They wished to cultivate more sophisticated personalities than men, and this showed in many ways. They were much more involved in efforts to get good qualifications to enhance their job opportunities. All the men had left school, according to them, because they found it boring and did not study, while four of the women had either obtained their secondary school qualifications or were working hard to get them. Three of the women were doing a clerical job, and one of them was studying at the same time. They were also prepared to show and acknowledge concern about their physical appearance, and to dress in more elegant styles than men, which was also a requirement of the types of jobs they targeted. In the group discussion, one of the men accused them of aiming at an easy life, hoping to marry a boyfriend with money, instead of getting 'real jobs' like them. In subsection 4.21/d (particularly, in extract 10) I already indicated that it was common for men to tease the women if they dressed too elegantly, to the point that women played down their dressing style within the group. On one occasion, one of the women arranged to go out with :

workmate, and took the opportunity to 'dress up' by putting on more elegant clothing and more conspicuous make-up. They were, as I have also said, more ready to handle topics of conversation in more depth and seriousness. The games of dirty jokes and verbal aggression that men played to women acquired their transgressive potential (their 'fun' from the men's perspective) precisely because they subverted the forms of display that women sought to sustain. Another significant point was made by Laura and Paula, who said that they talked about politics with some female friends of theirs, that is, outside the group. The Ramblers women's adoption of a more formal way of speaking than the men's also speaks about this desire to identify with common standards of appearance and demeanour. Equally, it is an indication that they did not participate, at least very actively, in constructing the meanings associated with the appropriation of Stylised Spanish. Their willingness to learn and speak Catalan was also significant in this sense. They sometimes addressed comments in Catalan to me or used it with outsiders (which was also subject of scorn and criticism by some of the men).

Probably because the group was so much oriented to doing things together, the Ramblers women had a limited space where they could develop their identities according to their own agendas. It is therefore not surprising that I did not detect substantial differences in their knowledge about the topics mentioned above which were outside the scope of the group. Paula's interventions in the group discussions sought to challenge the men, but she herself kept within the boundaries of a mode of expression which kept the ball in the men's court and which could therefore be turned against her. The occasional reading of a feminist book, the manifestation of the wish to study at the university "to have more culture", the chat about politics with the friends, seemed to speak more of exceptional inroads by women in worlds that had no bearing on the group's activities and little bearing on their own lives. Maybe these inroads were no different to initiatives of the men who said that they read a lot, or had a fondness for watching these "strange" movies with subtitles in the late night sessions of the television [IB01: 512-4].

In a way, the regime of truth or the discourse of the Ramblers constituted a monological discourse which, as Bakhtin (1981) defines it, recognises no other voice than itself. Nevertheless, in so far as it consisted of exploiting transgressions, its meanings were actually dependent on the discourses of authority which it claimed to deny. Just as in Bourdieu's (1991c) analysis of the discourse of Heidegger, the Ramblers discourse lay a claim to autonomy, but it was only understandable in relation to what it sought to conceal. In actual fact, these forms of transgression, as has been often argued (Willis, 1977; Bourdieu, 1991b), often express a deep identification with authority in a negative way, because transgression is only possible when there is an established norm. The Ramblers men's fondness for the military service, for instance, though expressed in an ambivalent way, was an indication of this dependency (see 6.23), which was in stark contrast with the insubmissive pacifist ideas that the Trepas defended and which the Ramblers chose to ignore.

5.12 The politics of "la penya"

In its phonological features, the speech of the Trepas was closer to the standard forms of Catalan and Spanish (that is, for those who were native speakers of each language). The speech of the Spanish speakers was similar to that of the Ramblers women. What gave the speech of the Trepas people a distinctive tone was their marked use of expressions from the inner-city argot of Barcelona. To a greater or lesser extent, argot was used by all the men, by the politicised women and by the women 'crossers', i.e. practically everybody. The Trepas used as much argot when they spoke Catalan as when they spoke Spanish. The argot vocabulary was generally common to both languages, although there could be phonological differences in the way some terms were pronounced in either language.

In this subsection, I will first seek to define what I mean by argot. Then I will show how argot was appropriated by the Trepas, how it was constructed as the voice of "la penya", the term used to designate the young fun-loving population that fills pubs, discos and concert halls. I will concentrate on arguing that both argot and the idea of "la penya" were reinterpreted within the political frame of thinking of the

politicised Trepas. Finally, by focusing mainly on the group discussions, I will analyse their way of speaking in order to show how they transformed formal discourses to fit their expressive needs and values. Here I will argue that the narratives of the Trepas showed evidence of manifestly dialogical discursive practices which were in stark contrast to those of the Ramblers, and that this dialogism served to constitute and sustain a regime of truth which derived from the relations between perspectives rather than from any particular statement.

a) Argot, slang, popular speech?

The definition of what constitutes argot, slang or, more generally, unconventional speech has been traditionally problematic, at least when it comes to justify why a particular expression belongs to one category or the other (Chapman, 1986; León, 1992; Thorne, 1990). The difficulties have sometimes been compounded by the fact that lexicographers have traditionally relied upon written texts in their dictionaries, thus producing a version of these styles which is removed from the actual spoken situations where they are primarily used and developed (Bourdieu, 1991b). This is the case for most of the sources of Vinyoles' (1978) vocabulary of Catalan argot. Bourdieu has called for researchers to determine from the speakers' perspective "whether a word is part of slang or part of the legitimate language" (1991b: 265). Some dictionaries, such as Thorne (1990) or León (1992) for English and Spanish slang respectively, have used ethnographic data together with written sources. Nevertheless, they acknowledge that the criteria for ascribing particular expressions to colloquial speech, slang, argot or specialised jargons is largely based on their own intuitions.

I believe that these problems are again generated by the way we conceive of language, i.e. as a set of forms accompanied by meanings which have a general validity, even if these forms are used in a restricted set of situations or by particular social groups. The idea of a dictionary is often associated with this universal validity of linguistic forms. And this universalism clashes with the intrinsic situatedness and the dialogical character of the various colloquial forms of language. In my view, to simply describe the language of particular speakers or to analyse their natural conversations would not give us the key to forms of universal classification of linguistic items. Chapman (1986) produces a list of the various social groups that contribute to the production of slang in the United States (such as lorry drivers, jazz musicians, gamblers, criminals, yuppies, homosexuals, airline personnel, adolescents, students, etc...). He indicates that argot expressions of these various groups become part of the slang when they are incorporated by other groups, but that this is not necessarily done in a uniform way.

It is clear that, by adopting the forms of expression of some social group, people intend to bring in -in some way or the other- the modes of thinking and the values of this group within the activities in which it is associated. Therefore, when somebody uses the word "boozed" instead of "drunk" -an example given by Chapman (1986)-, s/he is likely to refer to the way drunkenness is valued or judged amongst a group of "buddies" rather than between two people who are testing a driver in their capacity as policemen. What is therefore relevant to questions of identity is to study the various ways in which people adopt or appropriate linguistic expressions within particular social domains. This will help to understand how linguistic expressions are transformed and reinterpreted to constitute social relationships and identities. In some cases, it does not make much sense to speakers of slang or argot to speak it outside of the activities and relationships where it is used. When I was a teenager, a friend of mine told me an anecdote he had experienced with a council official 'with a grey suit' from the Department of Youth Policy. The man had stood up, patted my friend's shoulder and said "**hola, tiu!**" (hello, mate!). We both found it hilarious. A member of the Trepas told me that she found some survey questionnaires that used slang as somewhat insulting or, at least, inappropriate [final part of interview [A10: not transcribed]].

In my analysis, I will keep the common distinction between 'slang' and 'argot'. The former is normally used to refer to the most widespread forms of unconventional speech, and the latter to the forms of speech of the lowest social strata, usually associated with criminal activities as well⁷ (see The Collins English

Dictionary, 1986). Both the Ramblers and the Trepas used items that could be classified as common slang associated with young people in Barcelona. I provide below two token examples of slang expressions in order to show how these forms of language contributed to the meanings constructed within peer group activities. The words were common amongst both groups, the latter maybe closer to argot than the former:

passada/pasada, n.f.: nominalisation from v. "passar-se" (to go beyond the limit, over the top). It speaks of an action where a risk has been taken or a rule has been broken. Therefore, in peer group activities, it acquires the positive connotations of transgression, and its meaning has been extended to anything that appears exciting or surprising: "**quina pasada!**" (How cool! great! wonderful!). It can also have a negative connotation depending on the tone of voice, when a particular action has really gone beyond the desirable limits

molar/molar: to like something or to feel like doing something, although constructed in a typical Latin way, which has a syntactic regime different to the English 'to like': "**això (em) mola**" (literally: this pleases (me)). It is a key element of a regime of truth that pays tribute to tastes and impulses, where one's own actions are justifiable on the grounds of feeling or non-rational disposition.

From early on in my fieldwork, I noticed that the Trepas' speech was closer to argot. All interviewees corroborated this view. The following extract is from one of the Ramblers men:

Extract 41

Ricardo: *...el tipo de gente que vamos · siempree · habl- o sea hablamos así*

... the type of people we are, I believe, speak like this. in a

normal · · aunque a veces · (no) a veces sí que decimos · (x) · me

normal way · although sometimes · (no) sometimes we do say: · (x) · "you

debes un talego o me debes yo qué sé una libra oo · o lo

owe me a talego" [1.000 ptes.] or "you owe me" I don't know "a pound" [100 ptes.]. or · or

que sea (pero-) · · · normalmente (x) y eh que además si esta- segun

whatever. (but) · · normally (x) and it is also that if you ar- depending on

donde trabajes · [...] en un bar (x) · oye damee · da- · dame una

where you are working · [...] In a bar (x) · "Listen, give- · gi- · give me one

libra · · que queda mal.

pound" · It sounds bad. [IB08: 610-18]

Mateo also said that they (the Ramblers) used argot "maybe now and then", but that they did not speak "like that" [IB05: 538-42]. Luis said that they used it, but "sin costumbre", without being accustomed to [IB04: 669] and said that his more Andalusian or 'Gypsy' friends used it more [id. 687-96]. Pablo said that he did not "like" some words of slang [IB01: 671-3]. The Ramblers women were much more clear that they did not use such expressions, which were, according to Irene, a bit "garrulo" (rough) or "lolaila" (expression referring to a type of Rumba associated with lower class people) [IB06: 616-20]. Or, if they did use them, it was because the men had "stuck them to us", according to Paula [IB03: 16-19]. Alicia, finally, said that "they may say that, but not often" [IB07: 450-3]. My impression is that the Ramblers

meant that they might use argot playfully, for special effects or to bring in an outsider's voice, but not as their main voice in the way that the Trepas did. The Ramblers seemed to be willing to distance themselves from the lowest strata of society, the drug dealers and petty criminals that they had seen in their neighbourhood, the people which were identified as the producers of argot.

Different social groups appropriate forms of argot and slang in different ways. One of the main factors that distinguishes slang/argot and Stylised Spanish is that the former is markedly generational, associated with the young⁸. The wealth of expressions related to modern drug taking is one indication of this. In appendix 2, I have constructed my own vocabulary based on my data and on my own competence, and 33 out of 174 items are related to drugs. Funes (1982) writes about the fundamental changes that drug-taking practices underwent amongst the young during the sixties. He says that the new practices started with the (predominantly middle-class) hippie movement, and that working-class gangs adopted them later and got involved in the drug trade as well. This matches my experience, as the oldest people I know who use or have used slang in a significant way are in their early forties now (1995), and therefore they must have been in their teens during the sixties. It seems that the use of slang is associated with participation in practices and meanings that originated at that time. Some of the parents of the members of the groups could have been speakers of slang. Nevertheless, I did not glean any evidence of this, and some of the Trepas reported that they did not speak much slang with their parents. On the contrary, I noticed that, amongst the Ramblers, there was not a very noticeable difference between the way they spoke to each other or the way they spoke within their families.

The expression "*privar*" (to booze) is an example of a word that originated in argot and is now part of the general repertoire of slang employed by young people. Funes (1982) reports that it was used by the new lower working-class gangs at the time he carried out his study. In my student life in Barcelona, I did not come into contact with this word until about 1986, by which time it had probably come into general use, as it has now. These linguistic resources clearly catered for the ritual need to construct drug taking as positive. And even if they really originated in the world of drug pushers, car breakers and junkies described by Funes (1982), it is not surprising if they were quickly taken up and 'popularised' by teenagers and youngsters who sought to produce similar, though less extreme, forms of display. The association between argot and these types of activities were central to the construction of some forms of masculinity as I have shown above, and this accounts for the common perception that argot is mostly spoken by men (Chapman, 1986; León, 1992). Nevertheless, some Trepas women were also prominent in their use of argot in tune with their endeavours to redefine their femininities. In the next section (5.2), I comment further on the masculine overtones of argot with respect to the relationship between argot and the Catalan and Spanish languages.

A set of words could be isolated, as in the examples given by Ricardo above, as evidence that the Trepas spoke more argot: words used to name the police or security personnel (*maderos*, *monos*, *seguretas*), but also words referring to more mundane things, such as sleep (*sobar*), money (*la guita*), the teeth's gums (*la piñata*), or the home (*el queo*) were used by the Ramblers only exceptionally if at all. Nevertheless, the real difference lay more in the fact that slang/argot expressions were constantly made present in the speech of the Trepas, whereas with the Ramblers this was not the case. On the other hand, because the Trepas did not practice verbal aggression, dirty language and swearing was much less noticeable in their speech.

One aspect of the relationship that the Trepas had with argot was quite clearly expressed by Jaume in his interview. In the extract below, I have also underlined the slang or argot terms:

Extract 42

Jaume: *yo · considero quee · · la gente estamos · estamos muy atrasados en*
l · believe that · · we people are · we are very much lagging behind with

el argot eh? porque · al- algun dia que veig gent que anava abans
the argot. yeah? Because · wh- when some day I meet the people I used to go round with
before,

no? que ara estan me- amb · rollos chungos no? de camellos y tal ·
right? who are now involved er- in · nasty businesses, right? pushers and all that.

comença a parlar que no sé qué del bronx · que voy a pillar el bronx
He starts talking about "I-don't-know-what the 'bronx'": "I am gonna pick up some
'bronx'."

o voy no sé cuantos · i flipo no[?] por- la forma que tenen de parlar
or I'm gonna so on and so forth." And I feel amazed, right? because- of the way of
speaking that they have.

jo és que · molt- · sé lo que és perquè · · eer no sé lo que diuen però
To me is that · very- · I know what it is because- · · I don't know what they say but

m'imagino lo que és no[?] i és allò no[?] però · · és una passada
I imagine what it is, right? And it is that, right? But · · it's incredible.

yo al·lucino estic molt atrassat eh? o sigui [...]
I'm amazed. I am really behind, yeah? I mean [...]
[IA03: 1042-55]

Jaume's testimony was that of a person who spent his early teens with people who drifted to hard drugs and to drug dealing. His old acquaintances reminded him that he was no more in touch with new developments, both linguistically and culturally. They also taught him about the practice of the internationally ever-present graffiti signatures (*taques*) [IA03: 1056-70]. Later in the interview, he stated that his argot, and Salva's too, was "antiquated" [IA03: 1144-57]. Silvia also reported on new coinages of argot which were not used by the Trepas [IA03: 1163-4].

The Trepas' relationship with argot was, therefore, similar to the Ramblers' men's connection with Andalusian. They adopted and reinterpreted argot together with the values constructed amongst inner city gangs. I will now seek to define the way in which this appropriation was accomplished by the Trepas.

b) The voices of "*la penya*"

"*La penya*" (Spanish: "*la peña*") was a slang expression that gave a name to the young people of Barcelona, particularly with reference to peer group leisure activities of the type I have described above. It could be used to designate the audience of a concert, such as in the example of Pepe's narrative extract 93 (appendix 1), or the clientele of a disco or a youth club [FB04: 152-159]. It could equally refer to the gang one was usually going round with, or any particular gang or informal grouping of young people which was seen as a meaningful unit for narrative purposes⁹. "*La penya*" was, therefore, the term young people used to refer to themselves¹⁰. (I will from now on use the expression 'the penya' without punctuation marks)

In order to illustrate how the regime of truth of the Trepas functioned, I will seek to describe the way they reconstructed the meaning of this expression. I will argue that the *penya* was given a political significance within the framework of their leftist or revolutionary ideas. I will seek to show evidence of this in the implicit qualities and expectations assigned to it. I will analyse what "*la penya*" was 'meant' to be for

them. In the extract below, the joke of the taxi-driver illustrates the way in which the voice of the **penya** was confronted with the voice of authority. Notice how the narrative voice of the joke is in argot (underlined words), as well as the voice of the drug-addict:

Extract 43

*Salva: ...con la del taxi no? que e- el pavo va a parar un taxi un taxi y hay
the one of the taxi, right? That th- the guy is about to call a taxi: "a taxi!" and there's*

*un punki delante · · y pasa el punki y dice · pilla el pavo no? · · que
a punkie at the front · · and there goes the punkie and says · he takes the guy right? · · who*

*va con la gavardina y con gorrito y tal · pues yo no (xx) el taxi
is wearing his gabardine and his little cap and all: "Well I don't (trust) the taxi*

*porque ahora con los problemas que hay con la droga y estos
because, nowadays, with all these problems you get about drugs and all these*

*problemas · pues yo vengo de pillar tres gramos de caballo y sin
problems...". [And the other answers:] "Well, I just picked three grams of junk, and no*

*problemas [rialles]
problems." [laughters] [NA03: 142-3]*

Here the logic of the junkie subverts the logic of the person representing mainstreamish concerns about drugs. The joke can be best understood if the reader imagines the client speaking Standard English and the junkie speaking a strong Cockney, London Jamaican or any American inner-city vernacular. Salva (and the audience) was siding with the junkie even though they were not into heroine themselves, as far as I know. This form of subversion was roughly equivalent to the 'simple' truth that the Ramblers men also constructed and identified with. Nevertheless, the Trepas endorsed this truth from a significantly different perspective.

As with the Ramblers, we actually come to the point here where particular speech events cannot be brought forward as unequivocal proof of the existence of a particular perspective. The evidence I give below about the politicisation of the term '**penya**' may seem to support my argument in a relative way. But if I pulled the out the examples one by one and analysed them in isolation, there would not be a single one which unmistakably indicated a political frame of reference. Other interpretations are always possible. It is against the background of other events and in the logic of their interrelation that the significance(s) of particular episodes can be detected. It was after hearing the Trepas talk about politics, after understanding how politics impregnated their experience of hard-core music, and how it impinged on their interpersonal relationships, that I began hearing another 'ring' in words like **la penya**.

The Trepas' political outlook was akin to Marxist views of society which construct the working class as the potentially liberating class. This idea entailed a legitimisation of working-class forms of culture as opposed to those of the dominant classes. For instance, Jaume, who was not particularly politicised, referred to graffiti as "an art", thus claiming legitimacy for these forms of expression. He valued particularly the most elaborate mural paintings. [IA03: 1050-1110]. Often, the transgressive, boisterous, sometimes riotous actions of the **penya** had -in the way they were interpreted and narrated by the Trepas- the flavour of a true revolutionary force escaping from regulative control. Also, the views of the **penya** were treated as invested with authenticity, spontaneity, free from calculated interest, like a truth that was pushed through the fictions of the hegemonic public domain: a truth akin, as I said, to the 'simple' truth of the Ramblers. Pepe narrated once an episode in a concert, where the **penya** (the voice of the public) were

represented as speaking in Stylised Spanish like the Ramblers men did [NA03: 92-3; see extract 93 in appendix 1].

It was expected that members of the **penya** would show mutual solidarity. Jaume, for instance, commented with annoyance on how some members of the **penya** had been sabotaging graffiti of 'other **penya**', thus implying that they had breached this expectation of solidarity [IA03: 1107-1112]. To Magda, Catalan speakers belonging to *la peña* would kindly switch to Spanish to talk with her as opposed to the "people" who didn't [IA04: 841-847; see also 6.21]. These examples are not taken from interviews from politicised members. What the politicised members were doing was to give this solidarity a political flavour that was reminiscent of traditional slogans for working-class solidarity.

This political reconstruction of the **penya** was also undertaken by political groups who used its language and imagery in their propaganda and in their activities. The powerful antimilitary groups, who promoted conscientious objection and sometimes opposition to any kind of conscription, have popularised phrases such as the ambilingual¹¹ slogan "la mili no mola" (the military service does not 'please', -see the definition of "molar" above). The name of a prominent grass-roots organisation is "Mili-KK" (KK=caca, 'crap' in baby talk). In this way, pacifist or anti-militaristic ideas were filtered through the regime of truth of the **penya**, which put the discourse of personal preference at the front. As they are commonly addressed to people in their late teens and early twenties, the publicity of such political groups usually includes drawings from comic artists popular amongst the young (for instance, in an Anarchist group's campaign against heroine). A common activity of these groups is to organise rock concerts for the **penya** as well. Three Trepas people, including one woman, were ordinarily engaged in antimilitary groups in their neighbourhoods, and sometimes attended national conferences or meetings at the central coordinating commission in Barcelona. It is reasonable to believe that the Trepas' politicisation of the **penya** was closely tied up with the discourses of political groups.

The types of population that **penya** might refer to in actual talk depended very much on the speaker's intention in any particular situation. These transformations of meaning were very similar to those discussed by Bourdieu (1991) on the terms "people" and "popular" in public discourse:

"Like elastic concepts such as 'the working classes', 'the people' or 'the workers', which owe their political virtues to the fact that one can extend the referent at will to include (during election time, for instance) peasants, managers and small businessmen, or, conversely, limit it to industrial workers only, or even just steel workers (and their appointed representatives), the indeterminately extensive notion of 'working-class areas' owes its mystifying virtues, in the sphere of scholarly production, to the fact that, as in psychological projection, everyone can unconsciously manipulate its extension in order to adjust it to their interests, prejudices or social fantasies." (Ibid.: 90-91)

It seems that these semantic manipulations are not only characteristic of the discourse of politicians and academics. Pepe also used the term **penya** to refer to the peasant population of his family's village of origin. Once, Chimo asked me what social work was about, and I answered that it had to do with assistance to the poor, the elderly, the drug-addicts, services to the young and so on. Later in the conversation he referred to those categories as "**la penya**" [Cas 1, side 2, last 3 minutes]. Once, Pepe was watching on television one of the private channels which offered cheap quiz and competition programmes combined with relentless sexist references, and he said: "**Quina penya més xunga**" (What a disgusting crowd). This particular usage to refer to the team of television producers should not be seen as an exceptional case, but probably as a way of expressing that they are also to be judged with regard to the meanings and expectations accorded to any **penya** [NA01: 12-13].

For a politicised member like Pepe, his loyalty to the **penya** seemed to go beyond his allegiances to particular political organisations. He explained to me that he had left his Marxist-Leninist party because it

did not connect with the experience of the people of the neighbourhoods [FA07: 283-289; IA06: 240-60]. However, Clara once made an interesting remark with regard to this romantic view of the lower classes, as she was struggling with her own economic hardships she said: "*there is nothing glamorous about being poor*".

The **penya** was, therefore, at one and the same time the penniless, the needy, those bonded by suffering and exploitation, as well as the groups of drunk youngsters and boisterous rock fans. The politicised Trepas had produced this two-sidedness of the words, and this ambivalence was the very foundation upon which their perspective was possible. Peer-group activities were not seen as an appropriate ground for straight political debate, as most of the members of the group were not directly involved in politics. The ambivalence made it possible to maintain a balance, where peer group activities were subtly invested with political meaning, but without being totally colonised by it. This created a situation where people could participate in the group without necessarily having to display political correctness, while opening the possibility, at the same time, of developing a political sensitivity. Non-politicised members shared many of the political attitudes of the politicised ones. This clearly emerged in the group discussion and in the interviews. The reason for this could be because friendships may have been selected on the basis of a minimum of political affinity, and also because it was difficult to participate in the group without getting impregnated with the meanings that were made available. Non-politicised members should have noticed, as I did, that in addition to the double-voicing present in the cultivation of transgression (with its hidden voice of authority, as I argued in the previous subsection), there was a third voice attached to it, the revolutionary voice that sought to recruit these transgressions to its own cause.

c) The relative truth

The way in which the political truth of the Trepas was created and established can be best illustrated through an analysis of the interventions of the politicised members in the group discussion. The group discussion was a special occasion for the Trepas, but not in the same way as for the Ramblers. The group was relatively diverse and disperse: it had accommodated people with relatively different characters and backgrounds (all the types of gender identities I have described except simplified masculinity, and also speakers of Catalan and Spanish), and people who had ties with some members much more than with others. This diversity had been allowed to live because of the fragmentation in their activities, as described in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, in the group discussion, all members present were facing each other and were involved in a unitary course of action where issues about their relationships were discussed explicitly. Such an activity was clearly central to the interests of the politicised members, and their previous experience in discussing and theorising about identity clearly gave them the upper hand.

Nevertheless, they did not use their resources to try to bluntly dismiss or supersede the views of other members. The discussion was actually made into a considerably formal and orderly debate, with most participants taking long turns and presenting sophisticated argumentations. The views of everybody were normally listened to and responded to in such a way that, I believe, nobody could have felt pushed aside. Additionally, the politicised Trepas had no qualms about using a more formal style of language than the Ramblers. Of course, to bring in a purely political discourse might have alienated non-politicised participants. This was probably the reason why they spoke in a hybrid style which combined features that we usually would associate with different discourses. In the following abstract, Aleix was talking about the 'problem' of cross-gender friendships:

Extract 44

Aleix: es que a vegades crec que no és només que noo · t'entenguis igual si

It's that sometimes, I don't think it is only that you don't · understand each other, you might well be able to

t'entendries no? lo que passa es que no et surt (o sea) · tu has creat
do it, right? What happens is that it does not come naturally to you, (that is): · you have created

un tipus de relació a partir de · a partir d'unes coincidències tu
a form of relationship on the basis of- on the basis of some coincidences. You

tens · ah exacte un [...]
have... That's it! You have [...] [continued below]

Here Aleix' style coincided more or less with the standard, and his words had a very generalising and conceptual tone. The vocabulary choices could well be used in any formal text and his lengthy turn was listened to with silence and attention. Later in his intervention, he said the following:

Extract 45

Aleix: [...] entre · o sia · una amistat entre un **tiu** i una **tia** no? o siga · jo
[...] between, I mean. a friendship between a boy and a girl, right? I mean, I

crec que és · super possible no? · ara crec que es curro i crec que és
believe it is · very possible, right? Now, I believe that it's hard work and I believe that it is

molt de curro no? · per això de les afinitats · [...] llavors jo crec
very hard work, right? And this is precisely because of this thing about affinities. [...] Therefore I believe

que aquest és un tope superfort · i és el més bèstia que trobem no?
that this is a very strong barrier, the biggest you can find, right?

· o siga · mm · això pues mirant al grup · o sia · hay amigos y hay
· I- I mean... Mm. And this, looking at the group, I mean: "there are [masc-] friends and there are

amigas · yy entre la (xx) crec que tenim molts · · vui dir que sí que
[fem-] friends · aand between..." (xx) I believe that we have a lot of- · I mean that we do

ens entenem i jo tinc · bueno crec que sóc amic de totes i · i tots
communicate and I have, well, I believe that I am a friend of [fem-]them all and, and [masc-]we all

som amics de les ties i (totes les) · pero · sí que hi han coses com · tu
are friends of the boys and ([fem-] all the-); but it remains true that there are things like this: you

ets d'un institut que surten dues noies · de la mà d'un institut no? are from a
[secondary] school where two young women come out · from the school clutching their hands, right?

· **perquè són amigues i s'estimen i s'ho expliquen tot no?**
· because they are friends and they care for each other and tell each other everything, right?
[GA01: 358-420]

I have underlined the items which are somehow special: "tia", "curro", "super", are common in young people's slang; "bèstia" (meaning wild or big, and not beast) is very colloquial; "bueno", a Spanish borrowing, would not be used by a speaker of standard Catalan in a formal situation (and neither "tope", probably). After his framing of the question in formal terms, Aleix came back to the voice of the penya. This indicated that he was clearly seeking to connect it with the everyday experience of their relationships with their "col.legues" (buddy; this term co-existed in the discussion with "amics", friends). To make this clearer, there was a switch to Spanish (underlined phrase) used to impersonate an imaginary member of the group uttering a view that treated cross-gender relations as unproblematic. He used this device to take issue with this view.

Another feature which I would like to highlight from this episode is the fact that Aleix spoke in the first person plural. In doing so, he was including himself amongst the people criticised for not having cross-gender friendships. Pepe had started off the argument on a similar line, by saying that he acknowledged that there were barriers for cross-gender friendships and that he had not solved the problem, although he was working on it. This is in stark contrast with the group discussion of the Ramblers, that was often centered on defending one's position and undermining that of others. Aleix, who was particularly close to many of the women, could have easily disassociated himself from the others and accused them of perpetuating gender boundaries. But this was not what the discussion was about for them. They were more interested in integrating the views of others and in showing how these connected to theirs.

Later in the discussion, a woman manifested her disagreement with regard to what other people understood by friendship. The others were arguing that men had more things in common with men and women with women. They were giving examples of particular activities (such as playing in the band). They said that this contributed to people having a tendency to mix with people of their own sex. The woman, though, was arguing that a real friendship did not depend on those things, because a real friend was the one with whom everything could be shared. The bulk of the group then tried to convince her that it was not possible to expect to have "everything" in common with somebody, but she would not give in. At a point, Pepe came up with this interesting contribution:

Extract 46

Pepe: I- I believe Magda is quite right. And even more · · I am not happy · with the · with the explanation we give that, well, "it is normal · if so and so the topic, the topic that is worrying me, I see that Salva · is going to understand me better · than Jaume" [<Silvia: of course, you'll tell him] <No, no. Then, I am not happy with this. Because because · · at least, on my part [...] Maybe, maybe this is what Magda means, what Magda is aiming at. But my experience is · that sometimes · I am not going to mention to her, to Magda, this [particular] thing, not because she · cannot have this issue in common with me, but because I feel embarrassed and I say: "Ugh! Who knows if talking about this with Magda · I will not be- · I will not be · talking too much!", right? · Then, I think there is an additional problem here. [GA01: 726-60]

I must say that Magda was not entirely satisfied that her point had been taken up by Pepe, but the move is significant. This is also a narrative where Pepe depicted himself as being at fault in a hypothetical episode which sought to connect the issue discussed with actual experience. Narratives were often produced where situations were depicted and characters stated different views. This was a common communicative resource. Interestingly enough, Stylised Spanish appeared in some of the voices. These were voices reproducing stereotyped speech genres of verbal aggression associated with this speech style. In this case, though, they were used to illustrate ignorant or sexist characters, which throws a new light on the potential significations of this type of voice and the way the Trepas perceived it¹² [GA02: 704-737]. From this perspective, the Ramblers and the Trepas contrasted with each other symbolically, as one's 'own' speech style was the other's voice of an 'other' and vice-versa. Nevertheless, the Trepas were

relatively ambivalent about Stylised Spanish. I have suggested above that this variety was also associated with the *penya*. Pepe and Salva were particularly fond of a famous Spanish actor who spoke in this way. An advert in a television channel featuring a voice singing /meyúhtarfúrβo/ (from "*me gusta el fútbol*", I like soccer) was Pepe's favourite jingle for a while. Shouting in the streets, an action meant to be playfully disruptive and rebellious, was often done in this voice as well.

An example of a dramatised reflection is very well illustrated in the following extract, where Clara was explaining why she did not struggle to get some male dominated jobs after suffering from harassment and poor working conditions:

Extract 47

Clara: And it is, it is a contradiction I still feel right? · That, shit! "because society would work so much better and so on and so forth, · right? And as a woman I think this and that, right? And therefore I am going to struggle about this and that". · · But, "Uugh! Well, as a woman, my name is Clara and therefore I have my limitations and I can do without er er · · · punishing myself, right? What the hell! I have to go on living and · I want to live as well as possible, right? And to have · a good quality of life · And I can do without fighting and · I can't-" · · and · and I do worry about it, right? · But... [GA02: 704-37, 927-40, 772-90]

This transformation of feminist discourse into a voice of a simple working-class woman was clearly more than a rhetorical device to convince followers. It was part and parcel of the worldview they were constructing and really believed in, that feminist ideas were relevant to their experience and therefore had to be expressed from the voice of this experience and shared with others. This was partly the reason why the feminist women had considered that the chats they organised in secondary schools were becoming problematic because they had grown older and their experience was less akin to that of the students with which they wanted to engage in dialogue [IA04: 560-617].

The truth of the politicised Trepas was, therefore, not a truth that sought to impose any particular statement. It was a truth based on the establishment of a dialogue, a truth based on the legitimisation of the experience of the other, and which sought to strike a relationship with this other rather than to impose a particular view. Hence the 'subject positions' that the politicised Trepas created made it possible to undertake conceptual explorations that were impossible within the Ramblers. The discussion on cross-gender friendship amongst the Ramblers focused on who preferred whom to be intimate with, whether one risked being scorned, and what examples the group's history provided of such relationships. The revelation of anecdotes, contrasting experiences and differing preferences never led them to discuss how friendships arose and why things were as they were. With regard to the question of gender in the job market, the Ramblers concentrated on enumerating different cases and situations they had experienced. In contrast, the Trepas studied their experiences to discuss what could they do to fight sexism at work, which again contributed to the creation of a sense of common enterprise amongst members rather than confrontation [GA02: 676-863 and IA03: 1-331].

A final qualification must be made with regard to my argument that the relative truth was constructed as collaborative and non-confrontational. If I analyse the various debates that took place in the Trepas' group discussion, it is also possible to find instances of people challenging somebody's views very directly. Again, I would argue that there is a case for stressing that formal features do not necessarily contain a direct link with particular meanings, subject positions or relationships. At one point, I asked the group to discuss whether men and women played different roles in courting (when people sought some kind of sexual relation with somebody). At that point, Pepe complained that men always had to take the most risky and explicit steps to disclose sexual interest. The women proceeded to argue that they also experienced fear of exposure. But Pepe would not have it, he argued that the masculine fear was much

more acute and that women should also honour their feminist principles in this field. Some situations were created where statements were flatly refused in formal terms: "*this is false*", "*this is not true*". Nevertheless, a close look at how arguments were presented and developed makes it clear that the way people took these statements had nothing to do with an entrenched defence of the self. Their relationships, the subject positions created throughout the discussion and in their previous experiences maintained the collaborative frame of understanding that selected the appropriate potential meanings and dispelled others. This is comparable to the *Ramblers* in that the closeness of their relationships allowed them to play aggressive games without endangering them. Nevertheless, the differences in the meanings, rituals, subject positions and relationships that these confrontations contributed to construct was very great indeed.

Notes to section 5.1

¹ Tusón (1985b) identifies this feature as originating in the southern Spanish Andalusian dialect, spoken by approximately half of Barcelona's immigrant population, which is 40 percent of the total population. Nevertheless, it has now become common in many colloquial forms of Spanish, and since the Spanish Socialist party took office in 1982, it is often heard amongst government officials and media broadcasters.

² In the scene depicted in extract 37, Raquel had gained access to the floor thanks to the insistence of her boyfriend, who had convinced the others to pay attention.

³ In some cases, I also heard the /θ/ being aspirated, as in /iθkjérða/ instead of /iθkjérða/ for "*izquierdu*" (left side).

⁴ Research carried out by Hewitt (1986), Rampton (1991) and Sebba (1993) has also shown that British adolescents appropriate features of Panjabi or London Jamaican in ways which are connected with the identities constructed in peer-group arenas.

⁵ In the case of the men, it is important to bear in mind how knowledgeable some were in relation to anything having to do with rock music: the different styles, groups, new records available at home or abroad. Or with their fondness for sports as well. When I went with them to a basketball match for handicapped people in the Olympics, Mateo knew all the rules of the game and capabilities of the different players by heart. They also had an impressive knowledge of the goings-on of the football league. These forms of knowledge may not be socially valued ones, but they were evidence -in my view- of their capabilities to develop knowledge in the areas they were interested in.

⁶ As defined by Mitchell (1984), the 'telling' case is that in which "the particular circumstances surrounding the case, serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships apparent." as opposed to 'representative' or 'typical' cases which are aimed at imparting "a sense of concreteness to an otherwise overwhelmingly abstract account." (Ibid.: 237-9). Because I seek to establish theoretical connections based on the analysis of situated practice, my use of examples falls within the first category (see also discussion in sections 2.2 and 2.3).

⁷ There are some curious mismatches in the ways these terms are used in Catalan and Spanish. The dictionary or academic meaning of "argot" commonly refers to what English dictionaries consider as 'slang', and the word "caló", which originally denominated the language of the Gypsies, seems to be the equivalent to English 'argot'. Nevertheless, the *Trepas* would never call their speech "caló", but "*jergu*" or "argot", which corresponds to the English usage (see *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*, 1983, and León, 1992).

⁸ To call such styles "youth slang" is common. Nevertheless, in my experience, many elements of these styles are also used in children's peer groups.

⁹ See GB03: 1650-1660; IA01: 480-482; IA07: 1104-1108; IA10: 254-257, 760-766; IB04: 448-450, 584-589; IB08: 552-558.

¹⁰ "*La peña*" (Spanish: "*la peña*") originally designated groups of people, usually men, who regularly met in particular cafes, and also some voluntary societies devoted to recreational activities (e.g. football and bull-fighting fan clubs) (see *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*, 1983, and Moliner, 1991). The most famous are the ones who participate in the "*Sanfermines*" festival of Iruña or Pamplona, which has of late become for many young people a phenomenal orgy of alcohol use along with other drugs. This kind of 'mecca' for young people from all the world might have played a role in a shift of the meaning of the word, which could be translated in English as "the people", "the gang", "the folks", "the crowd", "the buddies", etc.

¹¹ I use the term ambilingual to designate utterances that can be read or heard as belonging to both Catalan and Spanish

because there are no formal differences in the way they are written or pronounced in either language. Such utterances are usually produced on purpose, as it is likely to be the case of the slogan I am quoting here.

¹² In the group discussion, Pepe and Clara characterised, through this voice, the wrong way for a man to 'propose' to a woman with the stereotyped genres such as "*Ehta noche qué hace, reina?*" ('What are you doing tonight, sweetheart?', where the first /s/ is aspirated, the /θ/ changed to /s/ and the second /s/ dropped) or "*házeme tuyo*" ('Make me yours' or 'take me', again with the /θ/ changed to /s/ [GA03: 865-7; GA04: 365-7]).

5.2 Catalan and Spanish voices

Up to now, I have made only passing reference to the fact that young people in Barcelona normally operate in two languages, making either more active (speaking, writing) or passive (reading, listening) use of them. As Woolard (1989) has clearly shown, the use of both languages is quite a sensitive question in people's everyday lives and is a contentious issue in the world of politics. This is why I was interested in investigating how the young people in the groups I studied responded to this bilingual situation.

For analytical purposes, I have identified two distinct phenomena with respect to the use of Catalan and Spanish. One covers the fact of speaking a language as we usually understand it, that is, of using it as our main narrative voice, the voice of the main character we impersonate. This entails a decision such as "I am going to speak Catalan to communicate with this particular person" as opposed to simply "saying something in Catalan" as some kind of exceptional episode, a joke, a quotation or any form of dramatisation which is 'bracketed off' our main performance. The former entails a much deeper and intimate commitment to the use of a language, and I will deal with it later, in chapter 6. The latter case is what concerns me in this subsection. It includes what has traditionally been called 'code-switching' phenomena, which generally refers to combinations of two linguistic varieties within the same episode (see also Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1984, 1988).

I will focus on code-switching in order to investigate the meanings, ideologies or worldviews that both languages helped to construct in the groups I studied. My assumption is that an analysis of the relationships manifested between linguistic varieties in particular stretches of talk may give us indications about the identities and social groups with which these varieties are associated, as well as about the relationships between the particular speaker and these groups. I will look at code-switching, then, as a manifestation of heteroglossia, i.e. as a means of investigating the dialogical relationships it contributed to construct within the discourses of the Trepas and the Ramblers.

I have already shown how two particular speech styles can be taken, reworked or manipulated to construct different and contradictory meanings. What happens with two languages must be of a greater complexity, as they may already incorporate a multiplicity of styles pointing in many directions (though different languages may incorporate roughly equivalent styles as well). To try to cover all the possible symbolic phenomena is, I believe, not feasible, as meaning is an open question. What I will do is construct a modest inventory with no claim to exhaustiveness. In it, I will try to convince the reader that many voices articulated through Catalan and Spanish were similar, but many others were not; and that a close analysis of these voices provided evidence that the Spanish ones were clearly more central to the construction of the identities of the peer group.

Nevertheless, before presenting this inventory, I feel the need to be particularly specific about the way the analysis was carried out. I will be looking into tiny details and highlighting moments in people's performances that are usually not given much attention. At points, the reader might get confused about what it is that is being talked about. Additionally, the framework of analysis I have developed on the basis of Bakhtin (1981, 1986) and Goffman (1974) is slightly different to the frameworks used in code-switching studies. These are based on the ethnography of communication and conversational analysis (see subsection 3.11/c).

5.21 Code-switching: methodological considerations

The first observation I want to make is about the types of data I have used. The reader will notice that my analysis is based on the code-switching practices of people not only in their spontaneous peer group

activities, but also in research oriented activities such as interviews and group discussions. I have considered the latter to be just as valid provided that the particular conditions of the situation were taken into account when seeking to draw conclusions (I have argued the validity of research situations as natural in section 2.4/a). For instance, I have considered that instances of switching to Spanish in interviews held in Catalan were highly significant, because they could not have been encouraged by me, as I was seen as distinctly and unmistakably a Catalan-speaking person.

Additionally, I have not restricted my discussion to instances of manifest code-switching. The absence of code-switching may sometimes help to appreciate interesting relationships when comparing different texts and situations.

My intention is to analyse the code-switching practices of the Trepas and the Ramblers as a way of exploring the dialogical relationships that they established between the ideologies and identities associated with/constructed through the Catalan and Spanish languages. I will analyse code-switching as evidence of multi-voicedness. In order to do this, I have adopted the basic ideas of Goffman's (1974) frame analysis of talk. This is because I felt that Goffman's theatrical metaphor helped to see, to comprehend Bakhtin's voices with more clarity in the detailed analysis of spoken data (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984a, 1986).

Goffman (ibid.) proposed that we should see people's speech performances as structured narratives. He considers that these narratives have an intrinsically theatrical character, as speakers always seek, in one way or another, to construct a scene. As a result, our speech is populated with characters and props that the speaker has arranged to appear within the sequential organisation of the narrative. The speaker herself, according to Goffman, is split within this narrative in the different characters and roles she animates through different voices and gestural indications. The application of this approach to the analysis of code-switching is partly inspired by the work of Sebba (1993) amongst speakers of London Jamaican, and Rampton (1991) on the uses of Panjabi in interracial groups of British adolescents. I will now try to show how this perspective can be put to work in the analysis of talk.

a) The logistics of staging

First, there is the question that the construction of a narrative requires a certain coordination and skill, and that it is always vulnerable to failures, false starts, and lapses. In the following episode, Guille (from the Trepas group) was constructing a hypothetical scene where a Spanish speaker was negotiating the language of the interaction.

Extract 48

Guille: *si · si et ve de guai et diu escolta'm · o escuchame · háblame el*
If, if he asks nicely and says: "listen to me", or "listen to me, speak

castellano que te entiendo mejor no? · doncs · li parlaràs però · si va
Castilian, as I will understand better", right? Then, you'll speak [it]. But, if he comes

en plan borde està clar que no · que es foti
with a stupid air, there's clearly no way. Damn him [IA05: 913-17].

Guille considered it to be more congruent to represent the voice of a Spanish total monolingual in Spanish. So he re-ran the "listen" in Spanish.

This example also suggests that our narratives are arranged in a manner related to the way we organise and understand actual social situations, that is, populated by people and objects associated with particular qualities, capacities and actions: a Spanish speaker, then, should be depicted as speaking in Spanish.

Nevertheless, what seemed clear to Guille was not replicated by other members of his same group. Patricia, in IA04: 944-50, animated a similar situation in Catalan. So, whether or not it is necessary to adopt the original language as a feature of the dramatisation is optional. Pepe once quoted in Spanish something I had said in Catalan [GA01: 144-5], clearly because the abstract meaning was more important than the tone or the style in that occasion¹.

The person that is -so to speak- organising the dramatic action from 'behind the scenes' can sometimes appear in an explicit way. Sebba (1993: 114-6) identifies some types of switches which constitute 'asides' to the main narration aimed at, for instance, requesting information which is seen as necessary for the interaction to continue. This could be the equivalent, within talk, of the interactional 'out of frame' activity identified by Goffman (1974).

As Sebba (1993: 124-37) suggests, an analysis of what types of narrative voices are adopted for what purposes, of what types of characters each linguistic variety is used to evoke, can provide important clues as to the social identities of the people studied. Each choice of a language is evidence of how this language is used to signify things. Instead of asking the subjects to foreground a particular object and to produce a description of what it means to them, one can examine what roles this object plays in their narratives, what is the use they make of it. Such an approach may provide unique insights that may not be accessible by just asking questions that may be too fuzzy or sometimes untactful to participants.

b) What is being quoted

In the previous extract, Guille was reproducing an imaginary scene. Not something that had happened, but a hypothetical situation which had a kind of categorical value as an example of a Spanish speaker with good manners. In the following extract, in contrast, Pepe was seeking to reproduce a scene which had some historical status, it had somehow really happened:

Extract 49

Pepe: We were all there having lunch. · And my sister · used to come up with the taboo topic, but the really taboo one, right? that we had at home, which was: "Because, yes yes, because I am an 'independentista'". Hey! All faces white, right? M- my father's face and- · ours as well, right? My father anger-, the guy really [got] angry: "But how[can this be]? It should be very clear that in my home such things cannot be said", right? And Clara and I [were] thinking: "I do not agree, I do not agree, because I am an anarchist. Because neither Spain nor Catalonia, because I am an anarchist", right? we used to say, "No way, no way. Damn it, man! W- we are being exploited by the Spaniards and we are going to be exploited by the Catalans as well". This type of thinking, right? · · Buut already, at the beginning of secondary school, up to eig- no, eight form and in the first year already, I was (already) beginning to think that "well". Look, it was at the same moment that I decided that · Bakunin didn't work. [IA06: 625-46]

Here we have a very skilful and lively dramatisation. We can almost see the family sitting around the table, with the father, who had strong feelings against Catalans, reacting to his daughter's defiant announcement of her pro-catalan feelings. Contrasting with the Catalan narrative voice, the characters were speaking Spanish as they clearly had done in the actual event that was being reported. This clear contrast allowed Pepe to forego the connectives, such as "she said" or "he answered".

Later on, though, the narrative drifted into describing the thoughts of Pepe himself and his other sister as they were witnessing the scene. Here a connective was needed (thinking:), otherwise I would have thought that they had participated in the family argument.

However, these thoughts were articulated with an assertive, almost angry tone, coloured with reiterations and interjections, as if they had actually been said in the scene. Additionally, if Pepe and Clara's thoughts were not uttered or heard by the rest of the participants in the event, the question could also be asked about how Pepe had gained access to Clara's thoughts in such detail and how could they have been totally identical.

The answer to the riddle is, of course, that the quotations offered by Pepe were not meant to be taken as exact and faithful reproductions of what was actually said and thought. Quotations rarely are, as I argued in subsection 3.22/d. Pepe was explaining to me how he and his sister had developed their political ideas in their early teens. He did so by showing first the voices to which they were responding (represented by members of his family), and then -as I understand it- his own thoughts in the light of the discussions he had had with Clara about it. To present these thoughts as a contemporary response to the spoken dialogue at the dinner table was clearly a dramatic device that made it possible to give a brilliantly situated account of what he thought, where, how and why at the time.

We can also imagine that the real spoken dialogue between father and daughter might have gone quite differently. Indeed, the defiant tone that Pepe put in the daughter's voice was probably geared to an expression of its dramatic function, as it is hard to believe that she could have been so boldly provocative. Pepe's quotes, therefore, represented these dialogues and reflections. They did not reproduce them. They had again a categorical value, not a descriptive one (the categorical value being clearly implied by the expression "of this sort, right?", a clause that does not belong to the staged scene, but to the narrator).

c) Past and present in the utterance

It is clear, then, that in the reporting of past events, these are manipulated to fit the particular expressive intention of the present speech situation. In some cases, this adaptation can be quite extensive without raising issues of sincerity. In the following episode, Pablo was telling an anecdote of how he had hid himself under the table when he was little to catch a glimpse of the Three Magic Kings as they came to bring their presents during the night of the 6th of January:

Extract 50

Pablo: cuando tenía cuatro o cinco año ya te digo me meto bajo la mesa del
I was four or five, as I'm telling you, I hide under the table at the

comedor y (xx) un pie (xx) son lah zapatillah del viejo · y este qué
dining room and (I see) a foot. (xx) they are the old man's slipper! And: "What's this one

hace aquí · · [riures] que hace aquí ehte, (x) subo allí y veo (xx) y
doing here?" · · [laughters] "What's this one doing here?" (x) I come up there and I see
(him) and

digo vete a la mierda hombre [rient]
say: "Go to hell, man!" [laughters] [GB04: 1620-5].

The scenic austerity of this narrative was remarkable. There were no formal connectives as he used his voice to establish the contrast between the narrative and the animated voices. And the image of the

father's slipper was enough to give the audience a sense of what was happening, namely that he had caught his father doing what the Three Kings were supposed to do. Pablo's first dramatised exclamations expressed the surprise he had felt at the sight of his father bringing in the presents, rather than expressing something he had really said. And the last 'telling off' was clearly not something that five-year-olds say to their parents. It expressed his disappointment at the time of the reported event, but the form in which he presented this disappointment was more akin to the way in which he spoke in the present: in the language and style in which the Ramblers men constructed their identities at the time.

Pablo was playing with the various narrative levels, and was portraying himself as a child talking as he talked in the present. This ambivalence was not created for people to investigate or to find out what 'really' happened, but to produce a relevant narrative and identity display in the context. The participants appreciated his contribution by laughing and never sought to sort out what was fiction from what was accurate reproduction. The question of the non-accuracy of quotations has also been commented upon by Gumperz (1982: 82-3), Hill & Hill, (1986: 394) Romaine (1989: 148-9) and Auer (1990), who note that it is common for speakers not to quote in the language actually used in the reported occasion. As Sebba (1993: 117-22) and Auer (1990) rightly point out, this is a matter that has to do with the narrative organisation of talk. Extracts 52 and 55 below provide further evidence of this.

d) Splitting the narrator

Up to now, I have presented retellings of real or imagined scenes where the (present) voice of the narrator and the (past or hypothetical) voice of the animated characters were clearly separable. In the following extract, this is not so. In the rehearsal of the Trepas' band, Salva was trying to coordinate the group to play a song called "*cabrones*" (bastards):

Extract 51

Salva: *va · cabrones otra vez · · pero qué paranoia suéltalo · · qué punto tío* [Ell riu]
Come on. [Let's play] "Bastards" again. But, what a nuisance, drop this! What a pest, man [He laughs].

Somebody: (*· vamos de nuevo*)
(Let's try again).

Salva: [crident amb veu gutural] *'enga cabrone ·*
[Shouting with a guttural voice] "*Come on, bastards!*"

Someone: *oye (no vamos) a empezar com la nueva*
Listen! (Are we are not gonna) start with the new one?

Salva: *seamoh cabrones tío que ara que* [comença la música]
Let's be bastards, man, 'cause now [The music starts]
[NA13: 369-94]

The second time Salva said "*cabrones*", he changed to a voice akin to Andalusian or Stylised Spanish. Because it was not his own voice, Stylised Spanish indicated that the insult was uttered not by himself but by an impersonated character which was somehow 'other' than himself. Of course, this device served to indicate that the insult had been uttered in jest, it was a keyed insult. There were three potential meanings of his utterance: a) he might be shouting the name of the song, b) he might be playfully insulting the audience, and c) he might be calling the group into order. The introduction of this voice served to convey Salva's intention to dissociate himself from the 'insulting' voice and from a voice which claimed rights to direct the group, while still insisting that he wished the group to start playing.

The character he had animated was, therefore, not entirely himself, but not entirely an 'other' either. It was a speaking subject which was symbolically split due to the various potential significations of what he said. It was Salva himself putting on an 'other' character which was speaking for him. The exploitation of the ambivalence of ironical, mocking or cynical voices is very common in interaction, and I will show below how code-switching was one of the formal devices used to construct them. Sebba (1993: 106-8, 132) identifies similar voices amongst speakers of London Jamaican, in the form of "one-liner" and "punch lines" aimed to create humorous effects. Sebba shows how London Jamaican is used to signal to the audience that potentially face threatening statements should be taken in jest, which is probably an indication of the speech genres that young people associate with this variety. Similar uses of Panjabi amongst British adolescents are reported by Rampton (1991).

e) Code-switching and speech genres

The example quoted above is the ideal illustration of how our speech incorporates the speech genres available in our culture (Bakhtin, 1981). Although the notion of 'genre' may be sometimes difficult to operationalise in a systematic way, it does help us to understand how meanings are created beyond the structural properties of language. In the example given above, the meaning of the utterance was not based on the simple fact that it happened to be coloured by the accent or the tone of Andalusian. It had come in the shape of a common type of utterances associated with its speakers (insults, swearing, playful verbal aggression). As genres originate in the real life of the language, where they are appropriated, reaccentuated and hybridised in various ways, we cannot expect them to appear in fixed forms (see also Hill & Hill, 1986: 387-401). Neither can we expect these communicative processes to be respectful of grammatical boundaries. In the example below, the switch from Spanish to back to Catalan splits a prepositional phrase:

Extract 52

Patricia: *ens parlàvem en castellà hasta que un dia em diu escolta tu i jo*

We used to speak to each other in Castilian. until one day he says: "Listen, you and I

parlem català pero a qué viene eso de [Ella riu] · parlar tot el dia en
speak Catalan. Why- *What's all that of* [She laughs] speaking all day in

castellà.

Castilian [IA04: 1017-21]

Patricia was telling an anecdote about her realisation that she had been talking in Castilian to a Catalan speaker, which is something that people generally consider unnatural, unnecessary or undesirable (see Woolard, 1989; Pujolar, 1991b). Her reason for using a Spanish phrase was probably to clarify which of these potential interpretations she wished to offer. As I see it, such a statement, in Catalan, could have sounded nationalistic, i.e. as saying "why are we Catalans, who should be loyal to our language, betraying our roots and speaking Castilian?". As it was actually said, it implies "what a funny silly thing we found ourselves doing!". It is not impossible to convey this tone in Catalan, but it should be accompanied with clear cues expressing amusement. The switch to Spanish, accompanied by a lively tone of surprise and a laughter, brought in the tone and the intention of the *penya*, so to speak. Because, in Spanish, people commonly say "*a qué viene eso de* + verb and complements", Patricia had taken the first part as a fixed unit even though it is split as a syntactic unit. It is probable that people tend to stop and think (or laugh) after "*de*" rather than at any other point of the fixed unit, thus allowing for variations to happen afterwards, such as changing languages. And again, this does not necessarily imply that the reported utterance was actually pronounced in this way in the 'historical' situation which was being portrayed.

f) 'Translucent' speaking subjects

In the previous example there was a kind of double embedding: The character being animated was depicted as producing a voice different from the main narrative voice. This was done in order to draw in a speaking subject associated with the values of the **penya** rather than those of pro-Catalan activism. The voice of this ephemeral subject was, in a manner of speaking, 'cut off' in the midst of his performance, as he had already accomplished the purpose for which he had been called, so that the Catalan narrative voice could re-emerge again.

Still, this embedded speaking subject was speaking his own words in a way, i.e. he was represented as the fictitious animator of an utterance. Some other speaking subjects are not really given a life of their own on the narrative stage. They appear in a much less 'transparent' way. In extract 53 below, I give an example of this type of phenomena, which consists of the portrayal of 'translucent' characters.

Extract 53

Magda: *bueno yo estaba en un centro excursionista y ahí todo dios era*
Well, I was in this hiking society. And there everybody was

catalán · · y yo bueno yo sul- soltaba mi di- el meu discurset · pero
Catalan · · And I, well, I del- delivered my my little speech, but,

bueno cuando me tenía que introducir más en el tema y hablar
well, when I had to get more into the topic and speak... [IA05: 837-41]

Magda was explaining her experience of having to speak Catalan in a predominantly Catalan-speaking environment. Her switch to Catalan, with a change of voice quality and speech, expressed the effort she had to make. Nevertheless, this dramatisation was done without her narrative voice yielding control. The Magda of the past made just a passing appearance in the shape of a voice colouring a direct object belonging to a wider syntactic unit.

The forms in which these 'translucent' speaking subjects can be presented are probably unlimited. I believe that they coincide with what Bakhtin (1981) calls 'double-voicing' in the sense that two different perspectives seem to be embedded within the same utterance or part of an utterance (see subsection 3.12/g). An interesting example is Virginia Woolf's "To the Lighthouse" (1927). In this novel, the narrative voice rarely relinquishes control of the text, and the characters often speak in the third person (i.e. they use 'she', 'he', 'her', 'him', instead of 'I', 'me', 'you', etc. in face-to-face conversation).

As we interpret texts, we seek to identify the genres and voices upon which they draw, and the types of speakers and situations these are associated with. If we do not identify the voices with particular speakers, we will nevertheless understand that they belong to somebody (an individual or a type of individuals) who owns these voices in some way. And if we do not identify the genre with a particular intention or situation, we will take it that there is nevertheless one, be it real or invented, in the past or in the future, possible or imaginary. So Aleix' switch in extract 45 (*hay amigos y hay amigas*) was not attributable to any particular speaker, but was understood as if it had been uttered by a character representing a particular perspective on things, a perspective which did not perceive the important qualitative differences between within- and across-gender friendships.

The world of our talk is therefore populated with the objects and persons that we encounter in our experience. By analysing the way we treat these objects and persons in our talk, it is possible to get a glimpse at the way we interpret the world.

5.22 Inventory of voices

In this subsection, I intend to focus on how people used Catalan and Spanish to 'synthesise' particular types of voices. This metaphor is used to stress that voices, like the sounds of modern instruments, are manipulated to convey a particular expressive intention. As in the previous chapter, my mode of analysis will be to stress the active and creative aspects of the way voices were constructed. I will skip consideration of the fact that the groups I studied had very limited control over the repertoire of voices that are publicly available in their social contexts. Calsamiglia and Tusón (1980, 1984), in their study of linguistic practices amongst adolescents in Barcelona, pointed out that young people's code-switching usually reflected the social functions that the languages had in the wider social context. This issue will be dealt with in chapter 7. Additionally, I do not discuss the possible influence that linguistic competence might have on code-switching practices. This is because my impression was that everybody was fluent enough to produce at least short phrases and dramatisations. The relationships between linguistic competence and language choice is dealt with in chapter 6.

I have shown above that talk can be analysed in terms of narratives that present particular sequential dramatisations of events for conversational audiences. These narratives follow, therefore, the logic of a script (Goffman, 1974), the expressive intention of the author, and are populated by their corresponding props and characters (although sometimes their presence may be only faintly perceivable). Here I will try to recount what characters or voices appeared as speaking Spanish and Catalan as a way of investigating the ideological world in which the Trepas and the Ramblers were living.

In doing so, I will begin by analysing voices associated with authority and formal domains. Usually, these were the voices I had less difficulty in identifying. They pointed at more or less clearly identifiable characters, that is, the 'sources' of the voices seemed more or less clear. I will also analyse the population of stereotyped characters that appeared to be meaningful to the participants (peasants, hippies, and so on). And finally, I will analyse a set of voices which I perceived to be closely related to the meanings constructed within the peer group. These were also voices whose characteristics, qualities and 'sources' appeared to me to be more unclear. Therefore, the analysis of these voices will be done in greater detail. The general argument will be that Spanish and Catalan were not substantially differentiated with regard to the voices related to authority, whereas there were very significant differences between the types of voices that affected key aspects of the construction of identities within the peer group.

This classification was the most relevant to the purposes of my study. And I hope that the evidence will support this convincingly. Nevertheless, I do not mean that other categories may not be relevant. I have already argued that linguistic styles and languages point to a multiplicity of meaning potentials. For instance, oppositional political discourses could be constituted both through formal discourses and through the discourses of the **penya**, which also created the possibility of the hybridised discourses I presented in section 5.12. I am not claiming that the languages analysed cannot be used to construct voices other than the ones listed. Both Catalan and Spanish may have very different social meanings amongst other social groups. The analysis reflects the symbolic work that my particular groups were doing.

Finally, in this part of my study, I will not deal separately with the Ramblers and the Trepas. The indications are that the symbolic status of the two languages did not differ substantially from one group to the other. However, it will be noticeable that most of the data comes from the Trepas, as the Ramblers made little use of Catalan and therefore did not provide so much evidence from which the meanings of both languages could be contrasted.

a) Formal voices and discourses of authority

Both the Trepas and the Ramblers produced voices which echoed from their experiences at school. These were usually voices of teachers, normally in Catalan, particularly amongst the Trepas, who were still attending classes at the training-school. Pepe had a favourite phrase: "**Ep! una mica de respecte!**" (Hey, let us show some respect!). It had the familiar ring of the teacher calling to order [FA04: 177-83]. Amongst the Ramblers, Paula confessed her difficulties in distinguishing between "**les os obertes i les os tancades**" (open and closed "o"s, a phonological distinction which does not exist in Spanish) and Ricardo remembered himself learning "**cargol treu banya**", a children's song, in his early childhood [IB03: 359-62; IB08: 799-803]. Also, in the following extract, Laura was trying to convince the people in the Ramblers group to get inside the cars, as everybody was distracted and chatting away:

Extract 54

Joan: bueno os habéis divertido al menos

Well. At least you've had a good time.

Alguna: las fiestas (-)

The festivals (-)

Laura: va tíos va · hombre · · [picant de mans i fent veu de mestra

Come on folks, come on. Gee! [Clapping and putting on a schoolteacher's

d'escola] va vinga va · vinga va · dintre dintre

voice] Come on, come on. Go in, go in.

Alguna: (xx) un poco cansado no[?]

(xx) a bit tired, aren't you? [NA15: 323-33]

Laura's voice was a voice 'in jest' similar to the one presented in extract 51 above. After having asked once for people to get into the car, further insistence might have been felt as tiresome or as if she was claiming some authority. With the switch, she could turn the event into a kind of pretend game. A similar example is presented in girl's pretend play in Goodwin (1990).

Nevertheless, it was also possible to represent teachers speaking Spanish, as Clara did [IA10: 183-9], and also Patricia, who performed a switch to Spanish in a Catalan narrative to represent the school authority [IA04: 354-7]. Clara produced an imaginary stretch of my thesis by switching to Spanish as well [NA01: 245-55]. In the following extract, Patricia was explaining the activities of an audio-visual course that she was attending:

Extract 55

Patricia: i l'aleix estava fent el guió del- del vídeoo · · del video del curset ·

And Aleix was writing the script of the- of the videoo · · for the course's ·

vamos del video *importante*.

*that is, of the *important* video.* [IA04: 102-3]

In the course, people made some small video-recordings as an exercise, and the whole group was to produce a longer, more elaborate video later. Here Patricia -from the Trepas- adopted a Spanish voice to represent a change of speaking subject, i.e. a change of perspective which conveyed that the course's final video was not important from her point of view, but from the course's viewpoint and those who ran it.

And this does not necessarily mean that the school staff spoke Spanish or that the course was in Spanish. The switch could only be used to convey this transposed perspective, not the language actually used in the context³ (see Auer, 1990).

As both Catalan and Spanish enjoy official status in Catalonia, they are commonly used in politics, by the administration and by the media -which in turn transmit and transform the former voices. The voices and modes of expression of these domains enter the private sphere in various ways. Carlos proposed meeting beside the post of "Informació Olímpica", with a suddenly flat voice [FA04: 188-9], and Pepe quoted, with a lively involving performance, the 'Olympic' civil servants as speaking Catalan to him when he was enquiring about a job [FA08: 69-87].

One event was of particular significance to me during my fieldwork. After having been with the groups for some months, I accompanied the Trepas to a kind of graduation ceremony, where a few hundred trainees of employment schemes of Barcelona had to go through a number of speeches delivered by various employment and council authorities. After having submerged myself in the predominantly Spanish-speaking world of the Trepas, it was very revealing for me to attend a event which was carried out in Catalan throughout, quite 'naturally', and by speakers who wore suits and ties and produced unmistakable native-Catalan accents. Not surprisingly, the playful, disruptive -and therefore, out of frame- initiatives of some of the students were generally conducted in Spanish, including those of a Catalan speaker who was a bit drunk and who was shouting while hiding behind his companions. And it is not surprising either that one of the trainees sought to exploit the potential meanings of the situation by shouting "*In Castilian!*". He turned round smiling, although his companions did not show appreciation of his joke. But the climax of the event was produced when a technician, dressed in his overalls, who had been trying to get the microphones working, turned up on the stage and shouted "*hola! hola!*" (hello!) in Spanish to test one of the mikes. The audience enjoyed themselves by treating his words as if they belonged to the event and engaged in unprecedented clapping and cheering and laughing. The break of frame was remarkably well understood by the authorities, who produced a circumstantial smile.

I had had a similar impression once as we met in a square where a big crowd was coming out of a park where they had been watching the town's annual fireworks. We were suddenly submerged in a world of older, middle class people who were almost exclusively speakers of Catalan.

It is in the light of these telling events that I came to understand an episode I had not quite understood at the time. We were celebrating Clara's birthday around a big long table in a restaurant. People started shouting "*unas palabras!*" (give us a speech!). Clara stood up obligingly and said, in Catalan, "I am very thankful to you, you are all very nice and so on; that is all!". At that moment, I thought that the "speech" had been delivered more or less seriously. Later I understood that Clara had gone through the embarrassment of the situation by putting on a pretend-character similar to the up-tight authority figures who they know take these occasions seriously. The subsequent smiles produced by the audience had been an acknowledgement of the game played [FA07: 120-31].

Voices associated with the Spanish central government would commonly appear in Spanish. Policemen, for instance, were most usually animated in Spanish, such as in a Catalan narrative produced by Pepe [FA09: 40-50] or in a song [NA03: 100-1].

The world of politics is another space shared by both languages. Catalan politicians are predominantly middle and upper class. Most of the leaders of the parties belong to the Barcelonian bourgeoisie, with friendships and family ties that cross deep ideological boundaries (see Antich, 1994). During the sixties, all parties adopted nationalist claims for self-government (see Woolard, 1989). It is not a surprise, then, that Catalan politics is a predominantly Catalan-speaking domain, probably with the exception of some trade unions which recruit most of their members amongst the Spanish-speaking working-classes. Nevertheless, political events get reported by a predominantly Spanish-speaking media which is usually

more interested in developments concerning the Spanish government in Madrid. Catalan politics rides between these two domains (amongst others), and politicians are used to the dilemma of being surrounded at the same time by microphones that are connected with different linguistic communities.

The politicised members of the Trepas reported that Catalan was used and encouraged in the political organisations where they worked, and at least some of them issued their propaganda exclusively in this language. In the group discussion, Catalan speakers used their language in situations in which they normally did not, such as when responding to an utterance in Spanish by a Spanish monolingual. This is one of the ways in which it was noticeable that they had framed the group discussion as a kind of political event.

Politics gave Catalan, therefore, another formal overtone. Nevertheless, in my data, code-switching only appeared related to ideas, discourses or characters that were exclusive to one particular language. For instance, ideas related to Catalanism, Catalan nationalism or, beyond that, Catalan racism could be represented in Catalan. Irene of the Ramblers mentioned a popular saying addressed to immigrants in the past: "**Murcianos, toca ferro!**" (Murcians, touch iron!, i.e. be careful!) [IB06: 901-4]. Magda's switch in the following example is interesting. The politicised members of the Trepas were trying to convince her that an independent Catalonia would be a good thing because it would prevent overcentralisation. Magda, though, was strongly opposed to the idea:

Extract 56

Magda: *pero tú puedes hacerlo sin decir* · [veu greu] *cataluña es una*

But you can do it without saying: "Catalonia is one

historia · *y todo lo demás otra* · **escolta'm**

story and all the rest is another [story]. Listen!" [GA05: 630-3]

The switch (**escolta'm**, listen) reproduced a speech genre stereotypically used in Spain to impersonate native Catalans. Magda was arguing that a Catalan state was an extremist option; to her, it meant a culturally uniform state, which she represented through the hypothetical assertion of a nationalist (*Catalonia is one thing and all the rest is another*). The ironical "listen" had the potential value of emphatically calling the audience to pay attention to her and to display a readiness to argue. But the audience was paying a good deal of attention at the time. Magda was also exploiting the humorous potential of impersonating a Catalan with a funny voice, the stereotyped Catalan as a living (talking) image of what the Catalan state would mean.

Catalan could also be identified with things 'inextricably Catalan'. Clara was talking in Castilian once about the "**San Esteban**" day (boxing day) and said, laughing, "*how bad it sounds in Castilian!*". In the Ramblers' group discussion, various members took to explaining their Christmas dishes mimicking Catalan voices, probably the voices they had heard amongst their Catalan speaking relatives. Other examples, more clearly belonging to informal arenas, were whole phrases and popular sayings, in particular those that can be used in fun-making activities: "**Salut i força al canut**", (a toast to male sexual strength), or the popular "**Sant Hilari Sant Hilari...**" (a toast inviting people to empty their glasses) [FB10: 284-6; FB07: 230-2]. There were also Catalan phrases referring to the feasting activities of a small village in Catalonia where some of the Ramblers regularly went on holiday [NB03: 177-8].

Conversely, Spanish nationalist, extremist or anti-Catalan views were usually conveyed by a switch to Spanish in Catalan narratives. This happened in a true story that Pepe told me about a group of people who had showed contempt for Catalonia [NA01: 171-80]. Another example was provided by Jaume:

Extract 57

Jaume: però hi ha gent que sap parlar català però no el vol · parlar

But there are people who can speak Catalan, but they do not want to speak it

perquè · *son · españoles y como soy español pues · mi idioma es el*

because · "*They are Spaniards and, because I am Spanish, well, my language is*

castellano y el catalán para los cerdos no[?] · hi ha gent que pensa

Castilian and Catalan [is] for pigs", right? Some people think like this,

no[?]

right? [IA03: 1472-7]

Another perspective conveyed through Spanish was that of the young anarchist as reported in extract 49 by Pepe; or by Clara as well when she switched to Spanish to say "I do not have a culture, I am universal" to summarise her earlier identity conflict as a "daughter of an immigrant" [FA06: 94-110]. This type of person was also recognisable for me, although I had never met a real one. In the following extract, this voice helps to understand Clara's switches as she explained how Salva started to speak Catalan:

Extract 58

Clara: perquè el salva ha fet un · u- un *acto de militancia* · vui dir el

Because Salva performed an · a- an *act of militancy* · I mean

salva abans no parlava mai el cas- mai mai el cast- · català · mai ·

Salva before never used to speak Cas- never never Cast- · Catalan · never ·

mai · *era · anarquista* · i · *si eres anarquista pues · tu hablas en*

never · *He was an anarchist* · and · *If you are an anarchist, well, you speak in*

castellano · pero mm · va conèixer l'aleix · · *hizo un acto de*

Castilian · But mm · he met Aleix · [and] *performed an act of*

militancia

militancy [IA10: 477-81]

The narrative voice is clearly in Catalan, but the principles and actions which had to do with anarchism were in Spanish, surely as a way of conveying the voices and modes of expression in which this perspective had been constructed by this generation of young people. On other occasions, Pepe quoted with a switch to Spanish from a news item in a Basque nationalist publication [FA08: 179-86], and Salva produced in Spanish a strong slogan against the police [NA11: 173-9] which was common in demonstrations. The voice of hard-core, particularly of their own band, was full of politically oppositional stances and was exclusively in Spanish (see subsection 4.31/b). Clara said once that, in demonstrations, they tried to stick somehow to Catalan, but that people drifted into Spanish spontaneously as they became more involved (and she probably meant creative as well). It is also interesting that Patricia represented with Stylised Spanish what she considered a kind of clumsy or untactful feminism, from which she wished to distance herself [IA04: 798-802]. Again, Stylised Spanish was used to animate a character with a poor understanding of the subtleties of life.

The media constituted a rich and diverse source of voices. First, there were the serious, factual, voices of the news presenters. Pepe once took my microphone and impersonated the television weatherman in

Catalan [NA01: 96-7]. Salva, in his interview, jokingly approached my microphone and asked, in Catalan, whether this would be reported to a famous Spanish magazine [IA02: 1-5]. Also, in a video filmed by members of the group on an outing of the training school, Chimo impersonated, in Spanish, a news correspondent. In the group discussions, I provided cards with different questions people could address, and Magda took pleasure in taking them reading them aloud to impersonate a television presenter in a competition show, in both languages [GA01: 3-10, GA02: 405-7, 462-3 and 942-5].

The media also provided less official kinds of voices, associated with different programmes and audiences: cartoon or soap opera characters, music groups, humour programmes and so on. In Catalan, I witnessed Silvia and Pepe singing the song of a famous Japanese cartoon series [NA03: 125-6]. A Spanish speaking youth worker once dropped a "no passa res" (nothing happens, that's all right) after I apologised in Spanish [FB05: 144-50], and Magda said once "aquí hi ha marro" (something stinks here); both phrases had been popularised by the humorous musical group "la Trinca" during the eighties. Another Catalan programme, "Força Barça", a kind of "Spitting Image" exclusively dedicated to the Barcelona Football Club's affairs, was very popular amongst the Ramblers, some of which continuously reproduced with impressive skill Catalan voices and Spanish voices with Catalan accents [GB04: 1802-5]. Another Spanish-speaking humour programme provided the Ramblers with other sayings of particular characters, the most usual being "qué mala suerte" (tough luck) with a very exaggerated voice, for which many occasions were fit. Salva tried to describe to me a cookery programme with the cook's usual phrase "rico rico" (delicious) [IA02: 52-3]. The words from advertisements also appeared, such as in Magda's "repetimos, natillas" (let's get another pudding) when she sought to acknowledge that she was singing the same tune over and over [IA05: 1208-11]. At the end of the group discussion, Magda and Pepe engaged in an imaginary dramatisation of a television chat programme, where the presenter and many of the guests were usually very presumptuous and made implicit claims about their depth of intellectual insight. Such voices were dramatised in a very lively way in its original Spanish form, sometimes ridiculed by a touch of Andalusian stylisation [GA05: 980-8; GA04: 745-757]. In the code-switching of the following extract, Patricia was clearly drawing upon the language of advertising as she was telling me about the financial arrangements for a drama course:

Extract 59

Patricia: *es una escola de pago · i el curs val unaa- · tot el any · són unes*

It is a private school. And the course costs a-, for the whole year, it's about

cent mi- · quasi doscentes mil peles · lo pagas a codo- cómodos

a hundred th- almost two hundred thousand ptes. You pay in cof- comfortable

plazos dee ochoo o diez mil pelas al mes però · · però són deu bitllets [pica a la taula, riu]

instalments oof eeight or ten thousand ptas. per month but, · but it's ten papers! [knocks the table and smiles] [IA04: 280-4].

Similarly, the switch below reproduced an imaginary literacy event where Pepe was reading the label of a cassette case in the home of a friend who had music of all types:

Extract 60

Pepe: *tinc un amic · que té tot · a casa seva tot ple de cintes · ii agafes*

I've got a friend · who's got all · his home all full of tapes. Aand you take any one

qualsevol *li grupo del kurdistan* no? · pum o · o també tinc un altre
aand: "*group from Kurdistan*", right? There! or · or I have also got another one ...[IA06:
975-8]

This switch is an indication of the fact that commercial products, especially of transnational origin, are generally labelled in Spanish when not in English. In this case, only tapes, CDs and records produced by Catalan artists appear in Catalan, and not exclusively so.

b) Popular characters

I have based my analysis on the assumption that our talk is an amalgamation of different voices which we ascribe to characters of various qualities and status, a principle which is essential to our understanding of how we make sense of real-life utterances. Many of these characters are what we usually call 'stereotypes', i.e. relatively fixed images of types or groups of people and their associated qualities. They usually have their own names as a class of individuals, and they are part and parcel of our views about our society and ourselves.

One very salient example is "the Catalans" versus "the Castilians" dichotomy as discussed by Woolard (1989), which corresponds to many native Catalans' view that non-speakers of Catalan are not really Catalan. In my previous study amongst university students (Pujolar, 1991b), I found that people used other categories (for instance: Catalan-speaker) when they tried to avoid this ideological implication. Amongst the groups I studied, the most common expression was "people who speak Catalan", although I sometimes heard the word "Catalan" in this sense as well. Nevertheless, speakers of Spanish referred to themselves as "Catalan" on numerous occasions, even though some could say, on another occasion, that they did not feel Catalan. It seemed as if the word sometimes had a geographical meaning, sometimes an ethnolinguistic one, and sometimes both, depending on the situation. What was clear is that the difference was still perceived, although it appeared that people were circumspect about the matter and sought not to make it salient. This also coincides with Boix' (1989, 1993) findings amongst a group of youth club leaders.

Nevertheless, in spite of this effort to play down ethnolinguistic boundaries that were politically sensitive, there was evidence that they were still quite important. The repertoire of stereotyped characters I found contained often an underlying ethnolinguistic dimension.

One of these interesting characters was the "**maria**" (Mary), a proper noun transformed to designate a type of person, commonly a middle-aged or aged Catalan-speaking woman who is, according to Patricia, in some neighbourhoods "sitting in the street in front of her door and chatting" with the passers by [IA04: 1304-8]. According to Luis, they constitute a significant part of the clients of the supermarket where he worked, and they were "*tope catalanas*" (very Catalan) and were unrepentant about using Catalan with him [GB03: 98-104]. A Spanish-speaking equivalent of such women seemed to be the "*marujas*" (from the Spanish proper name *Maruja*). For Lola, her fellow workers in the factory were "*marujas*" with whom she did not get along very well [My own recollection].

Peasants were amongst the people usually impersonated as speaking Catalan, although speakers of Catalan are also numerous in urban areas. So Pepe, for instance, had picked up an expression he had reportedly heard of a farmer probably seeking to curse a trespasser: "**mussol de rec**" (literally "ditch owl"⁴) [FA06: 14-17]. Silvia said that most fellow students spoke Catalan in her school because they came from "small villages" [IA03: 1766-72]. In Clara's interview, when I commented that Chimo's Catalan sounded much more native, she said that he was from a very rural Catalan district, which was in truth his parents' birthplace, as he had always lived in Barcelona [IA10: 469-72], [IA09: 65-80]. Amongst some members of the Trepas group, Catalan speakers from outside Barcelona (a category which included the researcher) were jokingly referred as being "**de Vic**" (from Vic, an inland town which is known to be

'very Catalan') [M002: 46-54; IA10: 457-60]. Of course, it is also possible to reproduce rural voices through Spanish. Stylised Spanish could serve this purpose, for instance. In my data, I also have Pepe telling an anecdote where a speaker of a Spanish northern dialect from a small village was involved [NA15: 2-29].

The tone of rurality could be used as much to convey traditional authenticity or, on the contrary, strangeness, distance or weirdness. Clara confessed that Catalans "from Vic" gave her a bad first impression [FA06: 176-7]. She also said that such people, like myself, make her feel obliged to speak Catalan to be consistent with her political principles [IA10: 469-72]. This strangeness was also expressed in the way the Trepas (including native speakers of Catalan) distanced themselves from the forms of Catalan that I used which were different from theirs. I was usually teased for my accent and for the use of colloquial forms they did not know, although some of them were common amongst Catalan-speaking Barcelonians as well [NA01: 339-356]. They clearly did not show the interest I have found in some Catalan speakers in Barcelona, who seek to learn and use inland expressions to construct a kind of popular register⁵. Sometimes, inland Catalan was portrayed as obscure: in one occasion, Pepe produced an invented unintelligible utterance which sounded phonetically Catalan. He was impersonating an imaginary speaker of inland Catalan whose speech was not understandable⁶ [FA14: 220-31].

A rich source of popular characters was provided by the cultural fashions and musical movements of pop and rock music: heavies, punkies, hippies, rockers, mods, rastas, skins, rappers, "*lolaitos*". As it is generally known, these cultural and musical movements are usually accompanied by a philosophy of life, political ideas, ways of dressing and ways of speaking. I devoted subsection 4.31/b to an analysis of the punk and heavy metal cultures⁷. The term "*lolaitos*" is taken from the typical jingle of the Rumba music and was associated generally with the lower classes and the Spanish language, although many Romany Rumba singers are speakers of Catalan (see also extract 12, and page 132). The others were maybe less linguistically marked. Nevertheless, such groups, in so far as they were seen as part of the *penya*, they could be seen as speaking Spanish or Stylised Spanish as I have shown above. A possible exception could be the "hippies". In the following extract, Salva counterposed the young people of his neighbourhood with people of other Catalan-speaking neighbourhoods in this way:

Extract 61

Salva: In the coordinating committee, we generally speak Catalan, right? But the people from Santa Coloma · · they all speak Castilian. · The people from Sants all speak Catalan. · I don't know. It depends, right? · I believe that it also depends on the neighbourhood. · Because in Santa Coloma, they are all quite rough. · · And in Sants, well, they are all · very much like that. [higher, singing tone] very hippie, very Catalanist and [...]. [IA02: 325-33]

In this episode, the character of the 'Catalanist hippies' was expressed through a higher pitched, ironising voice. In contrast, the adjective "*garrulones*" (rough people), applied to the people of the Spanish-speaking neighbourhood, had a kind of affectionate tone as opposed to "*garrulo*" (rough). Similar kinds of voices were used to impersonate different types of Catalan speakers, as I will show below. There seemed to be a common thread amongst the population of stereotyped characters I encountered in people's talk. Catalan-speaking characters rarely appeared in a positive light, they rarely were the 'goodies in the movie'. Further evidence is provided by the significance of the "*kumbas*" or "*esplai*" people (a designation for stereotyped boy-scouts and the like). The Scout and the "Esplai" movements have been of enormous importance in recent Catalan history. Because they were organised by the Catalan bourgeoisie or the church (which was predominantly pro-Catalan), these institutions provided pedagogical spaces where particular forms of children's cultures and youth cultures were developed independently from the structures of the Spanish state. They are clearly associated with the Catalan culture and language (see

Boix, 1989, 1993). Below, Jaume was explaining how he abandoned his previous gang and joined an "esplai":

Extract 62

Jaume: When I was fourteen years old, I made my own **penya**, right? from the **penya** who was in · · in the 'esplai'. Then, well, my · vocabulary probably changed a bit, more · · At first it was more *street-like*, right? It changed a bit, · and it because like... not 'kumba' but · like · I mean: *typical 'esplai'*, right? I mean [Putting on a Catalan urban accent] "a bit like this (xxx)" · · But that was a short- a short time and · afterwards, with the people I have always got along well. it has been with guys · more or less · who are not- who are like me, right? and · this is why · my speech is not very · · · it's simple it is not something refined or anything, right? [IA03: 925-36].

In this extract, Jaume dramatises the voice of a speaker of a urban variety of Catalan, commonly called "xava", which is highly stigmatised because it is perceived as daft and very castilianised (see also Tusón, 1985b). It is also significant that expressions meant to convey the experience or the point of view of the *penya* such as "*callejero*" (street-like) or "*típico esplai*" (typical 'esplai') are voiced in Spanish.

c) We- and they-codes

It is an established notion in sociolinguistics that the variety spoken by a given social group usually becomes a symbol of its values and identities. As such, members are encouraged to show loyalty to the group's culture and way of speaking. This explains why peripheral or lower class communities often maintain their local varieties in the face of competition from more powerful linguistic forms such as standard languages or dominant languages. It is the status/solidarity dichotomy, whereby speakers seek to find a balance between their desire for social advancement and the pressures to display solidarity towards the local variety (Woolard, 1985b). For the study of language choice and code-switching, Gumperz (1982: 66, 73) proposes the categories of 'we-code', as "associated with in-group and informal activities" (such as relationships with kin and friends) versus a 'they-code', "associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations." He argues that speakers effectively interpret code-switches on the basis of this dichotomous association in combination with the subtle contextualising functions that linguistic alternations perform in talk (ibid.: 91-95). Here I will argue that this distinction can be applied, to an extent, to my data, i.e. that the function of 'we-code' was associated with Spanish, and that 'they-code' was generally associated with Catalan.

I will try to show here that this dichotomy, this inside-outside symbolic contrast, is relevant to an understanding of the linguistic practices of the groups I studied. Nevertheless, some important qualifications need to be made. Firstly, I believe that Catalan cannot really be considered as a 'dominant language' or as a 'language of wider communication' than Spanish in that context, even though it functioned as a 'they-code'. Spanish is, after all, the language of the state, the overwhelmingly predominant language in advertising and in the media, and the main language spoken in the community. Secondly, I do not subscribe to the notion that the 'we-they' dichotomy is somehow at the root of the interpretive devices that people use to understand utterances. I have already argued that interpretation originates in the dialogical processes that connect the utterance with previous utterances and actions, and which serve to identify the genres and voices that are being used. And this means that the symbolic spaces associated with the relevant languages emerge as a product of these processes rather than as their origin in a pre-determined identity. The 'we-they' dichotomy is a socially constructed result of the processes whereby groups establish their dialogical relationships between different discourses and practices. In chapter 7 later, I will be discussing the way in which these processes are largely determined by existing social structures.

Here I will concentrate on showing how this inside-Spanish versus outside-Catalan dichotomy was created. In this subsection, I have so far analysed voices whose animated characters were somehow of easy identification: speakers of Catalan or Spanish, teachers, anarchists, cartoon and popular figures, various stereotyped characters and so on. I have already indicated that Catalan hardly appeared in any voice or character which represented the values and identities of the group. The couple of popular sayings associated with drinking and sexual prowess, typically informal discourses, are probably the only exceptions in my data. The political discourse of anarchism, which some politicised Trepas connected with the oppositional values of the *penya*, was conveyed through Spanish. In my data, though, there were other types of voices whose sources were to me unclear, and which required more refined analysis. This could well be because these voices spoke from aspects of their experience which were different from mine, as Catalan plays a centre-stage role in my own repertoire of voices. But I believe it was also because these were the voices which they contributed to construct in a more active way. After all, the previous ones were to a great extent 'transmitted' from people they had somehow heard.

There were a set of voices whose meanings seemed to point primarily to non-masculine characters, i.e. animated figures who presented features opposed to the construction of hegemonic masculinity: non-drinkers, non-swearers, non-slang speakers, non-rough people; or naive or plainly stupid characters, represented as close to mainstream values, proper manners and so on.

There were plenty of examples of the latter: three Ramblers men found themselves queuing in a fast food establishment where the menu-board was in Catalan. They engaged in a playful reading of the words with a funny voice accompanied by laughter [FB07: 5-15]. A similar episode appeared in the group discussions: when I asked what they felt about Catalan, some commented on phonemes they found difficult to articulate and some produced examples accompanied by mimickings and laughter [GB03: 182-216]. In such exercises of mimicry, they generally put great effort into producing a good performance, and the accent and vocal quality of the utterances sounded much more 'authentic' to me than the actual normal speech of many people in Barcelona.

The representation of inadequate characters through a Catalan voice appeared in a similar genre: the 'staged faulty performances'. They are also very common in predominantly Catalan-speaking areas. They consisted, in this case, of producing Spanish words transformed to appear as if they were Catalan. They were funny because they represent a character trying to speak Catalan and failing to produce the right expression. In the Trepas' hard-core group rehearsals, for instance, a song was played called "*otro golpe*" (another blow). After shouting the name of the song to prompt the group to start, Salva had to insist again, but he rephrased it to "**un altre golp**" (instead of "**un altre cop**") in order to achieve a humorous effect similar to the example of stylised Spanish quoted in extract 51 above [NA15: 158-70]. Amongst the Ramblers, Laura was very fond of playing this game, and produced words such as "**cachuperru**" (dog) [na15: 270-285], "**xoriço fritu**" (instead of "**xoriço fregit**", fried chorizo), or "**les tualles**", (instead of "**les tovallols**", the towels), [NA15: 247-66 and 361-8]. Another type of such utterances is when a Spanish word is changed for its Catalan equivalent, such as "**xinès**" instead of "**chino**" (Chinese restaurant) [GB07: 44-6]. In this case, the humorous effect came from the fact that it dramatised an excessively 'purist' Catalan speaker. Normally, though, it cannot be clearly established whether the staged character is an inadequate Catalan speaker or a Spanish speaker failing to produce proper Catalan. Nevertheless, these voices seem similar to others I have heard in my hometown, where Catalan speakers produce faulty Spanish utterances as a way of expressing distance towards the language⁸.

Extract 33 in section 4.4/c (p. 198) shows a dramatisation performed through Catalan voices amongst two Trepas men. These voices showed surprise at the alcoholic level of a particular type of beer. The characters they impersonated were therefore unlike men who are expected to withstand large doses of alcohol. In the episode extracted below, Catalan characters were used to impersonate childish persons:

Extract 63

[Ayats was wearing a T-shirt featuring some hard rock group. Pepe initiated the sequence by telling Ayats that his shirt was ugly. He was probably representing a teacher censoring Ayats for being improperly dressed. Ayats, though, turned it into a pretend squabble amongst kids.]

Pepe: [amb èmfasi] quina samarreta més ll- ll- lletja que portes nen
[With emphasis] What an u- u- ugly T-shirt you are wearing, kid.

Ayats: [Amb pronúncia exageradament acurada] la teva és una [Èmfasi]
[With exaggerated accuracy in pronunciation] yours is a [Emphasis]

merda · així de >clar
shit! That's >plain

Pepe: <sí · sí · ja ho sé
<Yeah yeah, I know.

Ayats: així de clar · no no josep així de clar
That's plain. No, no Josep. That's plain.

Pepe: sí sí · ja ho sé · però jo no dic que no
Yeah yeah. I know. But I am not saying otherwise.

Ayats: [Veu molt baixa] li diré al marcel que m'ho has dit aixó eh[?] ·
[Low voice] I will tell Marcel that you said that to me. right?

>(xxxx)

Pepe: [Cridant] <marcel · mira què m'ha dit de la samarreta=
[Shouting] <Marcel. Look what he said to me about the T-shirt=

Ayats: [Cridant]=marcel · no potser no si aquí mano jo home
[Shouting] =Marcel. "Oh no, that cannot be. I am the one in charge here, man!" [NA15: 38-54]

This episode is a whole piece of theatre representing two kids fighting over a T-shirt. The expression "lletja" (ugly) sounded childish in this context, as well as "merda" (shit), pronounced and treated as if it was a very strong word (That's plain!), which Ayats and Pepe would not do, as they used it as a matter of course. Additionally, to name Pepe with his full name and in Catalan ("josep") suggests that the school context was being evoked, as well as the line "I will tell Marcel", as when schoolboys betray their companions to the teacher. The underlined stretch in the last line was probably the voice of a teacher.

These naive characters who did not speak in argot, and did not drink, were pronounced in a characteristic tone of voice, as if pronounced in the front of the mouth⁹. It was the same voice used by Pepe and Ayats to produce the exclamation "Ospa!", which was an euphemised form -and therefore not though- of the swearword "hostia", which is of religious origin [NA02: 64]. On one occasion, Pepe said that the name of the hard-core group would not sound good if it was translated into Catalan, meaning it would not sound hard, tough enough. In order to illustrate this he produced the actual translation with this same voice as evidence that Catalan would not have provided the right tone [My own recollection]. In extract 93 (appendix 1), Pepe dramatised a Catalan with this voice, which was counter-posed to that of the **penya**, which was animated in Stylised Spanish.

Such voices point to a Catalan stereotype which was used in a similar way to the Stylised Spanish characters (See subsection 5.21/d, extract 51, and below) to perform dramatisations of figures which should be seen as 'other', useful for conveying irony, distance, unseriousness, and so on. The Ramblers used plenty of these. For instance, after I explained to Irene and Alicia that I walked to the tube-station everyday after I saw them, Alicia said to Irene "és molt esportista" (he is quite a sportsman). Although the voice was plain and the statement might have been taken as serious, the switch to Catalan indicated that she was exaggerating, that is, teasing [FB10: 188-191]. Irene, once, had an acute drive to pass water, and expressed it through a Catalan phrase, which allowed her to distance herself from what she was saying as if it was half a joke, thus diminishing the demeaning potential of using scatological expressions [FA10: 334-9]. With one of the Ramblers men, for instance, I had several short conversations in Catalan. This happened late at night and the point of it was that speaking Catalan was 'a laugh' [FB11: 77-8]. One of the couples in the Ramblers, one day, decided to have a conversation in Catalan half to practice half to have fun. The event was presented to others as great fun [GB03: 75-92; IB01: 863-870]. Isolated exclamations, some of which have already been shown, were also produced often, such as "renoi!" (blimey!).

These type of voices were also used in particular genres, what Goffman (1974) would call 'out-of-frame' activity. These were interventions which had to do with the organisation of the groups, but not with the fun making: for instance, coordination work and greetings. In greetings, it is very typical to adopt a half serious half joking stance, as if our showing concern for other people should not be carried too far or taken too seriously. In my fieldwork, it was not unusual for me to be greeted in Catalan, particularly by Spanish speakers, although this did not imply that the person wanted to engage in a lengthy conversation in this language. Additionally, moves such as "què fan?" (what are they doing), "on anem?" (where are we going?), or "nem?" (let's go?) were also common [FB06: 300-2]. Such proposals for the group to take a course of action could be taken as mitigated (in Brown & Levinson's sense) if they were done in Catalan, as they could be understood potentially as a joke¹⁰. This use of codeswitching to soften a proposal, a request or an order also appears in extracts 51 and 54. Goodwin (1990) also reports on girls diminishing the force of commands through dramatisations of characters.

If, instead of analysing switches into Catalan, we focus on switches into Spanish in Catalan narratives, the asymmetrical position of the two languages amongst the Trepas becomes much clearer¹¹. Spanish was the actual voice of the group, it was the voice in which their world was experienced and their views were constructed. The switches into Spanish were a constant reminder that the world outside the narrative was 'in Spanish'.

Extract 64

Jaume: ya · pero tu te'n recordes que · aquell dia que va haver aquell

Yeah, but you remember that · that day when there was that

pique no[?] dee · · *que si los porros a fuera si los porros ad-* · pues
row, right? over: "*Whether joints outside or joints insid-*".

elles fan lo mateix · · i no es donen compte no? · y nosotros [...]

Well, they [the women] do the same. · And they do not realise it, right? and we [men] [...]

[IA03: 1236-40]

Here Jaume referred to the argument the group had about men spending most of the time outside premises and leaving the women on their own (see subsection 4.3/a). The switching did not actually reproduce anybody's intervention (part of which had been in Catalan), but a particular representation of what the argument was about. A similar example was provided by Pepe when he described people's gener

reaction to the working conditions of the training school [IA06: 733-67]. There is also an example from Patricia in the group discussion, as she was talking about the separation between the genders:

Extract 65

Patricia: ... també fumo · · i sí que ho veig el rotllo- no ho veig pel rotllo de
... I also smoke. · And I do see it. The issue, I don't see it as a question of

gustos · ho veig pel rotllo de · *el corrillo de chicos el corrillo de*
tastes, I see is as a question of · *the little ring of boys the little ring of*

chicas
girls [GA01: 998-1001]

Patricia chose to depict a typical image of the group in Spanish¹². Congruently with this image that the group was contained in and expressed through Spanish, there are various examples of the 'view' or 'opinion' of the group or the *penya* animated in this language. Extract 93 in appendix I illustrates this point, as well as extract 45 in 5.12/c, and extract 64 above can also be taken in this way. It is, then, not a surprise that Jaume represented his thoughts in Spanish, although he considered himself to be a full bilingual, and many saw him as a Catalan speaker:

Extract 66

Jaume: vull llegir però · · me costa un montón d'agafar un llibre i és que
I want to read, but · · I its awfully difficult for me to pick up a book and it's that

es un- · si tingués molt més temps no[?] però és que · · quan tinc
is a- if I had much more time, right? But it is like this · · When I can

algo que fer · penso · *me leo un libro · o me voy a la calle con los*
do something, I think: "*do I read a book... or do I go out in the street with my*

colegas · prefereixo estar amb la gent no[?] la veritat · prefereixò
mates?" I prefer to be with these people, right? The truth is: I prefer

estar amb la gent que estar amb un llibre
to be with these people than to be with a book. [IA03: 971-7]

In extract 49, Pepe also quoted his thoughts in Spanish. In thinking aloud in this way, people gave the impression as if they were actually animating their inner selves, or the persons they normally were as opposed to their current selves as interviewees.

Additionally, many switches to Spanish appeared to be done simply to add dramatism and liveliness to a narrative. In these cases, the Spanish voice took over parts of the narrative mode itself, although it became a voice meant to display more involvement, accompanied by gestures and vocal effects. A close analysis of a very long narrative illustrating this point is given in appendix I (extract 95). A simpler example also came up in Patricia's interview. She compared a debate on feminism given in a secondary school -where people were a bit passive- with one given at the university, where "*t'empiezan con elucubraciones*" (they start with long-winded theoretisations). Here the switch to Spanish is accompanied with a mimicking voice expressing scorn for such lucubrating persons. Of course, there is an ambivalence here, as I could have counted this episode as a Spanish voice with a negative overtone. Nevertheless, I believe that Spanish was used here as a device to stress dramatism.

Other Spanish voices were of an even more subtle quality. Up to now I have presented switches which one would probably represent in written language between quotation marks, even though the exact meaning of each voice was difficult to describe. But with some voices, I was left with the feeling that the narrator had simply changed.

Clara had Spanish as her family language and she could speak Catalan fluently. Nevertheless, she rarely spoke only in Catalan. When speaking with me, she would switch languages very often, and sometimes it was not clear to me whether there was actually a main language in her speech. Often, she would switch to Spanish for a quote, a dramatisation, a joke, an irony, and not come back when the purpose of the switch seemed to have ended. So I found myself, across several turns, responding in Catalan to her Spanish turns, and wondering if I should not accommodate to her. When sometimes I did, she would often switch back to Catalan, which was all the more disorientating.

To interpret Clara's switching practices, more than just stylistic effects should be taken into consideration. Because of her political beliefs, Clara felt she had to speak Catalan with me or, at least, to encourage me to maintain my language [IA10: 450-70]. Hence the probable explanation of many 'comebacks' to Catalan. And also, she confessed that she had some difficulties of expression in Catalan, which she solved by simply switching to Spanish [IA10: 711-8].

But, what could these 'difficulties of expression' consist of? I have located some examples which illustrate the difference between Clara's Catalan and Spanish voices:

Extract 67

Clara: *no siempree* [Ella riu] · *te invito a comer · qué[?]*
Not always [She laughs]. *I invite you to eat. What?*

Joan: *brazo de gitano* [i li ensenyo el braç, ella riu fort]
A 'Gypsy's arm' [I show her my arm; it is a pun, because a 'Gypsy's arm' is a type of cake; she laughs strongly].

Clara: *ei pues el dimarts vens a casa* · [assenteixo] · *qué te ha parecido mi*
Hey, then you come Tuesday to my place. [I nod] *How did you find my*

casa bonita >e fea [riu]
house: beautiful >or ugly?

Joan: *<sí · noo*
<yes · noo. [NA15: 511-9]

After many turns of jokes, Clara switched to Catalan (underlined) probably to ensure that I took her invitation seriously. The Catalan voice was now serious and flat. After a pause where I shyly accepted, Clara asked my opinion about her flat, which I had already seen. The voice this time (a soft, higher pitch) was half ironic and opened the possibility of joking again. Additionally, putting her question in terms of "beautiful" or "ugly" draws upon the childish language analysed in extract 63 above. The proper slang words would be "guai", "txatxi" (great) or "cutre" (crap). The ironic tone expressed the same distance I described in the dramatisation of a fashion show (4.32/c).

Now it could be said that this was a Spanish 'funny voice' comparable to the Catalan ones mentioned above. Nevertheless, it was a voice of hers, not a voice of someone else. This ironic tone was one of her most usual selves in peer group talk. Indeed, probably everybody had a voice like this, but I only caught it

contrasted in this way by her (which does not mean that others did not do the same; they probably did). Clara's Catalan voices tended to become a flat, dry, matter of fact, radio-weather-forecast kind of voice. Spanish was more the teasing tone, or the affectionate tone, or the fun tone, the lively tone, the tone of the everyday talk of the group. So, in my first nights out with the Trepas, Clara said to me various times things such as "*you will turn into a cynical person*" or "*you are very witty*" through switches to Spanish [FA07: 83-5; FA09: 223-5]. These were some of the skilful moves she performed so that we could get to know each other by talking half seriously half jokingly about our characters. It is also an indication of the ways in which relationships were established and developed within the group. Because having fun was the main frame of activity, some otherwise serious issues could be talked about in the form of jokes. This voice was therefore fundamental to the identities of the group, and this explains why Clara could not be brought to maintain Catalan throughout a whole conversation.

The importance of the expressive contrast between her Catalan and Spanish voices can be shown in the following extract, where she was explaining to me how she convinced a friend to start her studies again:

Extract 68

*Clara: estava al centre cívic · · comiendole la cabeza a la · a la natalia · ·
I was in the Civic Centre · · "nagging · Natalia*

*para que se matriculara [...] · matriculaté · porque no sé qué ·
so that she would register [...] · "Do register, because I don't know,*

*porque con (xx) llegarás muy lejos
because with (xx) you'll get very far" [IA10: 180-3]*

The idea of "convincing Natalia" was expressed through the slang or colloquial expression "*comer la cabeza*" (literally: eat someone's head). If this was expressed in a flat, standard voice, it might have sounded paternalistic of Clara to do this with a friend. Additionally, the cliché line "*you'll get very far*" also expressed irony.

d) Conclusion

Two final points can be made to conclude this chapter. In the first section, I discussed the ideological world associated with Stylised Spanish and with argot, and I showed through various examples how these varieties were constructed as a response to the discourses of authority and mainstream values; and how these varieties were associated with the construction of the various forms of masculinity I had analysed in chapter 4. I also said that the Trepas people used as much argot when they spoke Catalan as when they spoke Spanish. In the second section, I also suggested that the Catalan language could be associated with discourses of authority as well as Spanish. The easy conclusion would be that the Catalan appropriation of argot was equivalent to the one accomplished in Spanish.

But this reasoning overlooks a key factor, which is that the relationship between Catalan and argot was not akin to that of Spanish. The funny, silly, childish and non-masculine voices that were expressed in Catalan were the tell-tale sign for this difference. Indeed, most of the argot vocabulary used in Barcelona is of visible Spanish origin. I have heard several times people saying (though not amongst my groups) that no Catalan argot exists anymore. In a declaration signed in 1979, a group of top brass Catalan linguists warned that the present constitutional arrangement would not suffice to reverse the trend towards greater use of Spanish. One of the examples they put was:

"...only to mention a significant example, with regard to the younger generations, that the introduction and adoption of the counter-cultural language and, as a whole, of a generational idiolect, is being carried out exclusively in Spanish." (Argente et al., 1979: 256).

Indeed, the Catalan argot is 'borrowed' from forms of Spanish, and there is evidence that the Trepas perceived it to be so as well. In extract 42 (5.12), Jaume depicted the lower class gangs speaking argot as speaking in Spanish. Indeed, this kind of people speak Spanish in the public imagery.

Finally, this explains why I usually met with instances of code-switching I could not at first understand. In situations where Catalan would have been expected, phrases and jokes were made in Spanish. I usually understood these utterances because of the tone and the content accompanying them. But *why* they were in Spanish was not obvious to me. It made no sense to me to treat Catalan as a 'non tough', non masculine language. The strongest forms of swearing I have ever heard were in Catalan. A selection of these was published with their English translations by Vinyoles (1983), and it combines religious, scatological and sexual themes.

Indeed, Catalan was a relatively dry, one-sided, inexpressive, maybe mono-voiced language in the way they used it. This is not to say that some people did not show that they could express themselves very well in it, even in an informal style. But I perceived this only in interviews, where I was the audience. Within the group, the expressive potentials of Catalan were not brought in, or they were clearly not as fully exploited as these of Spanish.

I do not want to imply that Catalan received such a treatment because it was planned by the young people that it should be this way. These findings must be contrasted with considerations about the conditions in which the expressive potential, the voices, of Catalan could be developed. I intend to do this in the following chapters.

Notes to section 5.2

¹ In my data, when people were animated *as* speaking Catalan or Spanish, the choice of language usually coincided with the reported language, and it was always of if the voice was animated through code-switching. Irene and Alicia reproduced their mothers' Catalan with a switch, the latter with a Tarragonian accent [IB06: 878-82; IB07: 501-2]. Patricia animated in Catalan a reflection of a Spanish speaker deciding to speak Catalan [IA04: 876-84]. Pepe and Clara accurately reported dialogues with Catalan speakers with whom they tried unsuccessfully to speak Catalan [FA07: 311-18; IA06: 478-81; IA10: 724-37].

² An "*independentista*" is a person who supports the establishment of a Catalan state.

³ For instance, it is very common in Catalonia for people to quote characters from films and television programmes in the 'wrong' language.

⁴ There is no reference to such animal in the Catalan edition of Peterson *et al* (1983). Although it might correspond to a dialectal denomination of a known species, it is more probably an elaborated insult.

⁵ I was often asked for the Catalan equivalent of words or expressions, as they probably felt that my geographical background and level of studies gave me some authority on the matter. Some of the questions referred to items common in all registers of Catalan. Linguists might take this as a sign that the linguistic proficiency of these young people was higher in Spanish than in Catalan. This is probably true if we take the standard language as the point of reference. It does not give many indications, though, of the level of fluency actually displayed in normal conversation. The Catalan spoken by the Trepas was quite full of borrowings, loan-words and semantic, phonological, morphological and syntactical calques from Spanish, as compared with the standard. In this circumstance, this people could not know many linguistic items which are common in predominantly Catalan-speaking areas. Some of the linguistic forms they reportedly did not know were: "varen" instead of "van" (an auxiliary verb used to construct the past tense); "trençar" for "tombar" (to turn, as when driving); "portar-se l'oli" (to come fully equipped); "llima" (file, metaphorically a person who eats a lot). Some were clear dialectalisms from my home town: "tomata" for "tomàquet" (tomato); "carpanta" (big hunger); "romaguera" (thorn-metaphorically referring to acquaintances to whom one gets 'stuck' chatting in the street).

⁶ The theme of considering others' languages as strange, weird, difficult, obscure and the like is by no means new or original, but universal. That it only depends of the language you come from is shown by the common example of "alberginia" (aubergine, Spanish "*berenjena*"), usually pointed out as a particularly funny word by Spanish speakers [IB04: 775-82]. Some traditional anti-catalanist genres assert this strangeness, particularly from the years of the dictatorship: "*hablar en cristiano*" (speak in a Christian way), or simply "*habla bien*" (speak properly), a sentence.

⁷ I heard Pepe and Salva complain about the usually stereotyping and exaggerated treatment that these youth groups receive in the press [FA16: 17-26]. Although it is true that some discos and bars attract the most enthusiastic followers of a particular movement, natural groups of young people are usually diverse according to my experience. So if I said that the Ramblers were heavies and the Trepas were punkies, I would have to overlook many members who would clearly oppose such a statement (first of all, women), and I would probably overlook the fact that both heavies and punkies themselves listen to a very varied range of music styles. Being heavy or being punkie implies particular modes of participation and involvement in social activities where particular music styles and ideas become relevant. Nevertheless, it does not exclude the possibility of developing other tastes and relationships.

⁸ There is the possibility that my presence in the events described prevented the expression of outright rejection to Catalan identity.

⁹ It was also my impression that the particular type of Spanish spoken in working class neighbourhoods was made to sound in the back of the mouth and the throat, a resource exaggerated in dramatisations of Andalusian speakers. Catalan was, at least, not so much 'backed' and it is significant that the Catalan 'funny' voices were usually done by bringing the sounding space of the voice forward and to the nasal cavity. This recalls Bourdieu's (1991a, p. 86-7) remarks on 'la gueule' (the throat) and 'la bouche' (the mouth) as contrasting patterns of vocalicity between the working classes and the bourgeoisie, with their corresponding overtones of masculinity and femininity respectively.

¹⁰ In so far as a proposal or a command can be face threatening to the audience, or to the speaker if it is not heeded, strategies of mitigation contribute to protect the faces of the participants (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

¹¹ It is obviously not possible to argue this point with regard to the Ramblers, as they did not speak Catalan. Of course, this fact implies that, for the Ramblers, the Catalan language was much more of an alien thing than for the Trepas.

¹² Local bilinguals could come up with an alternative explanation: "*Corrillo*" has no obvious equivalent in Catalan. Indeed, I have heard all types of polyglots saying that sometimes words of other languages come to mind more easily. One example in itself does not prove anything. Nevertheless, this kind of switch was much more usual from Catalan to Spanish, probably an indication of the language which was more used. Additionally, Patricia could have just 'borrowed' the word (and adapted it phonetically) without inserting a whole phrase in Spanish.

6.

TOUGH CHOICES

In chapter 5, I have focused on the Ramblers and the Trepas used various linguistic varieties (Stylised Spanish, argot, Catalan, Spanish) and how they constructed the dialogical relationships between these varieties. In the case of argot and Stylised Spanish, I did this by showing how their use was part and parcel of the processes whereby the members of the groups defined their relationships, constructed particular subject positions in interaction and established the legitimacy of their preferred meanings. Nevertheless, when I analysed the use of Catalan and Spanish, I concentrated merely on an exploration of the multiplicity of styles, tones and 'melodies' they were used to convey. I claimed that, in their context, where Spanish was the language predominantly used, Catalan voices seemed alien to the values and experiences of the group, including the fact that it was often made to sound as 'non-masculine'.

Nevertheless, I did not consider the conditions in which the meanings of these languages were developed. This is in part what I will seek to analyse in the present chapter. The starting point is the following question: why did people not draw upon the resources of the Catalan language to construct the meanings of the groups?

This question might sound to many a bit strange. After all, if most of the participants were Spanish speakers, it is only 'natural' that they would use their language. Nevertheless, as I have defined culture in terms of forms of participation, I do not subscribe to the assumption that people's ethnic background necessarily predetermines the forms of identity in which they will invest. All the communities in history who have lost their languages are evidence that this link is relative. Also, amongst the Trepas, half of the members were Catalan speakers, but their use of the language was not proportionate to their numbers. My inquiry, therefore, will focus on this social 'normality' that seemed to push Catalan aside as a matter of course.

I will concentrate on trying to understand how people chose to use one language or another in particular social situations. This issue has been given a good deal of attention by sociolinguists: the question of language choice. It has been studied from the standpoint of people interested in the maintenance and loss of minority languages (Fishman, 1964, 1967), and also by ethnographers generally interested in investigating people's communicative competence and the cultural significance of linguistic varieties (Hymes, 1964b; Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gal, 1979; Gumperz, 1982). It has been a key focus of interest on the part of Catalan sociolinguists as well (Aracil, 1979; Vallverdú, 1980; Boix, 1993). This interest comes from these sociolinguists' concern about the future of the Catalan language and the effects of language policies in Catalonia. In the first section of this chapter, I will pick up very briefly the themes I developed in chapter 3 on language choice. I will do so as a prelude to my account of the way in which this 'problem' has been framed in Catalan sociolinguistics.

In the second section, I will deal with the question of language choice as it was experienced by the people I studied. My intention is to establish a contrast between the way this question has been framed by researchers (from the 'top', so to speak) and the way it was experienced in the cultural context I studied (from the 'bottom'). I will do this in order to be able to argue my case, later in chapter 7, that language planning and research should be critically sensitive to the forms of culture that are developed in the social contexts where linguistic policies are intended to be applied.

6.1 Language choice from the 'top'

One of the main areas of sociolinguistics which has dealt with the issue of language choice has been the sociology of language, particularly in the field of 'language maintenance and shift'. This field has been largely dominated by the 'diglossia' framework (Fishman, 1964, 1967), whereby researchers have sought to theorise about the compartmentalisation of language functions in different societies (Fasold, 1984). From this 'macro-social' perspective, they produced generic descriptions of the patterns of language choice in particular communities. As a result, they have not focused much on investigating how particular patterns of language choice are established in particular social contexts. As Martin-Jones (1989) has pointed out, in this structural-functional perspective, it has been taken for granted that speakers simply follow the norms that are already established in the community.

On the other hand, in the ethnography of communication, particularly in what has been called 'interactional sociolinguistics' (Hymes, 1964b; Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Tusón, 1985a), researchers have focused on investigating in detail the linguistic practices of small communities, usually through ethnographic observation and tape recording. This field of research has provided interesting insights into the diversity of linguistic practices in all communities, and has made obvious the need for a finer and subtler theorisation of these processes. Nevertheless, as I showed in subsection 3.11/c, Martin-Jones (1989) and Williams (1992) have shown that this area of research has focused on the description of linguistic competence and has also overlooked the ways in which linguistic conventions and social norms come to be established from a historical and political perspective.

A third approach which has dealt very centrally with issues of language choice and attitudes towards linguistic varieties has been 'speech accommodation theory' (Giles et al, 1973; 1977; Boix, 1989; Viladot, 1989). This perspective is based on social psychology's traditional concern in ethnic relations and draws heavily upon the experimental methods of this discipline. Groups of respondents are commonly asked to write down their impressions about speakers recorded in various languages (matched-guise experiment, as in Woolard, 1989), or about people's language choices in stretches of recorded dialogues (segmented-dialogue experiment, as in Boix, 1989). Also, Bourhis (1984) quantified the responses of Montréal citizens to a person in the street asking for directions either in French or English. While the methods of social psychologists are usually very thorough, because of their experimental character, their findings can only be interpreted as the reflection of general trends in ethnic relations amongst the populations studied. As a result, it is hard to know what to make of the results obtained under controlled conditions when trying to analyse naturally occurring situations.

The awareness of these shortcomings explains in part the efforts of Catalan sociolinguists to build their own perspective. Aracil (1965, 1979) sought to develop a 'conflict perspective', whereby the norms and ideologies associated with language choice were the product of historical and political struggles (see also Vallverdú, 1980). The agenda of Catalan sociolinguists was to find ways of understanding the linguistic situation at home in order to put forward political proposals for the so-called linguistic 'normalisation' of the Catalan language.

Catalan recovered its status as an official language in the late 1970s. Nevertheless, this did not automatically solve the problems caused by almost 40 years of violent repression by the dictatorship of General Franco. The total preponderance of the Spanish media, and the large size of the Spanish-speaking population mainly of migrant origin, had turned Catalan into an almost 'private' language, only used amongst native speakers. The question of 'language choice' became a sensitive issue as Catalan leaders encouraged people to use Catalan beyond the enclosed domains where it had been reduced.

Nowadays, the situation is that Catalan speakers are considered (and expected) to be bilingual (Woolard, 1989; Boix, 1993). Even official censuses only ask individuals about their competence in Catalan, but no questions are posed with regard to people's self-ratings in Spanish. It is commonly believed that people from remote rural areas, very young children or elderly people may not know Spanish; but, in everyday social interaction, people usually take for granted the bilingual competence of Catalan speakers.

In the years when the newly-arrived Spanish-speaking immigrants were totally monolingual (from the 1950s to the 1970s), native Catalans would automatically address them in Spanish (Woolard, 1989). The studies carried out by Calsamiglia & Tusón (1980, 1984) and Turell (1984) showed that the use of Spanish predominated among mixed groups of teenagers and amongst a group of shopfloor workers in Barcelona. Nowadays, even amongst young people who are more or less bilingual, it is still much more common for Catalan speakers switch to Spanish rather than vice-versa (Boix, 1989; Pujolar, 1991b, 1993).

This situation has traditionally dismayed language planners and cultural activists, and it has led linguists and intellectuals to predict the 'death' of the language as a result of its dwindling use in informal conversation and its subordinate position within the Spanish state (Argente et al, 1979; Prats, 1989; Rafanell & Rossich, 1990; Junyent, 1992).

As a result of this situation, in the early eighties, the Catalan government and other voluntary organisations launched public campaigns to encourage the use of Catalan in oral conversation. They promoted what they called the 'passive bilingualism', whereby each speaker could use their own language¹. The rationale was that if Spanish speakers could be assumed to understand Catalan², it was no longer necessary for Catalan speakers to accommodate, and this would give the former a chance to practice Catalan if they wished to do so. Of course, this is based on the idea that language is simply a code for the transmission of information. The interactional and ritual logistics necessary to implement these proposals were left for the speakers to be worked out.

By 1989 a debate emerged in the Catalan media on whether bilingual conversations were desirable or even possible. In an electronic call-in survey on a TV programme, 26 % of the callers said they agreed with passive bilingualism, whereas 20 % said they disagreed. The remaining callers had various shades of doubt (Vallverdú, 1989). The programme triggered a debate where various politicians, journalists, writers and sociolinguists engaged in a public discussion sometimes involving accounts of personal experiences. Vallverdú (ibid.) declared that he did conduct bilingual conversations, but that they were not "real" conversations, that is, that they were only short exchanges with people acting in professional capacities such as taxi drivers, waiters, shop assistants and the like. Bastardas (1991), in a paper written for an international sociolinguistic symposium, considered that this was the general trend amongst Catalan speakers, and that people tended to give up bilingual conversations in the so-called private domain, with friends or relatives³ (see also Mari, 1989). Others would claim that they practised passive bilingualism to a full extent and argued that it was both possible and desirable (Moll, 1989; Rahola, 1989).

Many Catalan sociolinguists and language planners feel despondent about the matter and tend to acknowledge defeat in this 'battle' to promote the colloquial use of Catalan. This was the line taken by Bastardas (1991). He identifies three elements which reportedly play a central role in the change of spoken linguistic conventions: 1) the fact that linguistic behaviour is unconscious to a great extent; 2) the fact that it concerns practical issues of communication such as dealing with limited language abilities, ease of expression and accidental misunderstandings; and 3) The fact that people worry about the way their behaviour will be interpreted and judged by the interlocutors⁴. The negative assessment of these language policies is very much reinforced by tendency of much research to make generalisations about linguistic conventions. Within this mode of description, people who maintain the use of Catalan are positioned automatically as a mere minority. For instance, Boix (1989, 1991) studied the language choice patterns of young people in a training course for youth club leaders. Although he acknowledges that a few maintained Catalan for political reasons, he concludes the following:

"In informal interactions, young people in Barcelona may want to be categorised in terms of interpersonal relations rather than in terms of inter-group relations." (Boix, 1990: 218).

Here Boix is referring to the fact that young people maintaining Catalan are interpreted as furthering patriotic political agendas, and that this positions Spanish speakers somehow as outsiders, 'Castilians' or 'non-Catalans', a circumstance which many people try to avoid at least in face-to-face interaction. A similar phenomenon is reported by Heller (1982: 108) in Montreal: "You don't have to speak French to me, Madame. I'm not a separatist." In previous research in Barcelona (Pujolar, 1991b, 1993), I found that most of the people I interviewed also viewed this 'passive bilingualism' strategy as a form of political struggle.

Another interesting study is a survey conducted amongst secondary school students in the town of Sabadell by Erill et al. (1992). They found that 'only' 6% of the students reportedly maintained Catalan in interactions with Spanish-speaking peers (ibid.: 80) and conclude:

"We face, therefore, a usual practice that drives many to an obvious betrayal in linguistic terms -according to some authors- although to many it may be rooted in an unconscious practice that has been appropriated in tune with the requirements termed as good manners by a given society: these good manners not concealing anything else but a socialising strategy deployed in order to coerce language choice in actual communication." (Ibid.: 101)⁵

It is not clear how such claims can be made on the basis of exclusively quantitative data, but my argument here is that these modes of description tend more to close issues down rather than opening them up to discussion. At least, this has been the effect of a good deal of Catalan research on the matter, as I see it. For instance, Erill et al (ibid.) do not take into account the interesting fact that just 31.6 % of the students use Catalan and 4.7 % both languages within their families (ibid.: 74). This raises the percentage of 'maintainers' to 16.5 % of those who have Catalan as a family language. Still, of course, a minority, but nowhere is there any reference to the cultural impact that these people produce by openly flouting common conventions of 'good demeanour'. So, in my study amongst first year university students (Pujolar, 1991b), one participant suggested that, although they were a minority, Catalanist people had played a key role in establishing Catalan as the predominant language in that context. This was because, in always speaking Catalan, they had caused other people to reassess the linguistic backgrounds and preferences of others at the time when they were making first contacts and early acquaintances. For instance, if somebody had the opportunity of witnessing a given individual speaking Catalan to someone else, this somebody would then be able to establish whether the individual in question could or should be addressed in Catalan in future encounters.

Through this example, I would like to stress my position that seeking broad generalisations on predominant trends does not help to understand the workings of language choice. By denying or minimising the significance of all those who do not subscribe to the general pattern, we are denying ourselves the possibility of appreciating how alternative practices are actually made possible, and the possibility of establishing how dominant patterns are imposed and maintained. It is worth noticing that a similar argument has been posed by researchers on gender in relation to making generalisations based on hegemonic forms of masculinity (see section 4.1). If we insist on obscuring the diversity of existing practices, we are simply preventing ourselves from noticing the potential for change that exists in any social arrangement.

Notes to section 6.1

¹ "Passive bilingualism" is often referred to as "the bilingual norm" as well (Woolard, 1989; Pujolar, 1991b).

² See Figure 6 in section 2.3.

³ Amparo Tusón, in a personal conversation, reported to me cases where the opposite actually happens, that is, that people may feel freer to negotiate their linguistic behaviour with those whom they feel closest to as there is no question of being misinterpreted and of endangering a well established relationship.

⁴ This is not to say that language planners do not continue to make significant efforts, such as monitoring the linguistic behaviour displayed by television presenters in the hope that they will be taken as an example (see Pujolar 1991a).

⁵ The reader will probably be aware of the difficulties of translation here. For people familiar with Catalan or other Romance languages, I would recommend reading the original text appearing in Appendix 1 to appreciate the full rhetorical force of this stretch.

6.2 Language choice from the 'bottom'

In this section, I will try to map out how the members of the groups made use of the Catalan and Spanish languages in their daily lives. Because they spoke predominantly Spanish, I will mainly focus on the particular occasions when they used Catalan and I will try to uncover the conditions and motivations behind their choices.

In order to trace the workings of the processes of language choice, I have had to rely extensively on people's accounts. Indeed, there is probably no other alternative for a researcher joining an already settled group. The members of the group had long ago established which language they spoke to whom, and the processes of negotiation involved in these choices were no longer visible. The strength of Boix' (1989) research lies precisely on the fact that he conducted research with a group of young people who had just met for a training course. Some researchers have stressed that people's reports about their language choices do not necessarily coincide with their actual behaviour (Bourhis, 1984). Indeed, many non-linguists in Catalonia are aware of this as well. There have even been cases of nationalist leaders presenting blatantly incongruent behaviour in front of television audiences. Hence the common claim that language choice is to an extent unconscious or the product of habit (Bastardas, 1991).

First I would like to stress that my use of interviews has been a central part of my study. In subsection 5.21 I showed how people normally did not expect utterances to be taken in a literal sense. I have therefore interpreted what people said on the basis of my background knowledge on the matter (formed by both personal experience and my reading of the academic literature). Also, I have taken into account (as we all do in face-to-face interaction) the particular circumstances in which people said what they said, that is, what particular point they were trying to make at the time, what question they were responding to. I have, for instance, more faith in narrated episodes and anecdotes than in general statements. Having taken these issues into account, I found that interviews were very useful indeed as they provided a window on the way these issues were experienced by the participants. I have also used evidence from my previous study to enhance my analysis (Pujolar, 1991b).

Secondly, I do not deny that language choice can be or may become an unconscious habit. What I am obviously resisting is to take this as an explanation when it is precisely this that needs explaining. Habits can, after all, be modified at greater or lesser cost. Questions still remain about the assumptions and conditions under which such habits are established and maintained.

I have divided this section into three parts. The first is devoted to a discussion of the issue of linguistic competence, in particular how it contributes to the framing of language choice as a question of face saving. In the second part, I analyse the established convention that people must be consistent in the language they speak with each person. In these first subsections, I will describe the main patterns of language choice in Catalonia as a whole, and I will draw comparisons with the forms of language choice I found in the groups when I did my fieldwork. In the third, I will consider how different forms of gender, as analysed in chapter 4, gave rise to significantly different patterns of language choice amongst the people I studied.

6.21 Who had the choice?

All the Ramblers (11) had Spanish as their family language, although 3 of them had one parent who was a native speaker of Catalan. From what I gathered from their interviews, comments, and from some episodes, 7 of them were able to speak Catalan if the needed to. The rest generally stressed the fact that they spoke it with difficulty or awkwardness. Amongst the relatively regular members of the Trepas, half

(7) spoke Spanish, 5 Catalan and 2 both languages in their families, although the latter two were treated by others as speakers of Catalan. Two Trepas had a Catalan-speaking parent who did not normally use Catalan within the family. All the Trepas could speak Spanish fluently. Catalan was spoken with fluency by at least 11 of them whom I saw having long conversations in this language. Another member of the group was reportedly able to speak it if she needed to. The remaining two claimed that they had significant difficulties when they spoke it. Nevertheless, I often felt that they undervalued themselves. My impressions gathered at hearing them switching, quoting and dramatising voices led me to believe that they would probably have spoken it quite well (considering that it was not their first language), had they not been very sensitive to producing hesitations and 'mistakes'. In any case, everybody could understand Catalan and could participate in conversations where Catalan was used.

The use of Catalan and Spanish in the groups was not directly determined by any social variable such as fluency, family background, social class, gender, schooling, setting, etc. The spaces occupied by both languages, the meanings conveyed by them or expressed through them, was the product of complex processes embedded in the social situations where they were used, and which included both issues of fluency and of the ritual implications of language choice.

a) Linguistic competence and embarrassment

When I enquired about how they managed with Catalan, most Spanish speakers pointed out that their competence in the language was unsatisfactory, or at least significantly inferior to their Spanish. This was said both by people who rarely used Catalan and by people who used it occasionally or even often. Participants pointed at their inadequate competence as the main rationale behind their linguistic choices. Here it is particularly important to bear in mind that, when facing the questions of a 'conspicuously Catalan' interviewer, interviewees were particularly interested in dispelling any political reading of their views. And this in spite of the fact that I formatted the questions very carefully not to invite interviewees to take it in this way. The language issue was just one amongst many issues in which my research focused on. Silvia's explanations illustrate this very clearly:

Extract 69

Silvia: Well I speak Castilian, almost always · · I have no problems about C- about speaking Catalan, but sometimes it's difficult, right? Depending on which words because I am not used to speaking it, right? Well, not used · · If I- If I have to speak it, I do, I mean. It is not that I prefer to be spoken to in Castilian. Not at all, it makes no difference to me, right? But since I was little I have always spoken in Castilian at home, right? My mother, my father is from Girona right? My mother is from, from Málaga, right? Therefore my mother always spoke in Castilian and the same to us. And nevertheless with my uncles and aunts, then we speak Catalan, right? My (father) well (is) the same. And · then, with other people, it depends. If I speak Catalan, then I speak Catalan. If I speak Castilian, then · in Castilian but · I feel much more comfortable speaking in Castilian, right? Because · I can express myself better · · But · it's not- not for any other reason.

Joan: and at school, did it not pose a problem, >when it was introduced?

Silvia: <(when-) · not at all, never. Since I was little already, when I started having classes of Catalan, well, in primary school, right? [IA03: 1480-1508]

Silvia was clearly insisting that she had no prejudices against the Catalan language. Additionally, she was grounding her justifications in factors which were beyond her personal control and responsibility, i.e. her linguistic competence which was a product of her family and social environment. It is worth bearing in

mind that some Catalanist people do not accept this as a justification. One recurrent line within this frame was that speaking Catalan involved the need for laborious, tiresome, ad hoc translation:

Extract 70

Magda: It is not that I cannot speak it, because I do, I can speak it. But it so happens that I think in Castilian, because I am speaking in Catalan and I am thinking in Castilian, because I keep translating and I say words that, because I do not know how to translate them, I [have to] change them? No. I want to say the word I am thinking of · And it is not because I do not want them to speak Catalan to me. [IA05: 781-90]

Similar views were expressed by others [IA07: 915-20; IB03: 193-8; IA07: 965-976; see extract 96 in appendix 1]. It is significant that Silvia (in extract 69 above) had a bilingual family background, similar to four others who were considered to be Spanish speakers.

Jaume, on the other hand, with a bilingual family background as well, was usually identified as a Catalan speaker:

Extract 71

Jaume: with her · with her I speak in Castilian, right? With Chimo I speak Catalan, with you Catalan and sometimes if anyone begins in Castilian, [then] in Castilian. I haven't got a language · of my own, right? to speak, I mean · · I can express myself as I wish in Castilian and in Catalan: [IA03: 1406-12]

This asymmetry is also reflected in the fact that people of Catalan-only parents did not express any qualms about speaking Spanish. They simply indicated what language they spoke with whom. Three speakers of Catalan actually pointed out that they had more difficulties writing Catalan than writing Spanish. In their peer group activities, I felt that they spoke Spanish more than Catalan.

From the point of view of face-to-face interaction, insufficient linguistic competence can cause what we might call logistical or processing difficulties. If we compare speaking a second language with learning how to drive, or with driving a new car, we are faced with a situation of procedural awkwardness. We have to pay unusual attention to mechanism and gestures which we usually take for granted. We are bound to produce false starts, hesitations and unwanted moves. Given the particularly rich character of peer-group talk, where one is supposed to produce skilled jokes, ironies, keyings, dramatisations, voice re-accentuations, and so on, it is understandable that people want to exploit their linguistic abilities to the limit.

Additionally, a faulty performance can be face-threatening, that is, it can make the actor be seen as somehow inadequate, morally inferior, not up to the requirements of participation in everyday social intercourse. Natalia, in her interview, revealed that she spoke Spanish when addressed in Catalan by a teacher "*because this is my way of defending myself*" [IB08: 630-6]. The Spanish speakers in my study often said that speaking Catalan made them feel anxious and embarrassed. Some had vivid memories of their experience at school, when a teacher singled them out to answer a question in the classroom before their school mates [IB03: 177-82; IB08: 788-93, 834-42], Mateo's story is probably the most telling:

Extract 72

Mateo: Oh Christ! What ridicule, when they made me speak it. · I did not want to, in most of the occasions the situation was that (xx) that I would avoid coming out to- · and

sometimes · whatever exercise, like this, I used to say: "No, no, I haven't done it", just for the sole reason of not coming out there · to make a fool of myself. [IB05: 585-92]

Pablo, for instance, claimed that, because there was no punitive enforcement, that he simply ignored the teacher and spoke Spanish [IB01: 873-9], like Natalia above. Natalia also reported the deep anxiety she felt in the presentation of a training course, where all the participants introduced themselves in Catalan. After she managed to muddle through the situation, she found out that most of the other trainees were Spanish speakers like her [IA08: 600-23]. Paula reported feeling embarrassed in some situations at work, where she sometimes decided to remain silent [IB03: 105-21; fb08: 152-73]. Irene said that she liked to say things in Catalan (probably phrases or expressions, such as in extract 97, appendix 1), but she said she did it when she knew there was no Catalan speaker around [IB06: 739-44]. Clara went as far as saying that she had embraced Anarchism as a teenager partly because it freed her from feeling any obligation to speak Catalan:

Extract 73

Clara: I realised that- right? that what I was doing was · was to use, well · well, a story-line just because of the embarrassment, · right? well, about speaking a language I have never spoken. (So what I did) was to get the embarrassment out, and that was it (I mean, it is not) · it's not throwing the idea out. I was very aware · of the reason why I used the (story) why I was an Anarchist, yeah? [...] If it's for embarrassment, well, either you say it is embarrassment · · or just kick out the embarrassment · · · I mean that I didn't "see the light". [IA10: 677-90]

Just as with any other kind of failure, linguistic stumbles could be used as a protest for mockery and public amusement. Particularly amongst the Ramblers, where face-threats were a common sport, anecdotes of this type abounded in the group's narratives [GB03: 118-56; NB01: 116-22, tortella, cumer]. Paula said that she felt very closely monitored by her boyfriend as she ventured to speak Catalan to a waiter, which she interpreted as him waiting for an exploitable mistake. When people sought opportunities to speak Catalan, they took care to choose the appropriate context to do it. Natalia and Magda (both Spanish speakers of the Trepas) had a short conversation in Catalan at the former's request. Salva said that he spoke Catalan with Ayats, amongst other things, because "he is not going to laugh at me" if he made a mistake [IA02: 290-300].

b) Who sets the standards?

Salva's comment raises the important issue that the expected standards of (linguistic) competence are socially negotiable. Indeed, when people judge the appropriacy of a performance, they do it by reference to some kind of ideal model. There is evidence (see below) that the predominant model of competence for these young people was that of the 'correct', standard, unitary language. Bakhtin (1981), Grillo (1989) and Bourdieu (1991a) have already argued that the standard language is used as an instrument of ideological and political unification and centralisation. Of particular interest here is Bourdieu's observation that the establishment of the 'legitimate' standard language after the French revolution reconstituted the way dialects, local varieties and particular styles were perceived, namely that anything different from the standard language was seen as a corrupted, faulty version of it. He stresses the role of the school in imposing this linguistic regime, which is also enforced by the requirements of the (national) labour market.

The traditional methods of evaluation of language in schools provide an illustration of this. Chimo, a Catalan speaker, said that he felt safer writing in Spanish, because in Catalan he was more likely to misspell¹. He was penalised for this with points off his marks [IA09: 548-576; IB07: 532-7]. There was also evidence that the people I studied had a very 'school centred' idea of what it meant to speak Catalan.

One member of the Ramblers who had once produced a wrong Catalan expression was teased that she was 'kicking the dictionary' [NB01: 116-22]. Catalan teachers and speakers in general have always insisted that the Catalan language should be clean from Spanish borrowings, which are called "**barbarismes**". Silvia said that she used some "**barbarismos**" in job interviews, but not too many [IA03: 1843-5]. Laura reported -angrily- being scorned at by a Catalan speaker at school because the latter had identified a fault in her speech. She added, quite rightly, that Catalan speakers said "**barbarisms**" as well and were not laughed at [IB02: 165-173, IA03: 1844-50; IB06: 747-61].

Interestingly enough, Laura also commented on another occasion that she knew how to speak good Spanish, not like the one they spoke in the group. Clearly, their 'bad' Spanish was locally legitimised by the group's practices, whereas 'bad' Catalan was seen as 'faulty' Catalan. Therefore, Spanish-speaking people seeking to speak Catalan were always evaluated (like at school) on the basis of what they failed to achieve, rather than on what they **did** achieve. A more process oriented approach to language learning, and public initiatives to legitimate learner's Catalan could ease the pressures people feel on this account². Indeed, I will show below that the Trepas who managed to overcome such problems, did so by redefining their own standards of linguistic competence.

c) Saving face

In this light, it is not surprising that many Catalan speakers, when facing a Spanish speaker, proceed to quickly do some face-saving, namely to indicate that the encounter can be safely carried out in Spanish. Such negotiations are more often than not conducted in a circumspect, unspoken, way. If the Spanish-speaking interlocutor appears in danger of getting exposed, the participants deploy strategies to prevent this from happening. Therefore, Catalan speakers often seek to act as if the choice of language was simply out of the question and as if it was only natural that the conversation should be carried out in Spanish. Patricia, for example, said that she spoke Catalan in the meetings of her political group, but "if someone speaks to me in Castilian, I answer in Castilian" [IA04: 956-960], and similar assertions can be found for the other Catalan speaking members of the group, except Aleix.

An important assumption here is that communicative exchanges **must be monolingual**, a point which is also corroborated in my previous research, where many defended this position explicitly (Pujolar, 1991b). In this light, the choice of a language conveys an implicit request for the interlocutor to follow suit. Consequently, a person who is not particularly good at or willing to speak Catalan may feel this as an imposition. Patricia reported that, in formal meetings, some Spanish-speaking women made an effort to use Catalan, but sometimes gave up; she said she ended up mixing the two languages as she tried to adapt to the changing choices of others [IA04: 863-71]. My interpretation of this was that maintaining Catalan might have been understood as a form of pressurising.

It is common for people to talk about language choice in terms of manners, politeness, civility and so on. So Magda, of the Trepas, claimed that she used Catalan with old people "for respect", because they usually had difficulties with Spanish [IA05: 812-19]. Lola also declared she used Catalan with young children and old persons from villages only because of their inadequate skills in Spanish [IA07: 907-14]. In my research amongst university students, many affirmed that maintaining Catalan was rude, an impolite thing to do (Pujolar, 1991b). Indeed, both Magda and Silvia, while affirming that they did not mind being addressed in Catalan [IA05: 790-4, 921-4; IA03: 1480-1508], they also felt annoyed in situations where people actually did so [IA05: 837-52; IA03: 1800-23], which they attributed to people's nationalist agendas. Magda reported on a hiking club where everybody spoke Catalan at first, until some members of the **peña** saw that it was better to speak Spanish with her [IA04: 841-847, see 5.12].

It is, therefore, within this ideological frame that the person who maintains Catalan has become a 'rude' person who does not care about the face needs of the addressee. Although not everybody shares these views about the matter, it is a response which Catalanists have to deal with in day-today exchanges. In my

previous research (Pujolar, 1991b), I found plenty of examples of this stigmatisation of Catalanists, similar to the stances conveyed by Silvia and Magda, and reported by Patricia:

Extract 74

Patricia: I can't be bothered because, additionally, I do not really feel like starting to fight about the importance of Catalan because they'll send me to hell. · If I go to the school and I start saying that · th- they have to speak in Catalan because of this and that, they'll throw a brick at my head [She laughs]. · It is as they used to say: "*because feminists do this and that*" and what they may do is to throw a bottle at you. It is the same. Therefore, you better do it in some other way. So if it is about speaking Cat- you spe- you speak Catalan to them now and then [...] [IA04: 956-76]

This creates a complicated situation for Catalan speakers who seek to maintain Catalan. It is typical of Spanish speakers to invite Catalan speakers to use their own language as a way of displaying kindness. Practically all Spanish speakers in both groups did this to me. Nevertheless, my impression was that I was offered a right with the expectation that I would not really exercise it, as Catalans who do so are severely criticised. In my previous research (Pujolar, 1991b), I showed that 'maintainers' of Catalan were always interpreted as furthering a political agenda. They were seen as constantly providing an 'interactional reminder' of cultural differences, and of the idea that Spanish speakers should 'integrate' into Catalan society by learning the language. As I have already indicated (5.11), 'politics' constituted almost a taboo issue amongst many young people. Additionally, I also showed that bilingual conversations were often interpreted as a confrontation (a challenge to Spanish speakers' supposed lack of willingness to learn Catalan).

Another phenomenon seems to contradict the monolingual principle, but actually does not. In a conversation involving more than two participants, with speakers of various languages, it is perfectly alright to speak Catalan, and therefore, it can appear as a bilingual conversation. But this is done as long as Spanish speakers are not addressed in a way that they feel they should respond in Catalan. And here the common phenomenon arises of people switching languages as they move their gaze from one participant to another of the audience, a strategy which may be subject to variation if there is a high degree of trust or, of course, if failures of coordination occur (see Woolard, 1989: 64). This phenomenon was very usual amongst the Trepas, and it was reported by Patricia in her interview [IA04: 865-71].

It seems that, in the groups, Catalan speakers were not prepared to take risks while seeking to establish bonds of empathy and collusion amongst people of their own generation. Of course, the predisposition of people to do face saving for the audience may not be equally distributed. We already know that many Catalans feel safe to maintain Catalan with waiters and taxi drivers, a telling indication of how these encounters are experienced by some Catalan speakers (and one can imagine how this can be correspondingly interpreted by the professionals affected; they may easily feel insulted)³.

6.22 "Don't mess me up!" (Stick to your choice!)

The traditionally narrow approach to language has it that speaking involves a simple transfer of information. This has usually driven attention away from the more ritualistic aspects of language choice. A youth worker of the Ramblers' neighbourhood commented once to me that, when one uses another language, one becomes almost a different person: "*your voice may change and even your posture*" [BF05: 276-81]. In 5.22, I discussed how people associated Catalan and Spanish with particular types of people and activities. In 4.32 I indicated that conversations between Catalan speaking Trepas appeared to point towards different forms of display of masculinity. This suggests that the choice of a language for an interpersonal relationship may constitute an important decision with regard to how this relationship will

ritually operate. It seems inevitable that, when people choose a language, they also choose to an extent how they have to be understood, judged, and what can be expected of them.

Although it is for me not possible to show what difference it made to speak either Catalan or Spanish in this sense, and whether there were differences between men and women, one clear principle seemed to be operating for the groups I studied: people were expected to maintain the language that they had established in a particular relationship. In Catalonia in general, in the first encounters with a new acquaintance, people usually choose to speak one language or another depending on how participants assess the linguistic backgrounds and preferences of the interlocutors. Circumstantial factors also count, such as the language spoken by the person who makes the introductions, or the language used in that particular social environment. After the first encounters, where there may be changes and hesitations, people tend to use one of the language consistently (see Woolard, 1989; Pujolar, 1991b).

Goffman (1967) reminds us that the audiences of our face-to-face performances will expect us to present a relatively coherent face at least with regard to what they consider as situationally salient. In my data, there was plenty of evidence that people were expected to stick to their choices, whatever these were:

Extract 75

Clara: Well, with Ayats [Salva] has always spoken Catalan. And one day, he started to speak [it] to me that: "Ei! Shhhh. stop it!" [We laugh] "(I'll give you) a couple of blows! (You can be) as militant as you like, but don't mess up with me". Of course, because, above all, you, you speak, · more or less right? well, how you have begun to speak with a person. Look I, I used to have a boyfriend who was · half gypsy, but I m- I met him speaking · in Catalan [...] and we always spoke Catalan, because it wasn't · (right? yeah), and · and when we spoke in Castilian, well, we couldn't.
[IA10: 497-512]

On another occasion, when I was talking with Clara and Patricia, the latter addressed the former in Catalan possibly because her utterance was somehow connected to something she had been saying to me; and Clara told her off amiably.

Sociolinguists have rarely addressed this issue, although most bilinguals know about it. This is probably because of the descriptive character of most research perspectives, and because of the fact that the phenomenon is not very visible in itself. It is the same problem I discussed in 5.11 about finding evidence of people reacting to unusual stylistic choices. This is why Boix (1993: 180) sought to conduct his ethnographic study in a setting where people were meeting for the first time so that he could gather data on negotiations of language choice. Gal (1979: 101-8) noticed that she could predict most of the time the language that was going to be used if she knew the persons involved. Heller (1985) discusses an interesting case in Montréal where she was involved in a conversation in French with a colleague in the presence of a conversation partner who did not understand French, and who knew them both separately as anglophones. She points out as an explanation the fact that they had met in a work environment where one had to show commitment to speak French and that they would "not risk damaging our own face or each other's with respect to our colleagues" (ibid.: 75). What Heller seems to imply here is that the two colleagues felt the need to present themselves in a consistent way to each other. Bastardas (1991: 104) refers to this as a "consolidated habit". In my previous research (Pujolar, 1991b: 48-9, 66), 7 out of 8 interviewees also revealed that they resisted changes of choice. One of the interviewees affirmed that language was inextricably associated with the idea one had about a person in a comparable way to that person's name. They felt changes of choice to be 'odd', 'unnatural' or just 'a habit', although one of the Catalanist interviewees pointed out that choices could be changed if one wanted (and, in some cases, they reportedly were)⁴.

Clara's examples above suggest that she sometimes felt the need to socially enforce this 'habit'. Bearing this in mind, Patricia said that she sought to establish Catalan at the early stages of getting to know somebody [IA04: 967-1013]. Chimo, a Catalan speaker, reported on cases where he spoke Spanish with Catalan speakers because they had initially not been aware of each other's backgrounds. He said that, often, they would not change languages even after the discovery of this perceived incongruity [IA09: 506-16]. Patricia, in extract 52, described a similar situation, but there she appeared to imply the choice had been 'corrected'.

The assumption that Catalan speakers should speak Catalan amongst themselves also appeared in my previous study (Pujolar, 1991b). Woolard (1989) makes some interesting observations on the social significance of choice in Catalonia. In her fieldwork conducted in 1979, she observed that people were categorised as 'Catalan' or 'Castilian' depending on the language they used to speak in different situations. So a person who normally spoke Catalan with Catalan speakers was considered to be a 'Catalan', and failing to do so would lead people to consider that the person had become 'castilianised' (ibid.: 62-3). Therefore, being a 'Catalan' (in the restricted sense of the term⁵) would be something that went with the way people presented themselves to others, with language choice playing a paramount role.

Patricia made another interesting observation on the matter:

Extract 76

Patricia: Once you have a lot of contact with a person-, for instance: I -with Clara- I begin talking in Catalan with her and it sounds faked [em sona fals] · · · to talk to her in Cat- to have a conversation with her in Catalan. And for her m- for her it's the same. [IA04: 998-1002]

Patricia suggested that changing language was almost like 'putting on' a fabricated or a fictional character. A Spanish-speaking friend of mine, who had been working as a receptionist, told me that she usually felt very tense when she spoke Catalan with visitors and callers. She reported being afraid that some 'mistake' or slight accent would give her away and that she would be 'discovered'.

This is a view I had not heard before, as if speaking Catalan involved a kind of passing. It raises the question of to what extent one is a different person when speaking a different language. It seems to me that this may vary in different cultures, types of people and even in different situations. Bastardas (1991: 106) tells the anecdote of government ministers being seen to adapt to Spanish on Catalan television, a potential threat to their Catalanist credentials. The incongruity is clearly in people's perceptions of how the minister should behave in public and in his capacity as such, i.e. as an example for all Catalans. In the groups I studied (and I would say in Catalonia in general), the stakes did not seem to be so high.

The Trepas appeared unconcerned about the language any one person spoke to another in their presence. What was potentially conflictual was to be addressed in the wrong language by the wrong person, even when the interactants involved might well speak the same language to a third [IA04: 1003-7]. Amongst the Ramblers, although some people were actively unsympathetic towards Catalan, they found it normal for people to speak it, for instance, at work. The differences between both groups are significant, though, the Trepas having Catalan as an ordinary state of affairs, the Ramblers as a special circumstance.

During my fieldwork, I had the impression that these feelings of congruence or incongruence did not work in the same way for Catalan and for Spanish. Once, for instance, as Pepe introduced me to his brother, he engaged in conversation with me in Spanish, which was the language he used with his brother but not with me [FA16: 285-90]. It also appeared that the possibilities of keying opened the door to a more relaxed linguistic policy in in-group activities. It was common for Pepe to address me in Spanish for jokes and dramatisations, occasions where the status of the speaking subject was ambivalent [FA07: 291-

301, see also extract 98 in appendix 1]. As I argued in section 5.22, while Catalan voices were 'others' (characters who failed to display the locally legitimised forms of masculinity), the Spanish voices were *penya* or were much closer to their own 'self', and therefore much more ambivalent, like the voice in which Clara had asked my opinion about her house (see extract 67), the switch to Catalan meaning that the show was over.

I believe that this asymmetry between Catalan and Spanish voices was of significant consequence because keyings were a constant resource in peer group talk (see for instance, extract 36, and extracts 98 and 99 in appendix 1). Keyings introduced an element of ambivalence where people could effectively establish 'precedents' of choices different than their established ones. This might explain why people perceived that their speech patterns were a bit 'messy':

Extract 77

Guille: I don't know, me, with Edu, for instance, who is a guy, right? with whom · · more or less, we get along, like, quite good, right? And I start to speak with him in Catalan, and I end up speaking in Castilian [he laughs] and, at the beginning, no. At the beginning it didn't happen to me. At the beginning: in Catalan, right? But later, because we mix, right? with more people, well, or [because] you are explaining something and, · you start with a person to speak in Castilian because you are used to speaking to her in Castilian, and all of a sudden you change into Catalan, right? But it is that, I am not even aware of it, right? · I don't know. I think that we speak a bit of everything [i.e. both languages]. [IA05: 743-57]

It was probably a result of this asymmetry of voices that I had the impression that Spanish was always taking more space than it was expected to 'in principle', that is, taking into account only who speaks what to whom. There was also the interesting fact that Pepe and Ayats, who spoke Catalan when I met them, had somehow shifted to Spanish a year later. And they did not provide a convincing explanation for this shift. It could be claimed that this is just an isolated, unrepresentative case. But it is quite consistent with what I have been discussing so far. It is also conceivable that two people might shift from Spanish to Catalan as well, but I would be surprised if this was done other than by making a conscious, explicit decision, as I illustrate below.

6.23 Language choice and identity

In this last subsection of the analysis, I will explore the different patterns of language choice encountered amongst the Ramblers and the Trepas. Barring the very general principles I underlined in the two previous subsections, people had significantly different ways of going about using Catalan or Spanish. From the early stages of my fieldwork, I realised that gender seemed to have a very close relationship with people's patterns of language use. This relationship, though, was not easy to grasp, because the patterns did not really appear divided along sex lines, i.e. between men and women. It was after I managed to conceptualise gender in a more critical way that I really found that the relationship was analytically relevant. This is probably not surprising bearing in mind that peer group identities were very centrally organised and constructed through gender displays. This is why I have chosen to organise this subsection along gender lines, building on my account in chapter 4.

a) Language choice and simplified masculinity

I have already indicated that the Ramblers made no normal, plain use of Catalan outside dramatisations and keyings (some of which, incidentally, could be quite long, extending across various turns [FB11: 77-108]). This situation could be considered as simply natural and obvious, as they were all Spanish speakers and one would expect them to use the language they mastered best. Nevertheless, it might well have been

possible to overlook the various ways in which members of the group contributed to maintaining or protecting this linguistic arrangement. Situations where Catalan could or should be used were common. Let us look at some examples:

Extract 78

One day, with the Ramblers, we entered a cafe and we started ordering some soft drinks and coffee. A couple of members of the group ordered their drinks first in Spanish to the waiter. The waiter answered back and asked for details in Catalan. Then two other members of the group, a man and a woman, switched to Catalan to make their orders thus accommodating to the language of the waiter. Then one of the men turned to the woman and made a censoring comment for her use of Catalan [My own recollections].

We could call this type of action 'policing', and I witnessed it on very few occasions. However, what I noticed was that 'policing' was always done by two men of the group who did not hide their antipathy towards Catalan issues. On another occasion, a woman had decided to practice some Catalan because it was good for her job. So she decided to offer a bite of her sandwich to her friends by saying "vols?" (would you like some?). Some people responded with a visible scowl. Another similar incident happened in a bar where our room was full of people singing songs together. One of the women got told off for singing along with a Catalan pop song [FB07: 58-78]. Also, one of the men told a joke in Catalan once, but people did not laugh, probably because they did not understand it (I didn't either). Later he felt he had to justify why he had told it in Catalan, and he said that the fact that the joke was in Catalan was part of the fun of it.

These reactions towards the use of Catalan were always directed at 'plain' uses of Catalan, never at keyings and dramatisations (funny voices, ironies, citations). In the group discussion, a couple announced that they had been talking in Catalan one night as they were having dinner together. The man, though, was very quick to point out that they had done it "*por cachondeo*" (for a 'pisstake') [GB03: 76-85; IB01: 863-9].

This is an extract from the interview with one of the men who had 'anti-catalan' beliefs:

Extract 79

Luis: It's that it's never gone down [meaning that it was difficult for him to learn it at school], and the more difficult something gets for me, the more I detest it, right? [...] It has never pleased me, Catalan, nor- · · I- I understand it, sometimes I speak it, but I don't- · It can be said that I hate everything Catalan [Naughty laughter], in a few words. Some things. · Everything that has anything to do with fanatisms, like the Barcelona [football club], or, I mean, like-

A waiter chipping in: *(this has not got anything to do with it), you like "Catalanas" [Catalan women] more than Catalan.*

Luis: That's also true [I laugh] · · · Catalan women, yes. [IB04: 717-19; 734-46]

I also noticed that the two people most strongly opposed to Catalan were precisely the ones who presented the most visible features of simplified masculinity described in chapter 4: verbal aggression, displays of self-sufficiency, a stronger stylised accent. However, this connection between simplified masculinity and opposition to Catalan was not a straightforward matter. Firstly, a third person said that he disliked Catalan but did not match this description. Nevertheless, he did not express this attitude in an active way, as the

others did. And secondly, not all people subscribing to simplified masculinity were unsympathetic towards Catalan (it was two out of four in my data).

The rejection of Catalan was commonly grounded on the argument that Catalan was 'imposed' at school:

Extract 80

Pablo: I don't like Catalan. I don't know, · · I mean, you have to learn it because you are in Catalonia, but it's simply, I mean, as if they forced you to. · And because I don't like to be forced [to do anything] well, maybe this is why I don't like it. · Well just like Latin. I find Latin disgusting, · because they forced me. I mean... [IB01: 1042-9]

Similar views were expressed by Luis [BI04: 800-37, 933-67]. They might have originated in the political arguments of the early eighties, where some political groups argued that Catalan had to be just an optional subject, instead of being introduced as the medium of instruction⁶. Nevertheless, the issue was never framed in terms of politics:

Extract 81

Luis: Teachers [who were] very obsessed [about it], who said the typical thing: [Putting on a throaty voice] "because with Franco we had a hard time, now that we can, then, now in Catalan, now in Catalan. · And (what) is our fault in all this, man: just leave us alone!". [IB04: 962-7]

In the group discussion, Luis also rejected a political motivation by saying that he "did not feel Spanish".

Contrasting with this position, there were also the men who said they "feel Catalan" and who now and then presented evidence of positive feelings towards Catalan things such as the Catalan television channel or some music groups. Simplified masculinity, therefore, seemed to open the possibility of adopting negative stances towards Catalan, but it did not necessarily lead to them:

Extract 82

Ricardo: It's what I [always] say. I I-, (I mean) if you were, I mean with- · with people who speak Catalan all day, well, you would end up speaking Catalan. · (what happens here) okay, here we take the piss · and all that, er- "this word comes across funny eer-, and the rest of it". · (x) To me, it pleases me e- · and I think that I am one of the few whom Catalan pleases, I mean no- · I mean I don't speak it for the fact that (it makes me-) · I don't know. But it pleases me, it pleases me to hear a conversation in Catalan [...] Well and, like Pablo and I don't know who else, who don't- it seems that it doesn't please them, Catalan. To me it does please me. (x) It is so that it does noot- · Well, I do (x) with the odd customer. It happens to me the same as with Andrés, because we are waiters, well · well sometimes, well, you do speak Catalan, right? Even if you put your foot in it, right? [IB08: 692-703, 712-15]

Two interesting observations can be made on the basis of this extract. Firstly, the issue is clearly presented in terms of personal preference, a constitutive feature of the regime of the 'simple truth' (see 5.11). I also remember the Ramblers men spontaneously talking about whether they felt Catalan. Some did and some did not, but their different positions did not bring about any discussion, as it was seen as a personal matter. And secondly, Ricardo was talking about the Catalan 'funny voices' I discussed in 5.22. He pointed out that he could participate in 'piss-takes' about Catalan just for the fun of it, but that this did not imply that he did not feel positive about it. This is a clear indication that such voices were always

ambivalent in the way people perceived their significance. While this does not really contradict my previous claims -as the ritual function of these voices was quite clear-, it does suggest that one should be careful in not reading too much from these types of activities. Their legitimacy within the group came from the fact that Catalan could be exploited as something to make fun of, not because of some clear political intention, although political motivations might have encouraged some members to organise these activities, tease people who used Catalan, and so on. The expression of overt anti-Catalan feeling was not a legitimate activity of the group, and as such, it would probably have been challenged by most of its members.

An additional illustration of this point was that the funny voices came perceptibly more often than not from people who claimed to feel positive about Catalan, including women. With Ricardo, for instance, I recorded a long keyed conversation in Catalan, meant to be taken in jest [FB11: 77-108]. On the bases of my intuitive competence of the rules of the game, I also produced anecdotes, jokes and sayings originating in Catalan quarters and which were similar in character to theirs (sexual innuendo, ridiculing of public authority figures, often Catalan ones). These, often voiced in Catalan, were generally well understood and well received. And I felt they created a kind of complicity, as if the existence of a Catalan 'voice' similar to their own overruled any anti-Catalan concern.

In terms of language choice, and as far as I could make out from my observations and from my informants' reports, good or bad feelings towards Catalan did not result in significantly different patterns of language use amongst those subscribing to simplified masculinities. People who worked as waiters or shop assistants said that they had to use Catalan now and then, but they apparently did so as little as possible because they felt very keenly the risk of exposure. The same can be said of women crossers. Two of three women crossers reportedly avoided speaking Catalan as far as they could, sometimes even in work situations where it would clearly be much wiser to use it. In the interviews, these women asserted their right to speak Spanish as it was the way they expressed themselves better. Another woman avoided using Catalan as well, though she presented no evidence of crossing, but she justified herself on the basis of her absolute helplessness because of her inability to speak it and her feeling of insecurity.

There are several reasons to believe that the basic tenets of simplified masculinity played a very important role in matters of language choice. First of all, there was the question of coping with the sense of inadequacy and embarrassment involved in speaking a language with difficulty. I argued in 5.11 that the Ramblers men were especially protective of their faces, particularly because teasing and face threat were central to the ritual forms of display of the group. Indeed, in the extract shown above, Luis was frank enough to trace his rejection of Catalan to the frustration experienced at school. While some members were prepared to acknowledge their inadequacy, some appeared to have turned it into a symbol of defiance against injustice. They did not know Catalan because they did not want to.

Secondly, the logistics of speaking a second language might have imposed very important restrictions on the forms of self-presentation promoted in the group. These consisted of ways of handling one-self with emphasised naturalness, casualness, relaxedness. To speak Catalan would have meant accepting a certain artificiality and slowness. Slowness could have meant that much of the apparent 'magic' of the performance would have been lost. Artificiality would have been at odds with people who presented their way of speaking as something given, rather than something they had constructed (see 5.11).

Thirdly, the 'other' language never came alone. It came with many associations, charged with meanings pointing in many directions, imposing gestures, a vocal style, a tone which he had not appropriated, reaccentuated, shaped in his own way (all these verbal aggressions, the repertoire of swearing, the slang, the accent, would not be the same, would not evoke the same characters, would not respond to the same voices). To an extent, another language is, somehow, another truth. Therefore, it may become itself a threat to the transparency of meaning. Multilingualism is, in this sense, the ultimate threat to monologism. The person who speaks another language is, in this sense, necessarily a person that accepts more than one

perspective. And this is at odds with a regime of truth that only accepts the plain statement, the foot on the ground, the obvious argument, the direct contact with 'reality'.

And finally, I believe that the Catalan language had a problematic fit with regard to the dialogical relationship to authority that the men constructed. In 5.11 I already argued that this form of simplified masculinity contained a deep seated conformism to various styles of transgression, a situation akin to Willis' (1977) working-class lads. The opposition to Catalan might have had an element of this, being a voice which they encountered primarily in institutional settings. Nevertheless, if this was so, Catalan could also be interpreted as a challenge to the hegemony of Spanish, and I have found no indication of anybody seeing it in this way anywhere. On the contrary, the very idea that Catalan can be framed as an imposition but not Spanish implies that the Catalan authority was seen as lacking any kind of legitimacy. This legitimacy seemed to rely exclusively on the Spanish state as representing a fundamentally unilingual nation. Pablo's argument that Catalan was taught just "because we are in Catalonia" clearly points to the wider political unit: Spain. The state appeared as the basic point of reference from where things had to be judged, and other points of reference or sources of authority were subordinate or superfluous. To me, the 'Spanishness' of the Ramblers came across in various ways: a) through their involvement with media sports, such as football and the Olympics, which are based on the state as a basic symbolic space; b) through the use of the category Spain as a way of situating and categorising in multiple ways (i.e. when I was "coming back to Spain", whether I was studying "the young in Spain", whether one had the right to expect pub landlords to speak Spanish -and not only English- in the Balearic tourist resort of Majorca⁷, whether there were 'Spaniards' at Lancaster University). Additionally, at a time when thousands of young people in Barcelona were rejecting conscription, I was amazed that none of the Ramblers seemed to have even considered applying for conscientious objection. And I think that this constitutes a sign that their forms of transgression were based on a deep identification with the legitimate Spanish authority⁸.

The Ramblers' Spanishness contrasted with that of the Trepas, who were generally not interested in mass sports, rarely pronounced the word "Spain" or "Spanish", and sympathised with the idea of Catalonia's independence. Of course, the state constituted for them -as with everybody- a fundamental criterion of implicit categorisation, but less conspicuously so in their talk.

b) Femininity and language choice

As I said, from the early stages of fieldwork I noticed that the women, particularly the Ramblers women, seemed to express a very different feeling than men towards the Catalan language or towards issues associated with Catalan culture [FB05: 301-5]. Their allegiance to the Barcelona F.C., for instance, put them in direct opposition to the men's soccer loyalties. Some of them were also fond of the newly emerging Catalan rock, which was generally ignored or despised by many others. I also perceived from the beginning subtle hints that they felt positive about speaking the language, sometimes in the form of ambivalent humorous switches or passing comments about "feeling Catalan". I also witnessed -and was told of- various cases in which women spoke Catalan in short exchanges with 'outsiders' of the group: with a waiter, with somebody asking for light, for directions and so on. I never saw such thing amongst the Ramblers men.

In the interviews, these impressions were confirmed. One of the defining traits of mainstream femininity was the commitment displayed towards education. It is therefore not surprising that their feelings about Catalan at school were totally the opposite to the anti-Catalan stances. To them, it was just "one subject more", and they said they usually liked it because they liked language subjects. They all reported being good at it at primary school, although some had had some problems in secondary school. Nevertheless, they always framed the question as a school problem like with any other subject rather than developing an oppositional spirit against Catalan [IB02: 25-30, 104-9; IA03: 1503-25; IB03: 129-82, 319-562; IB06: 681-8; IB07: 512-24, 615-20]. School exercises and interactions with teachers and other students seemed

to provide most of the opportunities for speaking Catalan to the ones who were studying (3), although one said that she spoke it with school mates only occasionally [IB06: 624-39, 651-59; IB02: 153-80]. Some of the ones who were working or looking for jobs were regularly involved in training courses. One of them had commercial Catalan as one of the subjects [IA03: 728-33].

These women always targeted clerical, secretarial and semi-skilled jobs which were always assumed to require skills in Catalan (in contrast with the jobs that the men did), even though they might have to speak it only occasionally in the actual workplace⁹. The women who worked or had worked reported using Catalan at work. One of them was the one person expected to deal with Catalan speakers on the phone [IA03: 1579-85; IB03: 47-50; IB06: 663-671]. It is difficult to assess to what extent they actually spoke Catalan, as I do not have direct evidence. The jobs of these women required formal interviews which were typically held in Catalan [IB03: 105-21; IA07: 896-906].

Nevertheless, it is not easy for Spanish speakers to have the opportunity of speaking Catalan even if they are very interested in doing so. One of the women said that she spoke Catalan with her bosses but not with her workmates [IB03: 50-91]. Another said that her boss had started speaking Spanish to her as soon as the interview was over. Another woman had been asked to learn and use Catalan by her workmates and for a while took every opportunity to practice, to the extent that she sometimes broke unspoken rules and said things in Catalan to her friends, an initiative which was not well received by some.

Most Catalan speakers normally switch to Spanish when anything suggests that the interlocutor may not be happy, comfortable, at ease with speaking Catalan: a slight accent, a switch, any evidence of a Spanish-speaking background (Woolar, 1989; Bastardas, 1991). This is typically a source of frustration amongst learners of Catalan, who have a very hard time finding people prepared to 'risk' speaking it to them. Catalan speakers do not take invitations to speak Catalan as literally meaning it, but just as a gesture of kindness:

Extract 83

Paula: The ones at the reception desk speak Catalan to each other. But I may be speaking with them, and for instance, eh- They - they may well be speaking in Catalan, right? and I come, and if they have to tell me something, they say it to me in Castilian. And I say it to them that "it's not necessary for- for you speak to me in Castilian now", but it's a habit already. [IB03: 77-88]

This also caused frustration for one of the politicised Trepas women. When she was working as a waitress in a cafe, she found that she addressed Catalan-speaking clients in Catalan, but was usually responded to in Spanish. She felt insulted and claimed it was a way of humiliating her by asserting her status as a servant, a clear class-related reading [IA10: 724-37]. In my hometown, which is overwhelmingly Catalan-speaking, a friend once gave me a sticker with the Catalan flag and a phrase printed on it which read "I am a Castilian, please speak to me in Catalan". It had been printed by a Spanish speaker who had been largely unsuccessful in making his acquaintances speak Catalan to him¹⁰.

As a result of this, in spite of their favourable disposition towards using Catalan, these women did not make substantial use of it. At least at the time of the interviews, Spanish was still the language they normally used both at work and with school mates, and they used Catalan only exceptionally. Of course, this disposition made all the difference with regard to their orientation towards study and semi-skilled jobs. Additionally, the use of Catalan was not in conflict with the form of femininity they were constructing. If they were prepared to show concern for their appearance and display greater sophistication by learning new skills, speaking more formally or dressing more elegantly, speaking Catalan was only a plus for them. In this sense, they could only fear the teasing of their male companions. As they were not really committed to the regime of simple truth, the Catalan voice could not be a threat.

This is why Catalan could even become on some occasions an issue to exploit in cross gender talk: once when I gave the participants a first draft of my analysis to read, one of the women approached one of the men who sometimes told people off for speaking Catalan, and she defiantly told him that she had read the Catalan version of it.

c) Politicised choices

Amongst the Trepas, most Catalan speakers switched to Spanish when addressing Spanish speakers, as is believed to be the case in Catalonia in general. As a result, Spanish was the language that I perceived to be predominantly spoken. It was certainly the language symbolically associated with the group, not only because of the group's voices as analysed in 5.22, but also because any utterance addressed to the group (a joke, an instruction, an announcement or an exclamation) was normally uttered in Spanish¹¹. Additionally, it was usual for Catalan to be spoken in a lower voice, as if part of more private conversations. This may be because of the circumstance that there were two pairs of Catalan-speaking men who had a very close and old relationship independent from the group. I also saw many a time that a group conversing in Catalan would willingly interrupt their talk when Spanish speakers appeared, and the conversation would change. Besides, the Spanish-speaking members of the group were commonly the most outspoken participants. Catalan, therefore, occupied a peripheralised space, a phenomenon strikingly similar to the status of women's rituals¹². It is possible that this impression of Spanish predominance was partly stressed by the fact that I was much closer to the Spanish speakers. In his interview, Pepe actually said that he was not sure about this [IA06: 391-409]. He was a Spanish speaker who spoke Catalan with most Catalan-speaking members of the group. Indeed, it is possible that some members did not experience it as I did. Nevertheless, in the group as I saw it, there was little doubt about the matter.

What is true is that the predominance of Spanish was not the product of any form of 'policing' aimed at restricting the use of Catalan as such. On the contrary, the members of the Trepas who were politically aware had been making conscious efforts to increase the use of Catalan. The three Spanish speakers who actually spoke Catalan with other members of the group were amongst the politicised Trepas. In the interviews they confirmed that their use of Catalan was the product of a conscious decision grounded on political arguments. And this decision had been accompanied by considerable reflexive and practical work: reflexive work to build and understanding of what sense it made to speak Catalan, and the practical work necessary to find situations to make effective use of it.

Clara and Pepe declared that they had first used Anarchist ideas to justify their exclusive use of Spanish (and Clara also indicated that Salva had done the same). Clara had finally decided to acknowledge that her stance was inconsistent (see extract 73). Pepe also pointed out that he had adopted Catalan to be "at peace with himself", because he did not want to be "a resented immigrant". Additionally, he dated his first actual inroads into Catalan at the time when he switched to Marxism¹³ [IA06: 640-653]. Salva, according to Clara, changed his position after discussing the matter with Aleix, who had argued that the Anarchist principles could also be used to defend the case for Catalan. Clara described Salva's decision as an "*act of militancy*" [IA10: 477-95]. The actual reasons they used to ground their position were quite similar. According to Pepe, it was because "*convivència*" (living together in harmony)¹⁴ meant that "respect has to go both ways", implying more or less that everyone should generally use the two languages as a matter of displaying mutual consideration [IA06: 487-91]. The same term, "*convivència*" was also used by Clara, who had a vision of all cultures having the same value and deserving respect [IA10: 643-57; 477-95, 709-18].

The political nature of such views about "*convivència*" may not be very obvious in itself, unless we take into account the discourses that were being responded to. Clara, Pepe, Aleix and Salva's views were not only a particular way of seeing Catalan society, but also a response to existing discourses on the matter. Clara and Pepe explicitly indicated that they responded to the anti-Catalan ideas they had experienced

among members of their families [IA10: 640-54; IA06: 620-45, 494-501). In the following extract, Salva was responding to the discourse of Catalanism:

Extract 84

Salva: I don't know. Because if Catalan is the language of this place, · then: one should speak it right? · And not because I say "because this is Catalonia, we have to speak it", right? But · · it's to say: "damn, what a healthy thing it is · to know- to be able to speak two languages", right? · · And apart from this, well, that it is interesting for me. [IA02: 284-90]

In constructing their position vis-à-vis Catalan and Catalonia, the politicised Trepas distanced themselves from the anti-Catalan positions, but also from exclusivist Catalanist stances which deny all legitimacy to cultures other than Catalan. The Catalanist stances were typically associated with Catalonia's ruling coalition, and more particularly with its leader, Jordi Pujol. From early on, Pepe had manifested to me that he loathed Pujol but that he was strongly in favour of the promotion of the Catalan language [FA07: 326-331]. In the group discussion, Clara answered to arguments against Catalonia's independence by claiming that "*I am not saying vote for an independent Catalonia and I am Jordi Pujol: I am Clara!*" [GA05: 681-4] and proceeded to argue that she was in favour of Catalonia's freedom as a positive form of emancipation. Aleix' position below illustrates this view from the perspective of a Catalan speaker:

Extract 85

Aleix: [In the political meetings] there is an effort to speak Catalan for political reasons, that is, to promote- too- what we were talking about · · (xxx you may be working) on a particular issue, but you seek (to work on a more global perspective), right? · I mean if there are some people working on a particular issue, you are not going to despise it, you want people to understand yours, you understand the meaning of the other. Then, · some of us, because we are in for the issue of promoting Catalan; others · because they say "Well, I am a Castilian speaker, but here there are people here who had always spoken it." · And you (ask) them to like work on it, right? · Then at the level of [these organisations], (everybody), (then), that's the idea. [IA01: 337-55]

It could be argued that the position of these politicised members was very similar to that of three Catalan speakers in the group who used both languages and were also sympathetic to policies of catalanisation. Chimo said that he felt close to Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican Left of Catalonia) in terms of its pro-Catalan policies, but not in other aspects of the party's policies and practices [IA09: 914-29]. Jaume also said that he was in favour of a free Catalonia, but that he was not a nationalist, and that he did not really feel he had a language of his own [IA03: 1409-26, 1985-97]. He rejected anti-Catalan positions as well [1472-9], and so did Guille [IA05: 890-910]. The principles might appear similar, but the practices were very different. Non-politicised Catalan speakers may have used more Catalan than anybody, but they never appeared to challenge the existing conventions which reduced much of the space where Catalan could potentially be used:

Extract 86

Guille: As a kid I used to have friends, for example these friends of my block who were Castilian, right? · And, I don't know, I heard him speaking in Castilian. And I felt it [would be] awkward to respond in Catalan, right? I do not know the reason. So I ended up speaking in Castilian. · And maybe I wasn't doing the right thing, right?

Because the guy might well have wished to learn Catalan, you know what I mean?
But, · I don't know, · · I don't know why I did it, but I did. [IA05: 853-64]

Later on, Guille said that he had never considered maintaining Catalan in such situations. His reflections seemed more of a product of the interview rather than an issue he had been pondering himself. Chimo even indicated that he did not make any significant effort to use Catalan when he realised that he had been speaking Spanish with a Catalan speaker, contrarily to Patricia as quoted in section 5.21/e [IA09: 499-505].

In contrast, the politicised members' views were effectively reflected in their practices. Patricia declared that she employed implicit strategies to establish Catalan with her friends. Clara, who was a Spanish speaker, used to take all her school notes and exams in Catalan, as well as when doing her paperwork. She also made the point of buying many Catalan books in spite of the fact that they usually were more expensive. She had also resolved to speak Catalan with shop-keepers and in other service encounters before she actually dared to speak it with friends. Salva and Pepe had managed to establish Catalan as the language of communication with some of their friends within the group. Both Pepe and Clara reported having difficulties in making Catalan speakers speak Catalan to them [FA07: 311-18; IA06: 478-81; IA10: 724-37]. Pepe explained in the interview how he had to overcome this resistance from Catalan speakers:

Extract 87

Pepe: It is curious because, if a see a person whose language is Catalan, and I start speaking in Catalan- Now it does not happen to me as much as it used to before. But because before I used to speak it much worse¹⁵ than now, so well, it seemed as if it was, well: "poor thing" right? And they always spoke to me in Castilian. And this is, well, very impolite. And it is- it seems to me that it shows a lack of respect, quite considerable, right? When I was a member of the [party], it used to happen [...] What happens, because of what I was just saying that they used to frustrate you, untiil, until you, until you are stronger than the embarrassment, and you stop giving up, yourself, right? Then if you speak Catalan with somebody and this is a Catal-, this person always speaks Catalan, and he answers you in Castilian, you ignore it in the same way, you go on speaking Catalan, until the guy realises, right? Or does not, or you say "Why are you responding to me in Castilian", right? [he plays a Flamenco chord with a guitar] [IA06: 431-81]

Indeed, this was how Pepe managed to make me speak Catalan at the beginning of the fieldwork, thus establishing it as the language which we always used.

In addition to reformulating political discourses, the Trepas had naturally defined their own standards on what was to be seen as proper Catalan: their speech had appropriated numerous slang expressions, and I never heard anybody pointing at a "barbarism" somebody had said, although they used plenty of Spanish borrowings and syntactical and morphological calques. Salva had said that he spoke Catalan to Ayats because he knew he was not going to be laughed at [IA02: 290-300]. This challenge to common standards of linguistic propriety also affected the assumption that one-to-one interactions had to be monolingual. Aleix and Clara had developed a bilingual, 'code-switched', interactional style.

Extract 88

Clara: Aleix' discourse is: · "Everyone · may speak as they like and this and that, but my cult-[ure is Catalan], I mean," right? "That's why I · always speak Catalan". (I mean)

"If you wish, you can always speak · in Castilian. · Fine. Therefore I always speak Catalan" [IA10: 484-8]

Aleix said in his interview that, because Catalan was his family language and Spanish the predominant language in the street, that he was therefore of a mixed identity [IA01: 291-303¹⁶]. I did see Aleix in conversations with monolingual Spanish speakers with whom he spoke in a code-switched style, although in the group discussion he appeared to drift to Spanish-only when he got very engrossed in the conversation. Clara used a code-switched style with me, and her interview was a fine example of it. She had said that, because I was such an obvious Catalan speaker, that she felt obliged to speak Catalan to me [IA10: 457-61]. When I asked her whether her lesser competence in Catalan did not cause her problems for communicating with Catalan speakers, she simply answered that, then, "I speak in Castilian" [IA10: 713-17]. So my interpretation is that her code-switching strategy was a way of indirectly conveying that I did not need to speak Spanish while allowing her both a greater freedom of movement and political correctness than in any monolingual choice. Clara and Aleix' code-switching strategies were generally based on the changes of narrative level or speaker alignment -changes of footing as Goffman (1981) generally calls them. Extracts 45, 58, 67 and 94, 95, 100 in appendix 1 can be used as illustrations of this. In this way, they produced a bilingual narrative form which did not make the audience feel the need to accommodate.

The transformations that the politicised Trepas performed on the dominant patterns of language choice had been obviously made possible by the particular 'regime of truth' they had established in some of their peer group relationships. They were able to question the assumptions behind their practices and to encourage each other to make an effort to change them. Drawing upon their political consciousness and their participation in political activities, they had transferred practices and ideas to the peer group activities in the same way they had done with gender issues. Their readiness to integrate various voices and to accept a variety of perspectives was probably important in allowing them to cope with the slightly different meanings that Catalan seemed to evoke. Because their truth was a relative one, because they had a different sense of how their self should be protected (see 5.12), they were probably more able to cope with the embarrassment and the unmasculine potential meanings that problematised the choice of Catalan.

Nevertheless, this did not really solve the symbolic asymmetries between the two languages. And it did not create an environment where Catalan gained space in proportion with the numbers of its speakers. As in the case of gender identities, it made a difference, but not a revolution. On the basis of the following episode from the discussion, I will make some final remarks on how the choice of language was managed amongst the politicised Trepas:

Extract 89

Jaume: [...] i una altra gent no té aquest tipu de confiança no és perquè

... and with other people you may not have this level of trust. It is not because you

no confiïs sinó · · perquè no · · · sí · depèn · dee

don't trust them, but · · because it isn't- · · · Yeah, if it depends on-

Pepe: i la confiança passa per unes coses segons lo que lo que · a partir

And trust can involve a range of things depending on what what, on the basis

de què · així sortit aquesta amistat

of what this friendship has arisen.

Jaume: *claro*

Of course.

*Pepe: clar si- sii tú y yo somos amigos a partir de que un día · nos
Of course, if- if you and I are friends from the day.*

*encontramos con esta situación y
we met in this situation and... [GA01: 428-37]*

Here Pepe, a Spanish speaker, responded in Catalan to a point Jaume had made in the same language (Jaume, in turn, was responding to a long turn made by Aleix, also in Catalan). It is significant that Pepe actually took up not only the language, but also the words (**confiança**) and the temporal dimension used by Jaume before ("has arisen", that is, previous to the narrative time represented). Although the word "**confiança**" is easily translatable (Spanish *confianza*), it could be argued that Catalan could have entered Pepe's utterance because of the intertextual orientation of his intervention. But even if this was so, other potential factors intervened. One of them was that Pepe and Jaume normally spoke Spanish to each other. This is why Jaume responded to him in Spanish "**claro!**" later, thus choosing interpersonal rather than local intertextual coherence of language¹⁷. After a fraction of a second, Pepe was responding to Jaume's response in Catalan, and using the equivalent word (**clar!**). Because Pepe was concentrating on constructing his argument, he had not considered taking into account what language Jaume expected him to speak, or if he had, he had chosen to overlook it. But as he managed to evaluate Jaume's response in the subsequent instants, he somehow decided to switch (a decision quite clearly located within the hesitation space after "**clar!**"). The switch to Spanish also coincided with a switch in the narrative mode: Pepe moved to a particular example (rather than a general principle), and he used a direct address (*tu*, you). As with Aleix' code-switching analysed in appendix 1 (extract 95), the narrative acquired a more dramatic tone. And in the lines just below this stretch, Pepe's animated characters begin to talk in their own voice (their own "I").

These ambivalences were very common in the talk of the Trepas. The choice of language was not amenable to simple rules of who speaks what to whom. For instance, in situations where people intervened in a conversation that had been developed by others, bilinguals tended to use the language in which that conversation had been taking place, sometimes overruling their expected choices¹⁸. This was probably because they did not want to feel that they forced a change in the conversation. And it was also usual, as in the example above, for them to respond in the language they 'should' have used, thus re-establishing the interpersonal language as the main norm. But it is interesting that I only witnessed occasions like this in the following combinations: either a) a Spanish speaker entered in Catalan and was responded to in Spanish by a Catalan speaker, or b) the opposite, a Catalan speaker entered in Spanish and was responded to in Catalan (this happened to me many times, as well as to others). This suggests that an underlying rule was that nobody wanted to be seen as imposing their own language because of the political sensitivity of the matter.

The complexities of language choice were compounded by the complexities of the multi-voiced, multi-levelled character of utterances, with their dramatisations, ironising voices, various narrative modes and so on. So sometimes, a remark I had interpreted as serious was taken up as a joke. Hence the linguistic 'chaos' that Guille was referring to in extract 77, and the possibility that the language of particular pairs of people might shift, as in the case of Pepe and Ayats mentioned above (5.22). The most important asymmetry between the choice of Catalan and Spanish was, then, that the latter had the fundamental support of the forms of speaking and identities constructed within the group, whereas the former had to rely on conscious political determination and was dependent on self-discipline. And this asymmetry itself surely added to the feeling that Catalan was not entirely of their world, the world they were constructing in their get-togethers.

Notes to section 6.2

¹ Chimo mentioned, specifically, that he had trouble with a) double "l", such as in "intel·ligència", as the duplication is not realised in spoken language; b) the "dièresi", i.e. the double dot on "ï" and "ü" which signal non-diphthongation, a concept many students find difficult to understand and which is subject to many exceptions; and c) accents, as these depend on the vowel qualities which are often subject to variation in spoken language. Chimo's problems with spelling are common. These particular orthographic elements do not exist in Spanish. Common doubts in Spanish are between "g" and "j" before "e" or "i", which follow tradition but not a particular phonologic rule, or between "x" and "s" in words such as "extranjero" as the pronunciation is /s/.

² In the field of language teaching, traditional error-centred approaches have been much criticised as they tend to concentrate negatively on what people do not know rather than positively on what they do achieve, i.e. their learning strategies. Researchers within this perspective have developed the concept of 'interlanguage' to account for the variety learners produce by combining what they learn with their own linguistic skills (see Nussbaum, 1990). In a paper delivered at the plenary session of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Argente (1991) suggested that traditional attitudes towards linguistic correctness may thwart the efforts towards linguistic normalisation. He argued that Catalan linguists should consider the implications of the fact that Catalan is a second language for many of its users.

³ Woolard (1989) reports on an episode where a group of Catalan speakers incensed a waiter by simply placing their orders in Catalan.

⁴ I have found evidence of the 'fixed-choice' phenomenon outside Catalonia as well. A South-East-Asian Chinese person told me once that he used to speak Cantonese with his father as a child and had switched to English later. He believed he would not really feel able to speak Cantonese with him now. I once enquired two Malaysian Chinese women, who were speakers of different Chinese dialects, whether they could speak Bahasa Malaysia between them instead of English, and they looked at each other, laughed, and one said "no, not really". In Vienna, I was repeatedly told by several Austrian friends that they could not speak standard German to other friends, so they spoke the local variety in conversations I participated in. Apparently, they did speak standard German when addressing me, although I could not tell the difference myself. In my hometown, it is usual for people to resist addressing other Catalans in Spanish even if Spanish monolinguals are around and cannot understand. Similar anecdotes were told by the Barcelonian interviewees in my previous study (Pujolar, 1991b). Nevertheless, on other occasions, such 'constraints' do not seem to operate. Amongst the postgraduate student population at Lancaster University, I have seen speakers of Greek, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, Cantonese, German, French, Danish, English, Turkish holding long conversations with the same person in different languages in different situations. It is worth noticing, though, that these students most usually meet at the university itself and present themselves as multilingual from the early stages of their relationships in a way which is congruent with the student world around them.

⁵ See section 2.4 for this particular meaning of the term 'Catalan'.

⁶ A Spanish-speaking friend I interviewed also reported this rejection which she said was shared by many of her school mates.

⁷ The language spoken by the locals in the Balearic Islands is Catalan.

⁸ The Spanish army, as well as among pacifist groups, is generally unpopular amongst most native Catalans. For the Ramblers men, though, the "*mili*", the service, was a favourite topic of discussion, in particular what referred to its adventurous side: how they endeavoured to break the rules and get away with it, how they managed to get the most comfortable posts and leave regimes, how they got involved in get-togethers and brawls with other soldiers, stories of heavy drug taking and so on. The military service actually provided a space where multiple, new and exciting, forms of transgression were possible, and later it supplied a wealth of anecdotes, songs and expressions that could be shared for mutual enjoyment and for a symbolic assertion of one's transgressive capabilities. Incidentally, the military service is one of Spain's traditional sites for the expression of anti-Catalan ideology. Insulting, nicknaming and bullying Catalans is a deep rooted tradition both amongst officials and conscripts, which is an indication of how aggressive masculinity involves a complicity with authority.

⁹ One exception came from a man who had applied for a post in a public company. He had to do an exam which included a test in Catalan. He said that the test was of such a basic level that he had found it easier than the Spanish test [IB01: 919-49].

¹⁰ The dilemmas involved in language choice in Catalonia were also detected by Woolard (1989) in her inspiring ethnographic study of language and politics in Barcelona:

"The bilingual faced with a Castilian monolingual is confronted with a quandary. To speak different languages would be to give the appearance of conflict or distance in the immediate interchange; to speak Catalan with those who are less proficient is to force them to demonstrate incompetence and to be in a "one down" position; but to speak Castilian is to exclude the Castilian speaker from the inner circle of the solidary -and economically dominant- Catalan group." (Ibid.: 82).

¹¹ It is possible that some people felt that Catalan would have excluded those who did not speak it, although, as I said, this was not the case in face-to-face conversation.

¹² Here the question arises again of whether Catalan speakers adopted substantially different modes of participation in the activities of the group. Certainly, the difference was not as visible as the contrast between the genders. In the group, Catalan speakers generally seemed to play more passive roles, happily going along with the others' initiatives and topics of conversation. Nevertheless, the issue needs studying further, as this circumstance could be the product of mere chance. To date, I have no knowledge of any study on the ritual structure of native Catalan groups. I believe that, in order to explore this matter, we need comparable studies of the forms of display obtaining in Catalan-speaking arenas.

¹³ Pepe actually acknowledged that, in principle, there is no difference in one's approach to language use from an Anarchist or Marxist perspective. His suggestion was that the resolution of speaking Catalan went somehow hand in hand with his ideological turn, without having to do with ideological reasons strictly speaking. His explanations suggest to me that the change from primary to secondary school might have played an important role as well, as it usually causes a minimal renewal of friendship links.

¹⁴ The term "*convivència*", which has no clear translation in English, conveys a sense of harmonious and friendly co-existence. It is a key-word in Catalan political discourse, as it is used as a kind of euphemism to talk about the relationships between 'Catalans' and 'Immigrants' without explicitly acknowledging that such a division exists. Part of its rhetorical force comes from the fact that it does not sound necessarily political, as it is used to refer to building relationships in many other senses (within a couple, between neighbours, between the peoples of the world and so on). In Autumn 1989, it became a fighting word used against a nationalist party which demanded the recognition of Catalonia's right to self-determination. The underlying suggestions were that such a move could damage the existing constitutional political consensus in Spain, and also the relationships between the two groups in Catalonia which do not officially exist.

¹⁵ Although it could be to express modesty, I believe that this wording is significant of the way people evaluated their position with respect to Catalan, as I was pointing out above. I believe that it would be difficult to say that Pepe's Catalan was less than very good. This same stretch of talk can be used as an example. Apart from the fact that he got his meaning across well, fluently and without hesitations, there was not a single item of the Spanish interferences usually punished by teachers of Catalan, although there were some borrowings originating in slang.

¹⁶ I am reporting this partly out of memory because the recording of the interview was partially faulty. Aleix rejected explicitly uniformist views of identity with their corresponding language styles (he gave the example of a famous Spanish literary figure) and affirmed that his way of talking was mixed in accordance with his daily experience.

¹⁷ I do not intend to make this distinction a key element of my argumentation. This is just a way of conceptualising a locally-produced dichotomy. I just take it that an interpersonal relationship is inherently intertextual in that it always draws from the past experiences of its subjects.

¹⁸ Extract 89 above and extract 101 in appendix 1 are examples of this. In the group discussion, where people used predominantly Spanish, Aleix intervened mostly in Catalan, sometimes in direct response to interventions in Spanish, and his speech was coloured by numerous code-switches. Nevertheless, in interventions where he got deeply involved in arguments with Spanish speakers, he somehow 'forgot' his resolve [GA05: 570-697]. The same happened with Patricia in many situations in the group discussion as well [GA01: 602-21; GA03: 60-70]. On other occasions, Aleix started in Spanish and switched 'back' to Catalan after a few phrases [GA02: 575-590; GA04: 325-358]. I also detected similar phenomena with Spanish speakers. Clara got in some interventions in Catalan in the middle of Aleix' and Jaume's contributions which actually constituted 'bids' for the floor such as "but-" or "I do not believe..." or "Even if it is not..." [GA02: 220-232].

7. SOCIAL DOMINATION AND SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS

In this chapter, I begin to assess some theoretical and political implications of the findings of my study. The leading thread in the argument is my reflection on the nature of social, political or cultural domination. I will build on my theoretical framework in order to argue that we should not see power as working behind the scenes, in a masked way. Rather than hiding itself, power and domination ride on the surface of social practice as one of the meaning potentials of events and regimes of truth. As such, the quality of any element of discourse as embodying power is open to contestation as to its role in reproducing and changing social structures.

This may appear to be a totally relativistic position, implying that no social research can be given the status of objective truth. I have already argued at various points that the validity of social research does not lie in the possibility of putting forward absolute statements, because 'truth' belongs to society and not to reality, although it may be 'about' reality. Truth is indeed the product of particular social relationships, a version that earns its recognition because it proves useful and relevant to particular social groups. In this light, I see my role as social scientist as seeking to clarify the processes whereby particular practices acquire their significances, rather than seeking to establish their meanings beforehand, which precludes the possibility of understanding their generating principles. Therefore, my thesis does not so much contain arguments about what empirical phenomena constituted irrevocable evidence of political or cultural domination, but a dialogue with those who struggle with these issues in a variety of contexts inside and outside academia.

It is from this point of view that I will begin by voicing my disagreements with some of the principles and claims of Pierre Bourdieu. As I said in chapter 3, these disagreements are based on a good deal of coincidence about what research is about and what research is for, namely that it should address questions of domination and struggle in politically relevant ways. My fundamental criticism of Bourdieu is that he presents practices as reproductive while overlooking the processes whereby these become so.

With this discussion about Bourdieu as a backdrop, I will proceed to explore the ways in which the practices I analysed could be said to be either potentially reproductive or transformatory. I will begin, in section, 7.21, by considering the extent to which people had different degrees of access to particular discourses -in this case, to Catalan oppositional discourses- in a way that restricted the choices available to them to construct particular identities.

I will then move on to discuss the constraints that young people had in their access to employment, and the pressures that this posed on their identities. It will be on the basis of these considerations that, in chapter 8, I will seek to discuss the question of social constraint, reproduction and change in a way that is relevant to people involved in struggles to overcome social domination.

7.1 Reproduction, resistance and the linguistic market

In this section, I intend to point to some of the problems that I see in the work of Bourdieu by following the argument put forward by Woolard (1985b). Woolard's article is particularly relevant here in that it addresses some theoretical questions about Bourdieu's work by focusing on the particular questions posed by her research in Catalonia.

a) Woolard's critique of Bourdieu

One of the common criticisms directed at Bourdieu's work is that it has a deterministic reading (Collins, 1993; see also Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 79-83). Woolard (1985b) in particular argues that his framework does not explain why the Catalan society was able to challenge the cultural hegemony of the Spanish state in spite of the latter's total control of official institutions during the dictatorship of general Franco. She locates the origin of this inadequacy in Bourdieu's assumption that modern societies constitute an integrated linguistic market. She then proceeds to argue that the Catalan example is evidence that alternative markets can effectively challenge the status quo.

Indeed, in his seminal essays on the economy of linguistic exchanges, Bourdieu argues that in order to impose the legitimacy of a particular dialect, "the linguistic market has to be unified" (1991a: 45) through a historical process involving the imposition of the legitimacy of the state by its various institutions (basically, the school as a gatekeeper to the labour market). The 'linguistic market' functions in the following way: different linguistic varieties and modes of expression have different 'values'. These values are defined by the location of the speakers of these varieties vis-à-vis social structure. The legitimate language has, therefore, a greater value because it is associated with participation in powerful institutions, access to prestigious employment, and with the dominant classes that control the state and the means of production. Language becomes, in this way, an instrument of domination and a site of social struggles. This is because the legitimacy of the dominant language is generally recognised, whereas access to it is unequally distributed. In this context, the structure of the market defines the positions of each speaker and largely determines her/his strategies to compete for economic and cultural goods. People will seek access to dominant positions by gaining competence in or control over the legitimate forms of expression.

On the basis of this framework, Bourdieu seeks to explain different aspects of linguistic variation. He first comments on the "unceasing struggles between the different authorities" (1991a: 58) to legitimise particular forms of expression, such as is the case of writers advocating 'popular' forms of speech. He points out that such struggles do not constitute a challenge to the legitimate language, but that they simply correspond to the struggles between sections of the literary and academic fields that endeavour to impose particular principles of legitimation which rely on the legitimacy of their corresponding institutions to establish these principles. For Bourdieu, the forces of sociolinguistic competition are driven by the search for distinction. 'Distinction' is a value associated with competence in the legitimate language by virtue of the fact that it is possessed by a few, hence the efforts of "petit-bourgeois" to discard 'vulgar' forms of language and their efforts to appear as natural speakers of standard forms. In turn, this leads the upper classes and intellectuals to adopt new strategies of distinction as a form of social distancing: what Bourdieu calls "controlled hypocorrection, which combines confident relaxation and lofty ignorance of pedantic rules with the exhibition of ease on the most dangerous ground" (1991a: 63).

Now, with reference to Woolard's (1985b) point on determinism, Bourdieu does acknowledge the existence of "alternative markets". These are basically of two types: a) the "space provided by private life among friends, markets where the laws of price formation which apply to more formal markets are suspended" (1991a: 71), and b) some "spaces that belong to the dominated classes", particularly those

based on the "transgression of the fundamental principles of cultural legitimacy" and on the "will to distinguish one-self vis-à-vis ordinary forms of expression" such as the ones that support the forms of slang of gangs of young people (ibid.: 94-9). Bourdieu argues that different markets can be classified according to their degree of autonomy, from the most subjected to the most inhibited. Additionally, different markets have different degrees of tension "according to the degree of censorship which they impose", hence the reversed formalities obtaining in the most 'tense' situations within dominant institutions and within the groups of working-class gangs (ibid.).

Bourdieu acknowledges the existence of forms of resistance (such as these youth cultures), but none of the forms that he identifies can be applied to understand the complex and widespread political revolt that brought to the Catalan statute of autonomy the phrase "Catalonia's own language is Catalan" (see Woolard, 1989). Here it could be argued that Bourdieu's work aims to account for phenomena found in nationally integrated and established Western democracies, such as France. Indeed, Woolard (1985b: 742) herself points out that Franco's brutal methods might have failed to gain the appropriate legitimacy, and also that Catalans' control over the local economy might have played a very important role in maintaining the prestige of the Catalan culture. Up to here, then, we could say that Bourdieu's model works in a negative way, the explanation simply being that Spain is not an integrated market. Indeed, the fact itself that some people can seriously doubt that it is a nation-state is evidence of this. The emergence of Catalan would therefore attest to the historical formation of a new market and the (at least partial) disarticulation of the Spanish centralised power structures.

Nevertheless, I agree with Woolard that this is not the point. She basically argues that the weak aspect of Bourdieu's model is an inadequate conceptualisation of opposition or resistance. She challenges the idea that the use of vernacular forms occurs simply in 'relaxed' environments or in totally marginal ones where no effective opposition is made. Drawing on the work of various sociolinguists, she presents plenty of evidence that speakers are not only motivated by the wish to compete for social status, but also by the expectation that they will display solidarity towards the cultural forms of their communities. In this sense, the uses of vernaculars and standards are constant motivations for struggles and sanctions. She points out that Bourdieu's sociological practice does "not look adequately at the social relations within vernacular communities that give rise to the production of 'illegitimate' forms of speech" (1985b: 745). She insists that such "processes" must be investigated through the "informal structures of experience in daily life" (ibid.: 742) which will help to understand:

"...that these vernacular practices are productive, not merely reproductive, that they arise not from a mere bending to the weight of authority, but are paradoxically a creative response to that authority, mediated by the oppositional value of solidarity." (Ibid.: 745).

b) Bourdieu's reflexive project

I will take Woolard's point from here, and I will seek to show why Bourdieu's work presents these kinds of problems. In my view, two main points of his framework need examining. The first is the assumption that people's beliefs and values 'reflect' the social structures in which they live and which they contribute to create. The second is the way in which he operationalises this assumption in his modes of reasoning and arguing, as the principle itself could be acceptable if taken in another way. I will argue that the problem lies in the superficial way in which he treats the processes of formation of the habitus. On the basis of these considerations, I will draw a connection with Woolard's reasoning that the social processes of everyday life must be brought into the analysis. And I will finally illustrate this by showing that such a perspective would be relevant not only to the Catalan context, but also to the Occitan context about which Bourdieu comments at length.

Bourdieu's model is based on his principle of "correspondence between objective divisions and classificatory schemes, between objective structures and mental structures" (1991a: 127). He claims that

the dispositions of the habitus are largely determined by the experiences that fields and markets impose on it:

"The system of successive reinforcements or refutations has thus constituted in each one of us a certain sense of the social value of linguistic usages and of the relation between the different usages and the different markets, which organizes all subsequent perceptions of linguistic products, tending to endow it with considerable stability. (1991a: 82)

In Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992: 132-137), he also points out that many of our basic dispositions are acquired during childhood. The question, then, almost poses itself: where does resistance come from? How is social change made possible? There are basically two answers to this. The first is that the habitus is realised in particular "unforeseen and ever-changing situations", so that its 'structuring mechanism' can only be applied through constant creative adaptation (Wacquant, 1992: 18-9). Its system of dispositions is, therefore, an open system, constantly modified by experience. The habitus is thus a historical product¹. I will argue further on that this idea could be developed in interesting ways.

Nevertheless, in his theorisations on language, Bourdieu (1991a) does not engage in exploring these processes of formation of the habitus. As Woolard (1985b) and Williams (1973) point out, resistance to the legitimate language happens only outside the market proper. For Bourdieu, resistance comes from what I feel is an unexpected avenue: reflexive analysis. He argues that "determinisms operate to their full only with the help of the unconscious" and that such analyses can be used "to step back and gain distance from dispositions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 136-7):

"It is difficult to control the first inclination of habitus, but reflexive analysis, which teaches that we are the ones who endow the situation with part of the potency it has over us, allows us to alter our perception of the situation and thereby our reaction to it." (Ibid.)

Structures then determine us if we 'let ourselves go'. In his essay on the role of language in political struggles, Bourdieu (1991c: 127) starts by saying that "political action is possible because agents can act on the social world by acting on their knowledge of this world," and this is done by putting forward alternative forms of representation of the world (through language) as a first step to establish the possibility of changing it through political struggle.

This principle has a greater bearing on Bourdieu's work than it appears at first sight. Firstly, it is what justifies the possibility of a "reflexive sociology" by imposing on sociologists the same duty to reflect about the way in which their social position and perspective determines their views on the object of analysis. And secondly, by establishing the important function that social research can accomplish the unmasking of the mechanisms of social domination². It is this idea that domination works in a covert way that underpins the key concepts of Bourdieu's approach to social analysis: 'symbolic domination' and 'symbolic violence'. "Symbolic violence...is the *violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 167, italics in original). They are used to designate those practices and beliefs produced by the dominated and which contribute to sustaining their own domination because they are the result of the 'doxic' acceptance of the mental structures that have been inculcated by virtue of the relation of domination. That is, very roughly, the sanctions of social fields have imprinted in the habitus the cultural dispositions that lead people to act in ways that reproduce their status as dominated. For example, this happens with women's efforts to increase their symbolic capital in a way that renders them worthier in the eyes of men who control key positions in the social structure (ibid. 173).

Now Bourdieu concedes that his work may contain a deterministic reading, but he points out that this is usually a product of the fact that he is seeking to dispel common myths about pseudo-liberating philosophies and idealistic interpretations of popular culture (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 79-83). This means that it is his particular agenda that imposes this interpretive slant, and which obscures the

potentially transformatory forces of some cultural forms. Indeed, one can find in his works occasional references to the fact that both oppositional and conformist forms are ambivalent, the most significant one being that...:

"Nothing would be more open to refutation by reality, and therefore less scientific, than an answer to this question which, considering exclusively the practices and dispositions of the agents at the moment in question, failed to take into account the existence or non-existence of agents or organisations capable of working to confirm or invalidate one vision or the other, on the basis of more or less realistic pre-visions or predictions of the objective prospects for one possibility or the other, predictions and prospects that are themselves liable to be affected by scientific knowledge of reality. (Bourdieu, 1991c: 135, my emphasis).

Bourdieu, therefore, acknowledges the possibility of real resistance and ambivalence (not surprisingly in an essay on the nature of political struggles). Nevertheless, this is done in a way which obscures it in his writing. I would like to conclude this section with the following points:

- 1) In his essays on the linguistic market, Bourdieu (1991a) does not acknowledge the ambivalence of alternative forms of expression as Woolard (1985b) and Williams (1973) have argued. In his analytical practice, Bourdieu imposes his own vision of the values of these forms. If he accepted the possibility of resistance, his conception of the market would have to be significantly reworked.
- 2) In a framework which presupposes reproduction, resistance can only come from outside practice, outside the interplays and determinations between structures and the habitus, with the subjects suddenly calling time and space to a halt so that they can scrutinise their own practice³.
- 3) Consequently, the starting point is that the social practices and forms of culture he analyses are already pre-judged as forms of active (though often unconscious) conformism. This slant is particularly sharpened by his focus on the analysis of 'symbolic violence', whereby the subjects are depicted as contributing to their own submission and to that of others. While his work is always insightful and often convincing, his analytical bias makes me feel that he is blaming the victims by representing subjects as exaggeratedly naive.
- 4) This is done through a generalising mode of description that obscures agency by depicting de-personalised social processes (markets, competition, laws of price formation). Such a mode of description is partly justified if his interest lies in stressing reproduction and determinism as a way of uncovering some progressive illusions. But it is also true that it tends to divert attention from a key aspect of any social structure and its regime of truth, namely that it often requires active and concrete efforts to protect and sustain it on the part of the dominators as well. A label such as 'symbolic violence' may sound, in some contexts, as an excessively 'nice' way of putting it. Many social arrangements are kept running through the use of (or the threat of) physical violence, as the example below will show.

c) Exploring the habitus

I believe that some of Bourdieu's shortcomings could be overcome if we turned our attention to the processes involved in the formation of the habitus. Apart from providing its definition (i.e. as a product of the 'sanctions' of the market), it appears to deserve no further scrutiny and it is only used as an explanatory device, as a causal rationale for the reproductive practices of the subjects. My point here therefore is that, if one really wishes to explain how social structures operate, it is no good taking the habitus as the source of all explanations when it is precisely the one object that needs explaining. In order to do this, there is no short cut to it other than finding a convincing way of conceptualising situated practices in a way that a) stresses their productive character, b) takes their ambivalence as a point of

departure, c) traces the processes of constitution of habitus and of social spaces as sites where meanings are negotiated through constant political struggle. Resistance (and conformism) should then be brought back to the social fields where they belong as the potential significations that practices may acquire in particular contexts.

It follows from this that the ideas of an 'integrated linguistic market' and of the 'search for distinction' should be put in quarantine. First of all, to say that the linguistic market is integrated amounts to saying that the totality of social spaces of society form a unified and coherent -though complex- conglomerate, as language is only a particular aspect of the practices obtaining in the various social spaces. Rather than assuming this, I would guess that the question is about what kinds of relationships exist and develop between the various fields. For example, Heller (1994), in her analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in Canada, takes the view that the Francophone and Anglophone markets may or may not be integrated depending on political developments.

Secondly, the ways in which the 'search for distinction' operates in situated practices is surely open to question, as speakers may want to produce and exploit the ambivalences that arise in face-to-face encounters. The hypo-correction of the leftist intellectual may well build a form of collusion with her or his constituency that contributes to the establishment of alternative forms of speaking in particular social arenas.

From this perspective, to assume that the habitus simply incorporates the demands of the market is of little practical relevance if it is not explored further: of which markets? In what ways?

In order to illustrate how the study of situated practices is necessary for an understanding of social domination, I will comment on the research project carried out by Forsthuber (1991) on the linguistic attitudes of women in the region of Cantal, where, like in Bourdieu's Bearn, people speak a variety of the Occitan language (or Langue d'Oc). Forsthuber wanted to cast a new perspective on much research by Occitanists who had pointed at women as the main agents responsible for the demise of the language, as they had very actively endeavoured to speak French particularly to their daughters (see also Grillo, 1989). It could be argued that women's 'greater submissiveness' to dominant values had led them to adopt the ideology of the dominant and to 'betray' their own culture.

On the basis of the life histories of a group of Cantal women, Forsthuber sought to trace the social conditions that had led them to take the decision of speaking French to their children. Firstly, Occitan women of that (older) generation had had to face the poverty resulting from the demise of the peasant economy, which was compounded by the helplessness of their position as women in an extremely male-dominated society. In this context, women wished to provide their daughters with the education required to have access to proper jobs 'in town'. We could conclude, therefore, that women had endeavoured to increase the 'symbolic capital' of their daughters by securing access to the French language.

But this analysis misses one of the players in this game, which is the state. Even though Bourdieu (1991a) acknowledges the role of the teacher in inculcating the dispositions of the habitus, it would be helpful to know how this was done. In Cantal, for instance, the use of Occitan at school was prohibited. Students who 'dared' to speak their language risked to be the subject of punishment and ridicule. Teachers were, in this case, making sure that the message was getting through. Grillo (1989: 74) reports that, in Brittany, teachers hung a clog around the necks of the children who dared to speak Breton. Clearly, the campaign that the French state has waged historically against Occitan and other languages has not relied on the assumption that the 'sanctions of the market' and 'symbolic violence' would do the trick⁴. The representatives of the state have historically imposed a regime of truth whereby the appropriate conditions and initiatives were put in place to ensure that French acquired that particular 'value'. The stigmatisation of Occitan as a 'patois' has needed constant active work, a continued presence, at various levels of administration and public life so that speakers of Occitan could not delude themselves as to what the

situation was. The peasant who was convinced that he could not become a mayor because he did not speak French⁵ knew very well what the reactions would be should he seek to take office in his situation.

Nevertheless, the Occitan question is still a basis of struggles, as I was able to appreciate in a recent stay in Provence⁶. Occitanists wage a very unequal struggle to create social spaces where the use of their language can be developed and treated with dignity, as the state keeps restricting its access to schooling and to the media. Events such as the homage to a local writer in Bearn, the example cited by Bourdieu, reveal ambivalences about the value of the language accorded by various groups, namely those who believe that local dialects are only good for literature, or those who would like to see Occitan developing in other fields. The politicians who opted for speaking Bearnais in the ceremony must have been very aware that they were striking a fine political balance.

In conclusion, had Bourdieu based his analysis on some interviews with the participants in the ceremony, he would have surely identified these struggles, which existed prior to the sociologist's reflexive scrutiny. Maybe then he would have integrated into his analysis the studies done by Occitan researchers who have sought to provide the occitanist movement with a valid conceptual background (for more details, see Lafont, 1977; Gardy & Lafont, 1981; see also Eckert, 1980; Grillo, 1989; Martin-Jones, 1989; Kremnitz, 1990 and Forsthuber, 1991). If occitanists seem to be nowhere near to challenging the impression that the French linguistic market is an integrated one, this is because the representatives of the state have historically and actively sought (and still make sure) that the social spaces more central to modern life operate in French so that Occitan becomes progressively irrelevant to the lives of the majority of the population. The women who had chosen to speak French to their daughters, sometimes not without some feelings of guilt, had not been blinded by any social structure; they had just made a tough choice.

Notes to section 7.1

¹ This has the virtue of integrating a temporal dimension, as experience constantly modifies the habitus (see Wacquant, 1992).

² As Wacquant comments in their dialogue (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 194), this has a familiar 'enlightenment' ring. Additionally, Bourdieu's writings contain a remarkably realist ethos (for example, his insistence on the term 'objectivity'), where social constructions are treated as part of this reality. I am not going to comment on these aspects of his work. In sections 2.4/a and 3.3 I argued that I do not believe that the validity of social research lie in its philosophical foundations in the way in which these are defined in many sociological debates, but in the social processes whereby scientific research is accorded this validity. I do believe, though, that some of the problems of Bourdieu's theoretical framework and research practice can be traced to his efforts to 'rescue' reality and the possibility to claim scientific authority (see also Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1993).

³ In their critique of the basic principles of Bourdieu's framework, Dreyfus and Rabinow (1993) argue that, because of this assumption that practices are reproductive, Bourdieu applies interpretive procedures that are circular and tautological. Any action becomes forcibly a bid to acquire cultural or economic capital, and any denial of the workings of structures becomes proof of the hidden, masked workings of these structures.

⁴ Kremnitz (1990: 88-92) mentions the Edict of Villers-Coterêts in 1539 as a turning point in French official policies on 'mother tongues'. He also points out that, in Bourdieu's Bearn, the use of Occitan for official purposes survived until the Revolution, where the state's campaign against languages other than French intensified considerably.

⁵ This is one of the examples given by Bourdieu (1991a).

⁶ In October 1994, a commentator writing in the daily newspaper "La Marseillaise", which contains a few articles in Occitan, sought to ridicule a politician who had said, in a radio programme, that he would not speak his family language because he did not want to make a fool of himself.

7.2 What a culture has to offer

Therefore, rather than taking for granted that my research subjects were contributing to their own social and gender domination, or that they were unwittingly furthering anti-Catalan agendas, I will endeavour to establish what kinds of choices they had in their particular social positions. I will first address the issue of the 'meaning deficit' that the Catalan language seemed to have in that particular context. I will argue that this was evidence that the groups I studied had no access to oppositional or transgressive forms of Catalan. I will suggest various explanations for this by pointing at some Catalan voices that encounter serious restrictions of access to the public channels of popular culture, particularly the media.

In the second section, I will discuss the problems of access to the job market that the Ramblers and the Trepas encountered, and the resulting contradictory pressures that this placed on their identities. I will then reflect on the impact that these problems had in relation to the possibility of developing new forms of gender relations or of investing in Catalan identities.

7.21 Where are the Catalan oppositional voices?

In subsection 5.22 I argued that Catalan was made to animate voices of characters with which the two groups did not generally identify: official voices, voices of teachers, Catalanist people, peasants, silly people or people who did not share the transgressive values of the groups. Even when they spoke it, Catalan was often abandoned to enter into dramatisations, ironies and other keyings, so that it appeared as a remarkably dry, flat voice, a monologic language.

I believe that this repertoire of voices reveals a great deal about these young people's local experiences with regard to who uses each language in which situations. They had had direct access to Catalan fundamentally through the school as the language that embodied the values that were derided and transgressed in the peer group. In their local contexts, Catalan was restricted to an almost private language used among its less numerous native speakers. Their cultural forms were drawn predominantly from the existing traditions in Spanish-speaking quarters. Consequently, the forms of Catalan slang appeared as a derivation of the Spanish working-class argot.

It remains to be seen whether the Catalan argot, which has a long tradition (Vinyoles, 1978), has disappeared altogether. It is, nevertheless, clear to me that similar cultural forms exist in Catalan-speaking arenas. From a historical perspective, it is quite surprising to compare the present situation of the Catalan language in Barcelona with the developments that took place during the sixties and early seventies. At that time, it became the medium of expression of political opposition with a strong connection to the emerging counter-cultural movement. A reduced local replica of the Woodstock festival, the 'Canet Rock', included predominantly Catalan groups.

From a language planning perspective, the issue is how to make oppositional and transgressive Catalan voices available in a way that strengthens the symbolic potential of the language at least in Barcelona. It is, I suppose, obvious that this is a different matter from other areas of life that can be subject to regulations and direct state intervention. These types of voices cannot be the object of expert cultivation by philologists, as they are defined in opposition to official and academic culture. I have seen young middle-class Barcelonians adopting some of the most common inland forms, particularly swearing, probably in a bid to reconstruct a viable popular Catalan. At the university, I had a friend who told me that he liked to approach people with sunglasses and a threatening look and ask them for the time "in Catalan!" to challenge people's assumption that it could not sound rough. It is difficult to think how such matters could be brought into a public campaign without automatically de-legitimising the popular forms

by virtue of their symbolic sequestration by the official voice (or, alternatively, without the government making a fool of itself). Oppositional voices make sense in so far as they are seen as the mode of expression of particular social groups with which people may want to identify or play, albeit in ambivalent ways. So the question is whether such groups can be identified and what policies could turn their forms of expression into common cultural references.

a) Some Catalan voices

The exploration of the cultural potentials of popular culture is a research area in its own right. With regard to Catalan culture, I can only give some indications as to possible avenues of interest which I have picked up out of my own experience. One very interesting group is the Catalan-speaking Romanies. They have traditionally produced many musical hits, although they usually earn their living by singing in Spanish. In 1992, one music group transformed a traditional song into a Rumba which was passionately sung and danced throughout Catalonia, and which included the line "**Visca Catalunya**" sung in Catalan with an Andalusian accent and a Flamenca flavour.¹ Still, the cultural potential and traditions of these people and their forms of language are little known.

Additionally, in some predominantly Catalan-speaking neighbourhoods of Barcelona, there must be other interesting ways of speaking. But it is also worth taking into account other urban centres beyond the Metropolitan area. In my native town, Olot, for instance, it is Spanish which appears in funny or silly voices, as well as some varieties of Catalan spoken in Barcelona. Although young people appropriate many elements from the Barcelona slang, they also draw heavily upon peasants' voices ("**de pagès**"). The fact often goes unnoticed to some observers who believe that people speak like that 'naturally'. There is indeed a fine line between dialectal forms that are generally available and voices adopted to bring about the perspective, the gestures and the forms of knowledge associated with the countryside. But it is clear that, particularly in masculine arenas, emphasised swearing and a farmer's flavour is signalled as symbol of local identity in opposition to less rough city dwellers. Other types of voices I am familiar with are 'children voices'. These may be more common to -but not exclusive to- some women's conversations, as they allow the retelling of personal stories in a key (half ironical or unserious) which lightens the weight of the standard voice.

The people of my generation had to dig quite deep to be able to find popular culture expressed in our language, particularly because the music groups circulated well outside the main commercial channels without the benefits of sustained publicity, very much like the Trepas' hard-core music. In this sense, the consolidation of the media during the eighties constituted a very significant breakthrough, which has delivered its fruits in the consolidation of a Catalan rock market, whose main audience is formed by the first generation of teenagers who had Catalan at school.

The media can indeed play a very prominent role in making particular cultural forms available because of the fact that it can speak in many different voices. It constitutes a social space which provides varied forms of participation, though most of them passive. Both the Spanish and the Catalan government have direct control over their own broadcasting corporations². However, the Catalan media must stand up to the fierce competition of the powerful public and private media concerns within Spain. According to a prominent newspaper report (La Vanguardia, 1993), the Catalan media (press, radio, tv) got less than 25% of the audience share. The Catalan rock got 6,5 % of the record market (although 17% of tickets for concerts). In areas such as cinema and video, the offer in Catalan was below 1%. It follows that the various forms of regulative power held by the state in this area can have a significant effect on linguistic policies. The fact that the Spanish government has exclusive right to deliver franchises for private channels has clearly been detrimental to Catalan because these stations are monolingual in Spanish. Some Ramblers commented that they had watched Catalan channels much less since the private ones were launched in the early nineties.

In addition to the problems arising from the state's use of its regulatory power, there seems to be internal reasons for this 'voice deficit'. These can be explored by reflecting on the fate of the satirical weekly 'Cul de Sac'. This publication was launched at the time when the first official campaign for linguistic normalisation (started in 1982) was in full swing. Already with its initial publicity slogan, a momentous scandal was caused in Catalanist quarters because of the use of dirty language³. I spoke with the director of 'Cul de Sac', who still remembered in amazement middle-aged or older Catalanist residents of some neighbourhoods tearing copies apart and burning them in the streets. After having caused much irritation amongst government officials (some of them prominent language planners), and facing problems with its finance and distribution, the publication went down after a few months and without having received any of the subsidies which were and are still common to other sectors of the Catalan press. In the following years, I have seen that many of its collaborators, basically cartooners, have published their works (and in some cases, even with the same characters) in another very successful Spanish satirical publication. In a similar situation, some months before the 'Cul de Sac' affair, a government-sponsored theatre play featuring struggles between Beatles and Rolling-Stones fans was cancelled because of the use of dirty language in it.

Another of the problems that government officials appear to have with Catalan oppositional culture is that it often contains a politically charged, particularly pro-independence, ethos. Some of the rituals, slogans and imagery (particularly flags, T-shirts and stickers) of pro-independence movements have become common-place amongst the young of some Catalan-speaking quarters. In 1992, a radio programme that voiced protests against the arrest of nationalist activists was closed down. In 1994, a humorous television programme which partly targeted this audience was nearly written off after the presenter had made some disparaging comments about the royal family.

Although backlashes of conservative sectors give oppositional culture part of its charm and legitimacy amongst the young, I believe that language planners should consider very seriously the consequences that some of their actions may have on the potential for the Catalan language to be used to develop the range of cultural forms that are essential to contemporary society. What in another country may simply amount to 'putting things back in their place', in the case of the Catalan language it may amount to not leaving any breathing space at all for these forms in the face of competition with the powerful and independent Spanish-speaking media.

7.22 What identities can you afford?

I have so far concentrated on analysing the discourse practices and identities of the groups as they were organised and displayed in and around their leisure activities. In doing so, I have portrayed the persons involved in a necessarily partial way. Were we to follow them to their activities and encounters within their families, at school or at work, a much more complex picture would arise. Within these other domains, we would still find traces of the discourses and identities cultivated without. Physical aspect, for instance, changes little between the street and the family or the school. Conversations with siblings or school mates may draw upon genres developed in the world of the peer group. Nevertheless, in all these domains, the legitimate courses of activity are very much controlled by adults, and young people commonly find themselves involved in projects that they have not decided to carry out. They find themselves usually addressed in a different tone, in a different style, with different words, sometimes in a different language. Typically, in these domains, they do not necessarily interact with people they have chosen, people they meet because they like, people engaged in constructing meanings, re-accentuating voices, interpreting experiences as I have described. For the purposes of my project, I was primarily interested in the pressures that participation and access to the workplace put on people's identities. Although I visited the Trepas and two Ramblers in their workplace, my analysis of their relationship with this domain will be based on their reports rather than on observation.

a) The need for work

Except for one Trepas man, the most basic needs for the participants' lives (particularly housing and food) were provided by their families. Because of this, the peer-group was commonly their main source of expenditure. As I showed in chapter 4, the peer group world was constituted around drinking and drug taking, and the consumption of music in various ways. Such activities required more or less spending (more for men than for women). In the group discussion, some Ramblers acknowledged spending as much as a whole full-time wage in a month basically in "*vicio*" (fun, records, etc....) [GB04: 85-153]. Although these were exceptional cases, people generally acknowledged that they did not expect their parents to subsidise their leisure expenses. Chimo said that the 2.000 weekly ptes. (Approx. £10) he used to get from his parents when he was a teenager were now clearly insufficient, for which he needed some kind of work [IA09: 931-53].

The participants were seeking employment against a background of depression in the job market (for more details, see section 2.3). Especially from 1993 onwards, there were very few possibilities for people to work in minimally acceptable conditions. Pepe also said that one could find full-time black-market jobs for 30.000 ptes. monthly pay (£150), with no contract and no social security. One of the Trepas women was working on survey questionnaires at a low commission per item that she could not afford any transport to call on addresses spread all over Barcelona. Another woman found that some job advertisements she had pursued were covert invitations to prostitution. In 1992, the brother of one of the participants had been arrested for selling paper-tissues in the Ramblas because the authorities wanted the Olympic summer 'clean' from these businesses [FA09: 41-9]. Clara, at a point, declared that job-hunting was so depressing that she had decided to give it up altogether, and others seemed to have taken the same line. Only some members of the Ramblers, particularly women, seemed to feel positive about their clerical or semi-skilled jobs, though any idea of becoming independent was hampered by job insecurity and long periods of unemployment [GB01: 400-50]. At the time, the contract system allowed temporal contracts for three years, after which workers had to be made permanent. The two people who had managed to stay three years in a job were fired so that the company did not acquire any obligations [IB01: 94-107]. Other companies had two registered licenses and alternated contracts from one to the other so that people never got permanent contracts [IB04: 144-61].

The scarcity of money sometimes had a visible impact on the groups, particularly on the Trepas. One Trepas woman was, at one point, left with nothing whatsoever and living and eating at her friends' place. Others had to be bought drinks often and I noticed that some avoided eating for long whiles even when they were very hungry. It was also usual to wait until late hours when the entry to some locales became free. Both groups generally attended the cheapest pubs and discos available close to the city centre late at night. The Ramblers, who were slightly better off, occasionally attended some locales that were selective on the looks and the dressing patterns of the clients. If neither group liked posh people and posh places, this was a virtue which fortunately coincided with their necessities.

b) Problematic identities

Additionally, participation in the workplace usually imposes some obvious requirements on the self which are substantially different from those of the peer-group. As we all know, the workplace is not organised to provide immediate satisfaction to one's moods and impulses.. It is not a space where individuals interact on the basis of mutual affinity as in the peer group, close emotional relations as in the family, or common age as in the school. For instance, those who had dealings with the public, even when they were working with members of their families, found themselves dealing with clients of all ages, professions, genders, cultural backgrounds, with whom there was rarely the possibility of colluding in constructing the meanings of their group [GB04: 560-89; IA07: 249-89; IB08: 101-68]. Irene, in her secretarial work, had to deal with clients, suppliers and a range of different inside professionals and craftsmen [IB06: 80-100]. Lola explained that she worked in a medical centre where she had to show a minimum sympathy for the

sufferings of the clients, and the situation made her feel a bit depressed [IA07: 224-33] In a later job, Lola complained that the "*marujas*" she had as companions did not make her working environment very satisfying. Salva had found himself in a discussion between workmates about whether it was 'worse' to be a bisexual than a homosexual. He pointed out to me that he did not even agree with the underlying assumption: that there was something wrong with non-heterosexual options. Some of the feminist women reported suffering from sexism in the workplace (see below). Irene was in a kind of working enmity with a workmate of hers [IB06: 76-86]. Some people reported being in very good terms with work-mates (usually with people of a similar age) and organising nights out or shopping outings with them [IA07: 301-13]. Total coincidence with their ways was, though, rare. Ricardo and Luis said they had workmates with whom there were significant affinities, but no relationships were developed comparable with the ones in the group [IB04: 60-80; IB08: 42-60]. On nights out with workmates, it was typical to "*dress up more*" and to go to more formal locales [IB04: 396-458].⁴ Even in cases where they had been working with friends, they had found the conditions of work quite tough. So 3 Ramblers men recalled, in very negative terms, one such experience where they had worked together [IB08: 1093-1126]. And Luis, although he had a good relationship with his workmates, was on very bad terms with the employer, as he had very long working hours and felt that he was poorly paid.

In a general sense, there were important differences between the Ramblers and the Trepas with regard to the contradictions experienced between the peer-group and the workplace.

The Ramblers were used to a certain personal and interpersonal discipline that was reflected in their practices within the peer-group. It was reasonably well coordinated. People were punctual (for Southern-European standards) and they stuck together all night at week-ends. They always knew where everybody was and nobody was ever abandoned or forgotten. They also dressed in a fairly tidy way. Once, because they had decided to go to a locale where clients were selected on the basis of dress, Pablo scolded Luis for dressing too shabbily. More than once I found that I had dressed too casually myself. This never happened amongst the Trepas. Also, in his interview, Pablo insisted on putting across his point that his present life was very laid back because he was unemployed, but that this was not the usual state of affairs [IB01: 10-50].

Most Trepas, on the contrary, had a certain cult of 'being laid back', of 'doing just what you feel like now', which had also a bearing on the way the group was organised. So people arranged to meet with two or three close friends and it was not unusual for some to be forgotten and not informed about meeting points and times [IA04: 1325-52]. Except when they arranged to meet for a concert or a band rehearsal, it was not uncommon to allow a couple of hours for people to keep arriving. Sometimes, when the group started to move, somebody had just gone to make a phonecall or had gone on some other business and the group had to wait again. Because people had to take different means of transport, they arrived at subsequent meeting points at different times, and it was usual for different subgroups in different places to lose track of the other. This attitude led to a situation where nobody seemed to be responsible towards anybody else. This is why it was possible for men to spend lengthy periods of time smoking their joints outdoors thus leaving the women waiting for them inside locales, a usual ground of conflict in the early stages of the group (see 4.32 and 4.4). Once Patricia got worked up and went home because three couples had started kissing each other and we (she and I) were left with just each other to talk to [FA05: 138-44].

Also in dress and gestures, all the men and most of the women of the Trepas seemed to convey a kind of 'minimum effort' ethos. Appearances were much more of a problem for them in relation to work. Many employers considered the looks of their employees as part of the front they are presenting to outsiders, sometimes even in jobs which are quite hidden from view (see Goffman, 1959). And also, some employers may guide themselves upon appearances to assess the general worth of a candidate. In this line, Pepe was once rejected from a job after having been initially accepted because of his hairstyle, and this in spite of the fact that he had had it cut short in the process [FA08: 2-21, 56-73]. Whether it was for this reason or not, Salva also had his hair cut short when he started a full-time job in a warehouse. Patricia

indicated that, in job interviews, she had to be very careful in not abusing the use of slang, and Lola said that she avoided the use of slang with clients [GA04: 736-46; IA07: 782-801].

The impact of having to be disciplined was expressed by Salva in his interview:

Extract 90

Salva: Yeah, a change like hell. [from the training school] · I don't know. It's that- · it's getting used to it, right? · Cause, of course (I went into) the job and- · It was- well · damn it: "Now we go to the square, a few joints, · a few beers and (a high) like hell" because, of course, you cannot go out. · And, you've got to re-situate yourself, right? To say: "now I'm in a serious job and where- where I can't go beyond the limit". And at the training school, well, I was like, like- like I wished right? · But it's, I don't know, to get used to it, right? Maybe it takes a bit of resignation... [IA02: 550-63]

For Lola, working was such a drain on her energies and her time, that she felt like "one of these old persons who go to work, come home, eat supper and go to sleep" [IA07: 661-6]. For Clara, work was one of the limitations encountered when one tries to lead a life independently from the family, limitations which were set against being with friends, boyfriend, and so on [GA04: 935-47].

It is in this sense that the experience of the training school was, to the Trepas, more of a "*recreo*" (playground time at school) than real work, as Pepe put it [IA06: 737-67; also Lola: IA07: 1218-37 and Patricia: IA04: 1148-57]. Because they met people of roughly their same age, they quickly developed friendships. The Trepas group itself had been 'born' in these conditions. Probably because the staff had taken an integrative, dialogical stance rather than a coercive one, they progressively noticed that they could relax their discipline and struggle to redefine relationships on their own terms. So Jaume said that he liked the training school because he was not pushed around and people showed him respect [IA03: 209-76]. Guille reported that, many times, he got drunk in working hours or simply did not turn up [IA05: 137-55]. Clara and Pepe also came to work very irregularly at the time I was there. This was, apparently, because they felt bored and demoralised when it emerged that the school was going to close. Clara also complained that the atmosphere had become too [IA10: 215-23]. The politicised members of the group also sought to define their relationships with the staff in terms of class conflict. In appendix 3, there are some pictures of the graffiti I found in the work premises. Some of them are in a humorous key, and I am not aware that a formal union was organised.

The staff of the school were apparently sympathetic to these moves, and said that the Trepas were the 'best' group, the most creative, as there were others who had records of petty criminality [IA10: 891-900]. Indeed, what I have just said may have given an exaggeratedly negative image of the Trepas. In the particular context of the training school, they were actually the ones who were on the most reasonable terms with the staff. Once I went into the workshop where most of the men were, and the Trepas were amongst the ones who were doing some work as opposed to others who were playing around all the time. Most members reveal that they had not taken it seriously at least at some point, particularly Natalia, Edu, Chimo, Lola and Aleix [IA07: 1229-52; IA08: 310-54; IA09: 818-45]. The last two left earlier because they found better paid jobs.

The Ramblers, especially the men, also expressed negative feelings about work: it was boring, they were being fed up with it, it was not making any sense [GB03: 1321-64]. Mateo commented that he went through the working hours just looking forward to the weekend fun [GB01: 560-3]. But it was clear that, for the Trepas, life at work was much more problematic with regard to the values they were constructing within the group.

And this tension appeared to be much more acute with regard to feminist women. The types of jobs available to these young people were considerably gender differentiated. As Pepe said, "things come to us already given" and they could do very little about it no matter how politically aware they were [GA02: 685-701]. Only poorly paid jobs such as delivering publicity brochures, or passing questionnaires seemed to be available to both genders. Recent political developments had timidly opened up some previously male-dominated domains to women: one Ramblero man worked in a factory where he said women had started being treated on equal terms on all accounts some years before [GB04: 540-56]. Clara, though, in her experience as street cleaner, argued that equality in theory did not necessarily translate into the practices at the workplace. Working conditions and infrastructures (for instance, changing rooms), she said, were not adapted to the needs of women, who also suffered often from verbal aggression from their male workmates [GA02: 704-37, 791-840, 918-42]. Patricia also reported how, in some tough jobs, women were derided as 'weaklings' by men [GA03: 286-311].

The Trepas women who were involved in redefining femininity and in forms of crossing had not only adopted masculine forms of self-presentation. They had also followed the path of many men in dropping school and going for heavy manual work. Two of them had actually worked in building in the training school for a while. Now most of these women had either come back, kept registering or were trying to re-register in schools. Also, one of them said that she typed her brother's essays to keep her typing skills fit. None of them, though, seemed to be doing well at school. Their stories conveyed feelings of disengagement and demoralisation, resulting in truancy, lack of study and failure to turn up at exams. The last time I went to Barcelona, one had given up and was waiting to be 25 to do an exam of direct access to the university. Another was still trying to get to a drama school she could afford and where secondary studies were not required. This kind of interest was still not expressed by the Trepas men. Just one of them was still doing professional training without much visible interest. And only one of them was about to finish secondary school and was considering moving on to university. These women seemed to be eligible for tough manual jobs if these could be seen to have a kind of continuity with household chores, such as the textile industry where Lola worked (see Goffman, 1977: 317; and also extract 95 in appendix 1, where Aleix reports that women were employed to wipe the floor in the renovation of a building). Nevertheless, it appeared as if they had ended up having the worst options of all, as their lack of qualifications -and possibly their appearances- were cutting them off from access to the types of employment that more mainstream forms of femininity had access to, such as clerical and semi-skilled jobs (for instance secretarial and accountancy assistants, hair-dressers, receptionists).

On the contrary, in the interviews and also in the group discussions, the Rambleros women presented themselves as disciplined workers. Amongst the ones who were still at school, they gave details of when and how they did their homework. One left a part-time job because the course was getting difficult and her marks had been going down. In her words:

Extract 91

Irene: Gosh! It took me an effort. What do you want me to say?, to get to fifth grade. · Come on, Gosh! Years of studying and studying, right? And now, er now I'm just not going to drop it. That's for sure. · And the job, well, yeah, I do like it, right? I have learned many things. · But I believe that, what I had to learn there, I have already learnt it. · Now it's already always the same thing same thing same thing same thing. What I was discussing with my mother is that I would like to go on working, but · in another place, right? [IB06: 374-86]

Notice, in the first three lines, the ambiguous disclaimer "what do you want me to say?" and the numerous interjections. These were clearly not addressed to the interviewer (the "you" was not me). There is evidence of a kind of hidden discourse that Irene was responding to. This hidden discourse was, I believe, a discourse that disapproved of a deep commitment to study, a stance ritually displayed amongst students

(not necessarily sincere). She may have had in mind the scorn men had shown for studying in the group discussion. Then, some men had argued that women were studying because they were just waiting for a good boyfriend, whereas they constructed their leaving school as a kind of manly commitment to confronting the real world⁵. Irene's assertive commitment to study, to the idea of a career, of continuous improving and learning, was only displayed by the Ramblers women, and one woman and two men of the Trepas⁶. In the group discussion, the Ramblers men asserted that they had been unable to show interest in studying and could not bring themselves to do the homework [GB01: 263-400, 534-77]. It was quite noticeable amongst the Ramblers that the women were much better qualified than men, or on the way to be, and also sought access to training opportunities geared towards clerical employment: computing courses, English, Catalan. Two of the women were considering going to the university and two others had achieved secondary school qualifications but had not carried on. On the contrary, all men had dropped school halfway through their secondary school studies. Also, in terms of general appearance and demeanour, the jobs that these women got did not require a substantial change. They used little slang, controlled their swearing, did not adopt non-standard pronunciations (see also subsection 5.11), displayed readiness to speak Catalan and dressed as smartly as the men allowed them to without teasing them. Even these women's support for the Barcelona Football Club (which was loathed by the Ramblers men) was more in tune with the middle class expectations found at their workplaces.

I am not assuming, as it is sometimes done, that these types of jobs are evidence of women gaining ground in the job market. As Goffman (1977: 317-8) has very pointedly shown, they are based on a male-centred notion of leadership in the work-place, which reserves some support roles for women (particularly young and sexually attractive ones) playing support roles. Nevertheless, I would argue that their ambivalent character is important in creating a space where particular constructions of femininity are made possible (and particularly, financially possible).

With the evidence at hand, it would not be appropriate to make general claims about the way in which the job market operates favouring or discouraging particular forms of identity. Still, the reader must be by now aware that a particular process seemed to be at work. In the analysis, the Ramblers maybe appeared a bit conservative and sexist, but at least they managed with their economic life significantly better. This may well have to do with their closer family ties and support⁷, as most of the jobs people had came from family contacts, but also with the fact that their patterns of appearance and demeanour were closer to mainstream standards (including their avoidance of the most marked forms of argot).

We should not assume, though, that the Trepas were simply unable to invest in forms of identity more in tune with the expectations of the workplace. As I have illustrated, the Trepas themselves saw that they had to make some sacrifices to earn a bit of money. I think that, what is necessary to understand here is that the peer-group was probably the most important source of enjoyment and self-esteem for these people, as work did not provide them with any of this. However, for the Trepas, it looked as if the possibilities of success were so remote that it did not make much sense to invest in efforts and identities closer to the mainstream. In order to seek access to decent employment, they would have to give up significant elements of their identities, with the corresponding adjustments in relationships, routines, appearances, political beliefs and so on. But, if they did this, they would get no further than the Ramblers had. It was, as English people say, a 'catch 22', a necessary sacrifice with no visible reward.

There is an important issue here: the people who seemed to make a greater effort to use Catalan and to redefine their gender identities in more egalitarian terms, that is, those who were closer to what are usually considered as politically correct attitudes, these people seemed to undermine their chances of access to economic resources. This situation raises a few questions with regard to the ways in which working-class practices have been interpreted by reproduction and social change theory. Nevertheless, before dealing with these issues in the conclusions in chapter 8, there is a final point I want to make with respect to the use of the Catalan language.

c) Investing in Catalan identities

I have already shown that there were many conditions that constrained the possibility of using Catalan in the peer group, even when people were willing to learn it and speak it. The workplace was, in this sense, one of the avenues in which people could invest in Catalan identities.

It was common for employers to hold job interviews in Catalan, probably because they wanted to see evidence of bilingual skills, the competence in Spanish being taken for granted [IA03: 1841-3; IB03: 61-74; IA07: 298-906]. Paula reported feeling anxious in an interview for this reason, although she got the job at the end. People who had to take examinations for jobs and courses would also have Catalan as one of the subjects. They always passed in the cases I knew about [IA03: 1579-83; IB01: 919-49 and Paula]. Irene, a Spanish speaker, was not required to speak Catalan in her interview, but afterwards she was especially assigned the job of attending Catalan-speaking callers [IB06: 662-71]. All the people who attended to external clients (waitresses, shop assistants, receptionists, secretaries) reported having to use Catalan at work [GB03: 27-36. 96-138; IA07: 895-989; IB08: 848-50].

Nevertheless, competence in Catalan appeared to be seen by many just as a job requirement, particularly for dealings with outsiders. I saw no evidence that, for anybody, Catalan was the language used in the workplace amongst workmates. Paula says that she spoke Catalan only with her bosses, but that she could not convince her workmates to speak it to her. Lola's boss reportedly spoke to her in Spanish as soon as they stepped out of the interview [IB03: 59-74; IA07: 896-906]. Only a Ramblero woman said that she was encouraged to speak Catalan with her workmates, but she changed to another job after a few months. At the training school I heard very little Catalan even though most members of staff were native speakers of it.

The obvious conclusion is that, in addition to the sheer difficulties experienced by these young people in finding reasonably paid and steady employment, the workplace itself did not really encourage participation in cultural forms expressed in Catalan. Even though these people appeared to have the necessary linguistic skills required, it appears that the resistance that Catalan-speakers themselves have towards establishing Catalan as the language of communication with non-native speakers made these skills largely irrelevant. Truly, this also raises a few questions with regard to the expectations that Catalanists, language activists and policy makers have with regard to the possibility for much working-class population to identify with Catalan culture. If Catalans expect people to participate in their culture, they should really consider the question of how they give them access to it. I discuss some of the implications of this in the next and final chapter.

Notes to section 7.2

¹ This song was indeed a masterpiece of double-voicing whose ambivalence broke down practically all linguistic, ethnic, generational and social barriers. I have seen it being danced and sung in the most remote working-class neighbourhoods of Barcelona and in predominantly middle class arenas.

² It is a real shame that the cultural impact that Catalan broadcasting had during the eighties has remained virtually unstudied. My impression was that during these years the high quality of the news broadcasts and the dubbing of films had a great bearing on people's attitudes towards the language. A number of voices were newly created and made publicly available as if they had existed always, although there were very interesting reactions to the fact that people's Hollywood heroes had suddenly appeared speaking perfect Catalan.

³ The slogan was "**a prendre pel cul, a prendre pel sac; la revista que et dona dues opcions**" (trans. two ways of saying "up yours!" and "the magazine that gives you two options").

⁴ An ethnography of relationships in the workplace might reveal what makes it less likely to develop intimate relationships in these contexts. It may be a question of the conditions in which intimate relationships develop: availability of free time, the possibility of colluding in actions and talk against an external authority (as in school), availability of spaces where common activities can be organised, all combined with the logistics of 'invitations' (need for face-saving, preventing imposition, etc.).

⁵ The idea of work as 'the real world' as opposed to study is common. Its use to justify opposition to the school authority, or to minimise the importance of failure, is also found in Willis' (1977) lads.

⁶ Interestingly enough, again, these two men were of Catalan-speaking backgrounds. As I suggested in 4.31, there were indications that Catalan-speaking men had significantly different masculine agendas. There are many indications in the data that point at connections between particular forms of masculinity and school failure, heavy drug taking and the like. Further research could throw an interesting light on these processes.

⁷ In my last visit to the Ramblers, I spoke with one of the parents about their children's efforts to find employment. It became very clear to me how job searching was something that involved everybody, friends and relatives. Amongst the Trepas, on the contrary, it was such a demoralising question that people generally avoided talking about it altogether.

8. THE CALAF MARKET (Conclusion)

I began this thesis with a pledge to make of it a dialogue where the voices of many could speak, and where the interests that these voices embodied would contribute to shaping the way in which I constructed my position. It is now time for me to take stock of what I have done so far and to show how I feel that the interests of researchers, activists, decision makers, and equally the interests of the participants in my study have been taken on board in the analysis. I will do so by reflecting on the theoretical perspective I have been building, and by seeking to reflect on what the political implications of my findings are.

a) Conceptualising domination

I started with a discussion about some of the theories and methods that have been used in Linguistics and the Social Sciences in general to conceptualise issues of identity and social struggle. By drawing on recent work about the theoretical foundations of sociolinguistics (Cameron, 1992; Fairclough, 1992a; Williams, 1992), I insisted that we had to move away from a conception of meaning as originating in any kind of formal system or structure. I argued that the work of Bakhtin (1981, 1986) provided an acceptable framework for seeing meaning as socially, culturally and historically situated, i.e. constructed in practice. I also pointed at the shortcomings of certain notions of 'the social situation', 'the speech event' or 'the context' in some disciplines. I argued that such concepts usually frame social situations as given rather than processually constructed, that they are often used as an informal back door from where to make up for the inadequacies of structuralist notions of meaning, and finally, that they are commonly based on empiricist assumptions that 'the data' will deliver its categories, thus obscuring the fact that any theorising is constituted by the particular interests that researchers bring to the field of inquiry.

In the light of everything I have said so far, I believe that I can make some qualifications now. Science is, after all, about building coherent frameworks of understanding. If my argument was brought to the limit, it would be like denying that any systematic knowledge about society is possible. In doing so, I would also contradict my own practice. Although I have sometimes criticised the work of people who have worked on structuralist-based paradigms, my study has built upon many of the insights and findings of these works. Additionally, my own framework can be seen as having a 'logic of its own', i.e. it has its own rules and limits. For instance, it has forced me to stay close to the data (to situated practice) in a way that I found annoying at some points, as if I was in a kind of straight jacket. My theoretical and methodological options have discarded some forms of theorising and even of writing from the start, so that half way I felt

as if the framework itself had taken charge of my analysis. It was a similar feeling to taking a motorway lane without being sure of where it leads. You can only keep driving.

Therefore, it seems to me that it is possible to speak about 'systems' if we agree about the levels at which they operate, the procedures through which we arrive at them, and if we agree that they are not the only source of meaning which is independent from action. In my view, we should treat them as a human creation and, consequently, a product subject to the vulnerabilities of the processes through which they are created (thus containing contradictions, ambivalences, unfinished aspects). In my study, the concept which seems to get closest to what we understand by a system is probably the 'regime of truth' (sections 3.3 and 5.1). I proposed that we should see the peer-group social spaces studied as sites where particular regimes of truth were established. These 'regimes' corresponded to the sets of practices that served to assert and protect the particular forms of display and identities that people sought to construct. Although practices were, in principle, ambivalent, the regimes of truth account for the ways in which avenues of interpretation were, in practice, closed down and opened up by participants in (what we might call to an extent) a systematic way.

In chapter 4, I merely took stock of the various forms of self-display that participants organised in their fun-making activities. Some men were interested in displaying their strength and their abilities through games of verbal and physical aggression. Others were seeking to exploit the transgressive character of some practices such as drug-taking and the use of non-standard or taboo forms of speech. The ethos of aggression and transgression was also present in their narratives, forms of dress and music tastes. On the other hand, most women sought to organise events where they could establish and develop their friendships by displaying reciprocal interest. As a result, the forms of talk organised by women and men were of a considerably different character. I also indicated that participation in masculine and feminine activities was not necessarily determined by people's sex, as there was the possibility of 'crossing' gender boundaries. In a similar way, people who were politically involved could seek to re-interpret or transform existing patterns of gender display. Politicised women, for example, could adopt forms of masculine displays as a challenge against the forms of gender imposed by society.

At this level, practices appeared to be very diverse and ambivalent. The evidence seemed to suggest that men and women simply had different agendas. Using the concept of 'regime of truth', I then sought to explore some coherent lines, a logic that gave these practices a kind of unity however precarious it had to be. By exploring the various regimes of truth, it was possible to begin to understand why some meaning potentials of utterances were taken up and others not, and why the participants concentrated on developing some forms of identity rather than others. I tried to show that these regimes were produced and sustained by the participants in accordance with their interests. So the Ramblers men imposed a regime of truth on women that protected their own forms of display by controlling the modes of expression that were given legitimacy within the group. Their regime of the 'simple truth' imposed a male-centred view of what enjoyment was about, including what types of identity displays were acceptable (face-threats, swearing, naturality, simple forms of dressing). On the contrary, the politicised Trepas, both men and women, had established a regime of truth which rejected simplified versions of masculinity and sought to reinterpret peer-group practices in emancipatory terms. Because feminism was legitimate within this group, women had been able to create their own spaces independent from men's activities, thus creating a gender separation that was resented at times by people from both 'sides'. The 'logic' of each regime of truth had a substantial bearing on the kinds of practices that the participants were prepared to get involved in.

It is, I believe, at this level that it is possible to start speaking about issues of domination, and where I can connect with the concerns of feminists, language activists, policy makers and committed academics. In some types of social and sociolinguistic research, it has been common practice to assume that particular social interactions provided direct evidence of social domination: for example, the objectification of women in advertising, the use of a 'sexist' expression, the implications of terms of address, the level of

participation of women in mixed classrooms, the fact that Catalans have to speak Spanish in many situations. While I do not deny that activists are normally right when they denounce these particular practices, I do believe that it is necessary for researchers (and sometimes for practitioners as well) to be aware that this is a practical simplification. In the same way as Fairclough (1992a: 87-98) argues that ideology cannot be 'read off' directly from texts, we must bear in mind that social interactions are intrinsically ambivalent, and hence that they offer multiple possibilities of participation through keyings, appropriation of voices in various ways, and so on.

The concept of 'regime of truth', in this sense, helped to show how situated practice became politically meaningful through the subtle ways in which meanings and displays were legitimated or de-legitimated in the groups. These processes took place in situated practice, but what made actions more or less sexist was their role in sustaining each particular political arrangement.

b) What can we do about it?

After having insisted that I wished to make my work relevant to people concerned with overcoming forms of social domination, I have an obligation to reflect on what types of policies and political actions could be useful in the light of my findings and the perspective I have been building. I would like to stress that these considerations seem to be relevant both to people concerned with issues of gender domination and to those who would like to see the Catalan language being accepted and appropriated, in some way or another, by the new generations of Catalan citizens. It is quite clear that the problems that concern us here came largely from the same source, i.e. the particular forms of masculinity constructed in working-class arenas. In section 5.2 I showed that, in spite of the fact that voices are often ambivalent as to the meanings and ideologies that they convey, there was a case for arguing that Catalan was constructed as alien to the local values of masculinity. In subsection 7.21 I tried to argue that there was a possibility of partially solving this problem by making some Catalan oppositional voices publicly available. In the particular conditions that exist, this would require re-thinking some of the current practices engaged in by the Catalan authorities.

However, I believe that the key question here is to reflect on the social factors that make it possible for people to develop their identities in particular ways. In order to have a sense of how these processes work, it is good to come back to Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus'. As the embodied expression of the requirements that the field poses on the self, the idea of 'habitus' reminds us that identity is not something that can be improvised. The dispositions needed for participation in particular social spaces are acquired through an investment of time, effort and resources on the practices of each particular field.

Therefore, in a context of high unemployment and job insecurity, young people will be less likely to find opportunities of investing in alternative forms of identity on which they can ground other forms of self-esteem and dignity, for instance as dedicated workers with a decent standard of living. As this thesis has been completed (early 1995), there seems to be a consensus in the Western world that unemployment is a price worth paying in the face of other macro-economic imperatives, namely the idea that state intervention has to be minimised in order to minimise in turn the levies on businesses. In the last chapter, I tried to illustrate the negative impact that unemployment had on the young people I studied in that it prevented them from investing in Catalan identities. I also indicated that the more politically aware were getting the worst deal. If this pattern reflects some general trend, this means that these policies are not doing any good to the processes of emancipation of women and of the normalisation of the Catalan language.

With respect to the conditions obtaining in the workplace, there is always some degree of state intervention, such as laws against the discrimination of women and, in the case of Catalonia and other places, various regulations on the linguistic practices of businesses however timid they may be. Some of the evidence I have presented suggests that it would be desirable to ensure through legislation that women

get proper treatment and that the workplace can become a space where people can invest in Catalan identities. This also involves keeping a watchful eye so that the Catalan language does not become an obstacle in the access to such jobs, as this would then be self-defeating.

One of the most important determinations that seemed to exist in the field studied was, particularly for the men, to be seen to pay homage to the aggressive and transgressive masculinities that are so overwhelmingly dominant amongst members of their social class and of other classes as well. By reading the works of Willis (1977) and Bourdieu (1991b), one is led to believe that it is these cultural forms that are mainly responsible for the social deprivation that these people suffer. By seeking to confront the most visible forms of authority, usually embodied by the institution of the school, it is argued that working class youngsters expose themselves to the most acute forms of exploitation and marginality and that they contribute to reproduce sexist and classist structures. Nevertheless, I believe that there are other avenues of interpretation as to how these cultural forms are constituted within and around the institutional voice of the school.

In my own experience as a pupil of a public (i.e., in Catalonia, state-owned) school with a considerable number of working-class children, I was very early on aware of the divide that was created between the classroom and the playground. In the playground, the most forceful drive to establish domination came from those that had been condemned as failures in the class. As a pupil who got good marks and the favours of the teachers, I was very soon made to understand that the rules were different out there, that the voice of the teacher did not count. If there was any doubt, physical violence was always at hand, and the displays of strength and aggressiveness were a constant albeit more peaceful reminder of it. It is also misleading to simply observe that playground culture turns the values of authority upside down. Once I was able to show that I could 'play the game', I discovered that some aggressive attitudes were hiding a feeling of respect and a willingness to see oneself associated with the more successful pupils. Therefore, instead of problematising the cultural practices of people who endeavour to cope with their humiliations and their sadnesses to achieve a bit of dignity and self-esteem, I would suggest that we turn our attention towards the role played by the school in manufacturing failure and exclusion.

We can also reflect about possible forms of political intervention at a smaller scale. In this sense, one could be tempted to recommend, advice or encourage the persons concerned that they avoid the problematic practices within the limits of the social space in question. Nevertheless, I am personally unhappy about taking such an easy road uncritically in the concrete example that I have been discussing here. Firstly, after seeing the efforts that the Trepas made to overcome gender boundaries and to speak Catalan, I am not sure that I could come up with new proposals that made sense in that context. After seeing the price that the Trepas were paying for their initiatives, namely undermining their possibilities of employment, I am not sure I would dare to ask the Ramblers to go down a similar path. After all, the participants of my study were very 'civilised' in all respects, and more so if one takes into account the social environment in which they lived.

I must confess that there are some ethical considerations that have an important bearing on my attitude here. It makes sense to voice criticisms towards the stances of some researchers and policy makers because this is, after all, what a thesis is about, namely to discuss ways in which social issues can be framed and approached from the perspective of the practices taking place in the academic and political fields. Because they are legitimate actors in these social spaces, academics and politicians have normally the possibility of answering and defending their positions. On the contrary, the participants of my study do not really have this possibility. Although some of my comments about them may be taken as criticisms, I hope I have made clear that their cultural forms had to be valued after having taken into consideration the social conditions and the pressures that existed in their particular contexts. Otherwise, it would be easy to forget that my own point of view, which may be taken as more politically aware in some respects, has been developed within the requirements of participation in social spaces of a very different character, where people have more resources and more choice. To put forward my evaluations without

taking this into account would have been to collude with a particular regime of truth that judges (other) cultures uncritically on the basis of middle-class European standards.

Secondly, I also believe that economic issues had an important bearing on the possibilities that people like the Ramblers and the Trepas had to develop alternative forms of identity within their groups of friends. With their financial resources, they did not have much room for manoeuvre. As an example of the problems involved, I can mention the great difficulties in gaining access to alternative physical spaces in a city like Barcelona. There were a number of public services that organised activities for the young, and I know that at least some Ramblers had participated occasionally in these. Two Trepas had also helped to organise an "esplai" club (see extract 27). Nevertheless, to undertake a policy of promotion of these spaces so that it creates the possibility of significant cultural changes requires substantial economic investment, and this is not very compatible with recent tendencies to reduce state intervention.

In order to see what conditions made it possible for people to develop alternative forms of identity, it is useful to look at the way the Trepas did it. Their capacity to question and transform existing cultural practices had not arisen spontaneously from their experience in the peer-group. It had been a product of their participation in the political field, their investment in forms of identity and organisation devoted to the construction and development of particular political values. In this case, their political identities had contributed to the constitution or re-interpretation of their peer-group identities. It can be said that the values of the political field had 'impregnated' the values of the peer-group field. This had also been possible because the political ideology of the Trepas provided an alternative framework of understanding that integrated and re-interpreted the forms of contestation of the *penya*. Although some of their ideas were shared by their friends in the peer-group, it seems as if the strength to give them material form came from outside of it. Participation in political activities seemed to provide opportunities to explore and develop knowledge and awareness about issues in a way that was difficult to do in the peer-group. For instance, the group discussion of the Trepas served to discuss problems between the genders that members had been unable to tackle from within the peer-group.

It is significant that attitudes like maintaining Catalan or challenging sexist assumptions in social interaction is always attributed (and often rightly) to political agendas until the practices concerned have become unavoidable conditions for participation in given social spaces so that actors cannot be assumed to be 'politicising' the encounter anymore. These considerations bring us back to the starting point which is that alternative cultural forms do need some kind of locally legitimate social space so that they can develop. Politics seems to play this role in many ways, although not all forms of political activity do so. Pepe was very unhappy with political groups and discourses that appeared disconnected from the everyday practices of the *penya*. I suppose that this kind of 'disembodied' politics is common in our society. It is often said that party politics is too distant from the experience of the citizenry.

I am talking here, I guess, about a form of dialogical politics where people are given the possibility of discussing issues in ways that are relevant to their local contexts, while they are also provided with the resources to invest in alternative forms of identity.

The question is, therefore, whether it is possible to create social spaces that encourage reflexivity about and commitment to emancipatory practices in ways that are relevant to local forms of culture. For instance, the creation of active forms of participation in Catalan events seems to have been restricted to the schools. It has been argued that many language planners cast excessive hopes on the power of the school (see recent critiques of Fishman, 1991; and Heller, 1994: 206-9). While I do not deny that the school has played a fundamental role in providing some forms of access to Catalan culture, it is also necessary to acknowledge its limitations. Apart from the negative value that it has with regard to oppositional culture, there is the danger of simply producing disembodied, locally irrelevant, ideas.

For example, with regard to the use of Catalan, there are a multitude of activities that can be organised on the basis of initiatives by many different actors and institutions, including non-governmental organisations. These can provide access to much more varied cultural forms and to occasions where people may want to invest in Catalan identities. Of course, imagination is very much the key question here, as it is clear that many social groups will not be interested in some of the activities that are already on offer, such as the development of folklore. These initiatives should also strike a delicate balance, as they obviously cannot take as a starting point the view that anything that does not sound like 'proper' Catalan is necessarily problematic. Developing awareness about the practical and ritual implications of language learning is also a key question. There have to be spaces where people can negotiate the multiple issues I discussed in chapter 6: how people interpret language choice, what different strategies are possible, what it means to speak Catalan, and so on. If we accept the assumption that the process of linguistic normalisation needs to be carried out in an atmosphere of friendliness and respect for cultural diversity, and if there is a real wish that the new generations of Spanish speakers and speakers of other languages participate in our cultural traditions, it is very much up to us Catalans to consider how we can make this possible by providing the opportunities for people to gain proper access to the social spaces where Catalan culture is produced.

The need to tackle all these political questions in ways that are locally relevant to the multiple social groups that form society is, I believe, essential if we are to address another delicate question in a meaningful way. As Woolard (1985a, 1989) pointed out, Catalan society embodies a political quandary: while Catalans suffer from the political domination and repression traditionally exerted by the Spanish state, Catalan language policies could potentially become a means for the native population to exert their social domination against the predominantly Spanish-speaking working classes. I believe that this is true, but also it is not an easy problem to solve and especially in purely theoretical terms. With regard to gender, a similar dilemma arises. We may want to prevent feminine agendas getting 'pushed off' from the central stages of peer-group culture (such as happened with the stigmatisation of women's chatting in section 4.22). But, if we do this uncritically, we may forget to bear in mind that women's agendas are also a product of a patriarchal society that imposes particular forms of sexual separation from an early age. Mainstream feminine identities are also potentially constraining. Many women do like masculine forms of enjoyment but assume that they cannot participate in them, or that they can do it only in a peripheral way (see 4.21). And the reverse attitude to this, namely problematising existing femininities, amounts to taking for granted that mainstream masculinity is the norm, a point which has been made by several feminist researchers (see section 4.1).

I believe that the complex crisscrossing of issues of gender, ethnic and social domination cannot be tackled at this conceptual level, on the basis of general recipes (although I do not want to deny that some forms of state legislation can be discretionally helpful). In order to deal with these issues, it is necessary to create spaces where the voices of the multiple social groups involved are legitimated and empowered to develop balanced and satisfactory forms of "**convivència**" (living together), as it is said in Catalan.

It follows from this line of reasoning that overcoming sexism or narrow nationalism is not just a matter of dispelling ideological illusions from people's minds. It has to be a productive and constructive undertaking that empowers people rather than depriving them further by stigmatising their identities. It is of no use simply telling people that they are 'wrong' and that their culture is worthless (one of the *Ramblers* women recalled a teacher saying to the class: "you have got no culture."). And this is another reason why I thought it inappropriate to reject the forms of culture I had studied on any grounds (because they could be racist, sexist, conservative or reproductive in some aspects), as this would deprive us from having a starting point for a meaningful dialogue.

From this perspective, and now connecting with the discussion on structuralism with which I began this chapter, I do believe that we need to prevent any notion of system (whether symbolic, social or formal) from colonising our approach to analysis. It may be necessary to abandon the illusion that we could create

forms of knowledge that live and develop independently from us, so that we could not be held directly responsible for our 'discoveries'. On one hand, a narrow focus on 'communicative competence' may lead us to overlook the social processes whereby actors become 'competent' and are recognised to be so in particular social spaces. On the other hand, to seek to give a unified account of what constitutes gender or Catalan identity may lead us to obscure the role that many actors play in defining what these identities are. To do such a thing would be, not only theoretically problematic, but also politically dangerous. Static ideas about identity are only too common in current political discourses, and they certainly help to fuel many disputes and catastrophes that could be avoided if adequate, locally relevant forms of knowledge could be developed to assist those affected by decisions and those responsible for making them.

c) Concluding comments

There is a very curious story from a Catalan town called Calaf. As the story goes, one market day it was so cold that people's voices froze. They remained frozen for a week, till they finally melted down again the next market day. As a result, the old voices were added to the new ones of the day, and there was such an uproar in the town that nobody could understand what the others were saying. This is why many Catalans entering a locale filled with noisy chatter still say "this sounds like the Calaf market!".

I cannot really imagine the reason why such a story was invented or the circumstances in which it was invented. But I felt that it was a nice story to conclude my thesis. After all, I have made an effort to 'defreeze' a number of voices that had been uncomfortably put away in the political refrigerators of Catalonia. Nevertheless, I hope that my thesis has not been like the 'Calaf market', a threat to the orderliness of our everyday markets. Indeed, nothing was further from my intentions than creating an uproar, particularly in Catalonia. I would not want to prevent people from listening to each other. On the contrary, my intention was to convince the reader that, in order to address the problems of our society, it may well be necessary to listen to voices that we usually prefer to leave 'in the cold'.

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APPENDIX 1

Additional extracts with comments

The first section of this appendix contains comments to a few additional extracts that contribute to illustrate some of the points I made in the argument.

Extract 92

[Pablo was driving the car, the music had just stopped and Pablo and Luis were whispering as they were trying to find a way of reversing the direction of the car in the maze of Barcelona's one-way streets. In this extract, I have underlined the positions where aspiration or deletion of /s/ occurred or could have occurred. Luis was probably the one who 'dropped' /s/ more consistently. Nevertheless, in this episode, he did it very little. He was trying to assist Pablo (the driver) to make out where they were and what street they had to take.]

Andrés: *tumbas ostita* [Probablement escollint cassettes] · · *la la la*
"Tombs", christ! [Probably reading names of songs from a tape] · · *la*
la la

Luis: *(encima has) de tirar p'abajo donde puedas girar* · · · *adonde la*
(up there you have) to turn down, where you can you turn, · where

plaza de (tiana) esa es almogávares puez la de abajo
the square of (tiana) this one is "almogávares" street, then the one
below ..

Ricardo: *pallars*
"Pallars" street.

Luis: *ahí pallars no[?] eso es*
This one "Pallars", isn't it? That's it.

Pablo: *(·) p'abajo*
Downwards.

Luis: *dando vuelta a la plaza*
Driving round the square.

Ricardo: *da la vuelta=*
Turn round? =

Andrés: *=oye pero al zoo[?]=*
=Listen but, to the zoo? =

Ricardo: *=no da la vu- aquella de allá [tustant la finestra 'tap tap tap']*
=No. Turn rou- that one there [poking the window 'tap tap tap']

Andrés: *miru por aquí se va al zoo*
Look. This way you get to the zoo.

Ricardo: *porque esa que esa e_almogávare_*
'Cause this one is "Almogávares".

Luis: *pues no pues tampoco puedes · sigue recto Pablo porque no puedes*
Well no then you can't either · go straight on Pablo, 'cause you can't do it.

Ricardo: *esa es almogávareh.*
This one is "Almogávares".

Luis: *qué e_eso*
What is that?

Pablo: *(·) la plaza (mohcu)*
(Moscow) square.

Ricardo: *no no no tiene que dar la vuelta y pillarlo a aquella*
No no no. He's got to turn round and get it in that one.

Pablo: *no · no >no*

Andrés: *<adonde vamos*
<Where are we going?

Pablo: *no puedo*
I can't.

Luis: *no quiere decir pues aquella recta y luego la próxima a la*
No. He means, well, that one straight on and then the next one to the
izquierda y luego otra vez a la izquierda
left and then left again.

Andrés: *adónde vamos*
Where are we going?

Ricardo: *si es la de abajo si esa no es*
No, it's the one below, not this one.

Luis: *no no · · ·*

Ricardo: *eso es almogávares*
This is "Almogávares".

Andrés: *por aquí se va al zoo*
This way you get to the zoo.

In this episode, both Luis and Ricardo had their own ideas about what Pablo, the driver, had to do. Luis appeared to be putting on a very low, calm, serious voice, so that Pablo would take him seriously and follow his indications rather than Ricardo's ones. He could do so because he was on the front seat beside Pablo, whereas Ricardo and Andrés had to shout from behind. It appears as if the adoption of such a serious voice involved adopting a more standard pronunciation. This illustrates some of the points made in subsection 5.11/a that some speech styles became associated with masculinity and femininity partly because of their connection with the activities and genres that played a role in the construction of gender identities. In this case, Luis adopted a voice which was not associated with the exploitation of risk or transgression.

Extract 93

[In this episode, Pepe was narrating something that happened in a concert. A member of the public who had been playing music with a kazoo was invited to perform on the stage. He used the term "*peña*" (underlined together with other items of slang) to designate the public of the concert.]

Pepe: *sonó mogollón el concierto cuando salió el Ricardo.*

The concert sounded damm well when Ricardo came in.

Chimo: *ha - (xx) que cantara benny hill (y empezó) a bailar*

ha - (xx) him to sing "Benny Hill" (and he started) dancing.

Pepe: *(xxx) veinticuatro ideas no[?] allá el Ricardo y entre canción y*

(xxx) twenty four ideas, right? That guy, Ricardo, between song and

canción (con la tralla) pusieron se le oye a él no[?] con el pitorro de song (with the kazoo?). They go and they hear him, right? With this thingummy.

estas y va el cantante y dice - [veu d'encantat] buenu si hi ha algú And the singer goes and says: [silly voice] "Well if somebody

que vol ajudar aquí alg- algú del públic que vulgui pujar y no sé wants to lend a hand here, som- somebody from the public wants to come up and all

qué y la peña [veu gutural] venga [pica de mans] subee sube el that" and the 'peña' [Throaty voice] come on [Clapping]. Go up there He goes up,

notas al escenario se pone con el micro ahí se pone a tocar con eso (xx)

the fool climbs to the stage. gets the mike, starts playing with this (xx).

Joan: ha-ha

Pepe: *y todo el mundo le aplaude eeh [pica de mans] que risa i molt*

And everybody clapping at him: eeh! [clap] What a laugh and very

bé molt bé

good very good [BG-NA03: 92-3]

It is significant that the voice of the *peña* (in a larger font) was animated in Stylised Spanish. Additionally, the singer (in plain font instead of italics) was animated as speaking in Catalan and with a voice that conveyed silliness or ignorance.

This episode supports my argument that the Trepas identified in part with the meanings expressed through Stylised Spanish, while they treated Catalan voices as expressing values not compatible with their own forms of display of masculinity. In this narrative, Pepe was on the side of the *peña*. The *peña* were mocking a singer who was a bit too polite or too nice, and a member of the public who was seeking notoriety. He had enjoyed the situation because of the *peña*'s capacity to react by encouraging the kazoo player and by sustaining the fun through feigned cheering. This initiative had subverted the meanings that were constructed in the public stage.

Extract 94





Aleix: you say: "you speak about this, we speak about that [*Silvia: no, no, but*] · What happens · is that- · I believe that there is something here that is- · I don't know, right? · that precisely this is what we have to seek, that is that people get mixed and not just for the sake of being mixed, but [*Lluís: ja*] · because · I don't know to try to integrate yourself, right? just- and [*Lluís: to (organise) a (xx), yeah*] · "Okay, we've got different affinities [and] therefore, I mean it is like this: if I like something and this one and this one do us well · [*Lluís: (xxx); Silvia: no, but*] and because you, you, you also like · [some] things... Well,

[some] things... Well, no, right? I mean when I go out - to have fun I feel like being with everybody, right? [Lluís: yeah, alright]. Therefore, what I try to do is [...] [BG-GA02: 202-218]

In this extract, Aleix represented again the group as speaking or thinking in Spanish. As the narrative gained in dramatism and the characters animated started speaking in their own voices (and probably acting with their own gestures), Aleix felt he had to bring in Spanish.

Extract 95

This is another example of code-switching from Catalan into Spanish that appears to be done to add dramatism and liveliness to a narrative. If the reader reads the stretches in Catalan and in Spanish separately, it is easier to appreciate this contrast. Here the Spanish voice took over parts of the narrative mode itself. I have classified various types of narrative levels in the extract, which I have indicated through various colours:↓

Key to the map of narrative levels	
	Main narrator (Catalan)
	More dramatic narrator (Spanish)
	Point of view of a character (Spanish)
	Animated character (Spanish)

The main narrator's voice seemed to be conveyed both through Catalan and Spanish. However, there were other Spanish voices that appeared to perform different dramatic functions.

Aleix: on estava no? hi havia un tin que **que se fue**
What I was saying, right? There was a boy who **Who left**

porque estuvo tres días · haciendo el trabajo de las
because he was for three days · doing the job · of the

mujeres · o siga · els tius teniem que netejar parets · i les
women. That is: we boys had to clean walls, and the

ties el terra · elles escombraven primer · nosaltres · amb
girls the floor. They (women) would sweep first. We, with

aigua rentàvem les parets **y como mojábamos las**
water would clean the walls **and because we were letting water drip, the**

mujeres iban detrás · además así · textual · detrás con el
women were behind · additionally, like this, literally · behind with the

mocho secando no? o siga · pues como al niño le dieron
floorcloth drying, right? That is: because the kid was given

tres días · ese curro · pues coñó · y se largó · con él además,
three days · this job, well, he went, and left With him, moreover,

era una privilegio porque no feia ni la mitad que feien
he was a privileged person because he didn't do half the job that the girls

les ties **porque no estaba acostumbrao** · no feia re de lo
did, **because he was not used to it,** he didn't do anything of

que feien els tius perquè no era la feina **vamos total · era**
what the boys did because it wasn't his job. **Well, anyway! It was**

un chollo · pero eso sí en la seva dignitat · no? pues era ·
a bargain. But, of course for his dignity, right? Well, it was:

parets
walls

· llavors
Therefore,

· si tu estàs així amb les ties · pues les ties moltes del
if you are in these terms with the girls, then the girls, many, from

curro pues s'apartaran d'ell · què passa que si tots · ·
the job, well, they'll keep away from him. What happens?: if we all · ·

som així que (passa) que ties **se largan** llavors
are like this, what (happens?) that the girls **leave** Therefore

[BG-GA02: 825-49]

The first switch (bright yellow) seemed to signal a change of perspective: the reason given for the abandonment of the job was a reason for the man concerned, but not for Aleix, who manifestly disagreed with the man's point of view. The Spanish stretch is syntactically dependent of a main clause which is in Catalan. Nevertheless, the pause after the first "que" is evidence that a previous script was suddenly abandoned, and the following "que", already in Spanish, conveyed to the audience that a change in the speaking subject had occurred. The man's mind was being spoken. This voice kept coming back at several points and, in the pink stretch, the animated character even spoke with his own "I". Again, it is not necessary to believe that the person concerned spoke these exact words (subsection 5.2/b/c)

The stretches in light orange colour are more difficult to classify. It could be argued that, in these stretches, he was explaining a situation of blatant gender inequality from which he wanted to dis-identify. Nevertheless, on this basis, other stretches could have been in Spanish as well. Between "parets" and "y como", the greatest change was in the dramatic tension, in the involvement shown in depicting the scene. The Catalan stretch was used in order to provide background knowledge to the 'live scene'. Spanish was used to give it life.

The "o siga" (that is) in the isolated white square reminded the audience that there was a Catalan narrator organising the performance from behind the scenes. The following stretch in Spanish (bright yellow) brought in again the perspective of the 'silly guy'.

The remaining stretches in light orange and white are again ambivalent. It is clear that the Catalan voice (in white) embodied Aleix' own views and was used to articulate his main argument. The Spanish voices seemed to be used to illustrate the case at hand: the stretches "he was a privileged man" and "it was a bargain" seemed to put forward his own judgement about the case, i.e. that the man complained without a reason. My feeling is that Spanish brings us closer to the case, and Catalan brings us closer to the conceptual argument. Nevertheless, this distinction is not clear-cut. Some bits of information relevant to the case were inserted in Catalan, although in a flatter voice, as if they came from an off voice helping the audience to follow the plot.

Another possibility has to be taken into account that Aleix might be, at points, simply taking on the audience's perspective. In this particular stretch, Pepe, who was taking part in the discussion, provided active audible responses in Spanish. There could also be failures in the proper co-ordination of the performance. The word "parets" in the midst of a Spanish utterance seems clearly one of them. The words "*a seu, vamos, no?*" at the end of the pink stretch are comparable to the previous Catalan "*o siga*". They should have been uttered by the main narrator, i.e. in Catalan. It is possible that Aleix got carried away by his animation of the 'silly boy' here.

The last two-word switch appears to be a reminder that any action needed to be depicted in Spanish. This episode, in spite of its ambivalences, is a very good example of the symbolic division of labour between Catalan and Spanish that existed in the discourse of many of the Trepas. Spanish seemed to be associated with the 'real world', particularly their world, to the extent that narratives of past events had to be animated in this language to convey the way in which they had been experienced. I never recorded or heard any episode where the roles of the two languages were reversed.

Extract 96

Lola: Shyness I have never got it, I haven't · I have never got it, right? (xx). · But because it so is difficult for you- · To me it's something that I · you're never capable of saying the same thing. No matter how much you are thinking in Castilian, well, now I can tell you · that I am thinking in Castilian. · When I have finally translated it into Catalan, because I've had to think about each word, each (one) in its own place, I think that this is it that- · It may well be a hang-up of mine, but · I believe that I'm not · I'm not expressing myself so well · as if I did it in Castilian. [BG-IA07: 965-976]

As I showed in subsection 6.21/a, many Spanish speakers argued that speaking Catalan required laborious translation. And this was given as one of the reasons why they preferred not to speak it in their everyday lives. The argument denied, in an implicit way, that there existed any other personal or political motivations behind language choice. It is interesting that, in this case, Lola denied that embarrassment had anything to do with her decisions about what language to speak.

Extract 97

Another code-switch from Irene. In a low voice accompanied with a laughter, she said "m'estic pixant" (I have to pass water; the expression, in Catalan, sounds a bit rougher). It was accurately pronounced. Another woman suggested to her that she went to the toilet, but she was unsure about it. At the end, she did go. [BG-FB10: 334-9]

I wrote down this in my fieldnotes. The Ramblers and I were sitting in the terrace of a cafe. Irene said in her interview that she liked to say things in Catalan sometimes. Here, as a member of the Ramblers, she was addressing a Spanish-speaking audience (she clearly was not addressing me). As in the ironising voices of 5.21/d, her utterance was open to be taken as a joke or as serious. In this way, the potential 'roughness' of the expression was diminished. In that case, she got a serious response from her friends.

This episode illustrates one of the most typical ways in which the Ramblers made use of the Catalan language, i.e. through the animation of ironic or silly voices.

Extract 98

[This episode comes from the group discussion of the Trepas. I had proposed them to talk about sexual relationships. Pepe was making an effort to start out a serious discussion. The rest of the participants were determined to get as much fun as possible out of the situation by subverting it.]

Pepe: *yo no tengo ni idea de lo que hace la gente · por las noches en*
I haven't got a clue about what people do · at night in

la cama con su pareja no tengo ni idea · >porque-
bed with their couples. I ahven't got a clue · >because-

Magda: *<por qué por la noche*
<Why [does it have to be] at night?

Salva: [criđant] *follan los sábados-* [L'audiència riu de la Magda] ·
[shouting] *they fuck Saturdays-* [The audience laughs at Magda's joke].

· follan los sábados por la noche porque el domingo es fiesta
They fuck Saturday nights because Sunday is holiday.

[riales generals]
[Everybody laughs]

Pepe: *(por las noches) ves? por ejemplo por las noches qué coño*
(in the nights), you see? That's an example: "in the nights" what the hell

por las noches no[?]. o sea bueno · · >yo (xx) [<les rialles
"in the nights", roght? I mean, well · · >I (xx) [<He's

interrompen]
interrupted by laughters again]

Salva: [criđant] *porque por el día están haciendo horas extras*
[shouting] *because during the day they are working overtime*

Pepe: *o sea*
I mean

Clara: *que (cada oveja) con su pareja* [Riales generals] *>el domingo (xx)*
because (each sheep) with it's own couple [a Spanish adage; everybody laughs] *>Sundays (xx)*

Pepe: *<que yo no tengo · que yo no tengo ni idea de lo que hace la*
<because I haven't got · I haven't got a clue about what

gente...
people do ... [Cas. 1 side B just before the middle]

In this case, the most interesting intervention was that of Salva. He shouted statements that were not to be taken as his own opinions but as someone else's voice, namely as the views of a typical working man. It was the 'simple' logic of the working

man that subverted the meanings that Pepe was trying to put forward in a more formal voice more appropriate to the research situation. Hence the laughter from the audience. It is an example similar to extract 2, where the Ramblers' use of dirty language caused hilarity in their group discussion.

It is also an example of a repertoire of loud voices that young people in Barcelona used in situations where they could exploit the distraction or disruption that shouting normally causes on bystanders. These keyed voices could be used to enact pretend dialogues and, because they were mostly in Spanish, they could also encourage people to set precedents of speaking Spanish to each other.

Extract 99

[This is a natural conversation where Salva and Magda (from the Trepas) were the most audible characters. On that day, the papers had reported on the new catholic catechism, which had established some new sins (such as reading horoscopes). On this occasion, some Trepas people were trying to imagine new prohibitions related to their favourite activities as a way of having fun. Later, they moved on to imagining what prohibitions they would put themselves in the catechism.]

Magda: prohibido no ir en fila india
It is forbidden not to walk in single file.

{Veus diverses}
[Various voices]

Salva: y ahora · prohibido · escuchar · música
And now, [It is] forbidden · to listen to · music.

Magda: [Ella riu] y ahora · · eh{?}
[She laughs] and now · · eh?

Salva: como la peli de (xx) · dice uru prohibido leer tebeos · y el tío
Like that fil of (xx). He says "now it is forbidden to read comics". and the guy

creo que se está cagando en su padre [Magda riu] · · >eei ·
I think that he is cursing his father [Magda laughs] · · >"Eeh,

cubron
son of a bitch!"

Magda: <mi hermana · mi hermana tiene hecho educación (xx)
<My sister- · my sister has done (xx) education

(desde los catorce) y dice prohibido comerse las uñas · (xxxxx)
(since she was fourteen) and it says "forbidden to bite one's nails" · (xxxxx)

Aleix: (van a prohibir) las cervezas
(They are gonna forbid) beer.

Noia: prohibido (xxxx en casa)
Woman: Forbidden (xxxx at home)

Magda: prohibido comer en casa [Ella riu] · · solo los domingos
Forbidden to eat at home [She laughs] · · Only Sundays.

Salva: prohibido no salir de fiesta no{?} · [Cridant] eeeh
Forbidden not to go out to have fun, right? [Shouting] "Eeeh!"

Magda: tendrías que salir cada día
You would have to go out everyday.

*Salva: (x) tú lo entiendes ya [Ell riu]
(x) You do understand it, yeah [He laughs]*

*Magda: los bares (xxx)
The bars (xxx)*

*Salva: si yo fuese (xx) [Ell riu]
If I was a (xx) [He laughs]*

*Magda: si yo fuese papa · · (xxx)
If I was the pope · · (xxx)*

*Salva: prohibido poner seguretas en los bares
Forbidden to put security officers in the bars.*

*Aleix: pues (xxx) a todos >(xx)
Well, (xxx) to all >(xx)*

*Magda: <prohibido meterse con la magda [riu].
<Forbidden to hassle Magda [She laughs] [BG-NA04: 209-33]*

I believe that this is an example of display of transgression towards the authority of the church. In a previous stretch, Magda and Salva had been imagining the naughty tricks they would do if they were acolytes in a church. The participants here produced a dramatisation of what they would do if they were in an authority position, namely to subvert it in order to promote the values of the peer-group. This is a very common genre: it recalls the tradition of the king of Carnival setting out new laws for the duration of the celebrations (I do not mean, though, that the participants had this particular reference in mind).

It is also an example of a woman participating in an event which could easily be associated with the construction of masculinity. In this sense, it is significant that Magda was, in my data, the clearest example of crossing. However, she did not come up with the same type of ideas that Salva was putting forward. Salva was clearly mentioning common topics of the male world (comics, bars), whereas Magda was making references to her obligations within her family.

Again, most of the voices of this episode were keyed, as the phrases beginning with "forbidden to..." were utterances attributed to the authority they were dramatising, and not to the speakers themselves. Although participants spoke in Spanish only in this case (including Aleix), it is easy to think that people who normally conversed in Catalan could have also intervened in Spanish without violating the norm that they had to stick to the same language with one person, thus establishing a precedent of Spanish being used in that particular relationship. The talk of the people I studied was filled with these types of ambivalent voices. Probably because of the fact that Spanish speakers normally dominated in most conversations, and because Spanish seemed associated with more dramatism and authenticity, these keyings contributed to increase the amount of Spanish used in the groups. And, in the case of Pepe and Ayats, I would argue, it had contributed to their change of language from Catalan to Spanish.

Extract 100

[This stretch is used to illustrate the fact that people who maintained their Catalan when addressed in Spanish were not seen in a positive light. In this case, Clara was arguing that Aleix was an exception]

Clara: because [Aleix] · he has never never spoken · in Castilian, never never never never, but the difference with Aleix, right? is that he · is open: "No no, you can speak as you like. And I do the same. And, of course in addition to this, he's surrounded by people who speak Castilian only.

Joan: the difference with whom? · ·

Clara: with the Catalan speakers who speak Catalan only

Joan: m · ·

Clara: Well, no. Not at all. This is not the difference, not at all. I do not know why they do it [laugh]

Joan: I mean you say > he is different from other people · who are maybe more assertive

Clara: <cause he's funny. · Well, well he is different, he is different. ·

Joan: he does not put demands on people · you mean

Clara: nooo, that · · · · >(that I have thought, right?)

Joan: <the difference, the difference is that he does not put demands on others, for example, that they should speak >Catalan

Clara: <yes, but there are many >who

Joan: <or that he does not >put demands on himself to speak it

Clara: <no, but · · no · it is not so because, no, because to me, well, to me my Catalan speaking-friends have never put any demands on me either, never (x). And if they did, I believe that would be fine, · that I wouldn't mind. · · I don't know. He's · he's funny [she laughs]. It is that Alex is funny. [BG-IA10: 534-65]

As we were exploring the linguistic practices of people, Clara discovered that she was making an assumption which was difficult to justify explicitly, namely that maintaining Catalan was, in principle, offensive.

This anecdote exemplifies how people's views or behaviour can appear contradictory in different contexts, and how these contradictions can even appear within a single interview. In section 6.2/c, I argued that speakers of Catalan were often invited to speak their language but were not really expected to do so. Some interviewees said, at some points, that they were happy to be addressed to in Catalan, and, at other points, that they felt this to be an imposition. This suggests that people interpreted things differently when faced with an actual instance of a person who maintained Catalan. On the other hand, in my previous research (Pujolar, 1991b), I noticed that interviewees could point out many examples of people they knew who maintained Catalan. But none of these were actual examples of the stigmatised ultra-nationalist character they were trying to illustrate, as they always quoted acquaintances who were not like 'one of those'. Patricia's comparison of such a person with the stigmatised radical feminist in extract 74 is also telling, as this also seems to be a character living more in the public imagination than in the real world.

This stretch of Clara's interview is also an illustration of her code-switching strategies. She spoke Catalan because she was speaking to me. She switched to Spanish to perform dramatisations and changes of tone. However, she also used Spanish in stretches where a 'plain voice' was speaking. This is why it was often not clear to me what the language of the interaction was.

Extract 101

[This episode is connected with extracts 33 and 34. The men were talking about a brewery that served very strong beer. Silvia was trying to participate in the conversation. Because the men's conversation was in Catalan, she decided to intervene in this language in spite of the fact that she never used it with any of the persons present.]

Pepe: és que vam anar a un bareto que és una cerveceria a sants
'Cause we went to a bar which is a brewery in Sants

que tenen mogollón [Arrossegant la paraula] de birres
and they've got an awful lot [Dragging the word] of beers

d'aquestes no[?] d'ampolles rares ampolles en plan xampany i
like this one, right? Funny bottles, champagne-type bottles and

tot · però són tot birres · n'hi havia algunes que s'obrien com la
all that. But everything is beer. There were some that would open like

gaseosa no[?] · gloc · gloc · hi havia de tot · llavors per cada
fizz, right? "gloc · gloc." There was everything. Then, for each

birra havia un got diferent
beer there was a different [type of] glass

Mauro: (hubo una época que) también > en la calle dee
(There was a time in which), also > in that street...

Silvia: [adreçant-se a Pepe] <Ah · Ah això és a : a la >central
[Addressing Pepe] <Ah! Ah! this is in · in the >Beer Centre.
cervesera de gràcia
of Gracia

Ayats: [a Mauro] <hay un montón han puesto ahora tío.
[to Mauro] <There are a lot that have just been opened, lad.

Pepe: [a Silvia] no · sants · [frase ambilingüe]
[to Silvia] No. in Sants. [ambilingual utterance]

Mauro: [a Ayats] había una · >en la calle escorial
[To Ayats] There was one · >in Escorial street

Silvia: [probablement a Joan] <uuu ha-ha· está (x) a la (niña)
[probably to Joan] <Uuu! ha-ha. It's (x) the (girl).

Joan: ui que hago · ha-ha-ha [rialla sorollosa].
Oh! What am I doing? Ha-ha-ha [loud laughter].

Silvia: ha-ha-ha-ha [rialla]
ha-ha-ha-ha [laughter]

Mauro: (xxxxx)

Pepe: que separa también mogollón mogollón >(xx)
It also separates an awful lot an awful lot of >(xx)

Ayats: <providencia
<Providence [street?]

Silvia: >todo son birras
>Everything is beer.

Noi1: <bueno però
Man1: <Well, but...

Noi2: (xxxxx)

Pepe: es que había una carta
And there was a menu. [BG-NA03: 84-89]

The stretch that follows from here (which can be found in extract 34) is an exchange between Pepe and Silvia in Spanish, which was the language they commonly used with each other. Silvia's earlier intervention in Catalan might have been caused by a feeling that she was imposing the use of Spanish onto the participants. As Pepe responded to her later in Spanish, it was no longer necessary for her to continue speaking Catalan. As I indicated in subsection 6.22, these exceptions to the conventions of language choice were common, but they applied only in particular circumstances that did not threaten the permanent choices established in people's relationships.

Original version of quotations translated from Catalan

"Les remarques de Ferguson i de Fishman són excel·lents, però no em satisfan. Tots dos convenen i jo convinc amb ells que la diglòssia no consisteix tan sols en una especialització o distribució funcional, sinó també -i sobretot- en una super- i subordinació jeràrquica... Estranyament, però, ni Ferguson ni Fishman no s'han aventurat en aquesta direcció." (Aracil, 1971, quoted by Vallverdú, 1979: 6-7, emphasis in original)

"...la discussió sobre l'existència o no de diglòssia als Països Catalans no pot fer-nos oblidar que el problema de fons és la presència d'un procés de substitució lingüística a favor del castellà, procés que, certament, està essent contrarestat per un altre de signe contrari de normalització lingüística a favor del català..." (Vallverdú, 1983: 23, emphasis in original).

"...només per posar un exemple significatiu, pel que fa a les generacions més joves, que la introducció i l'adopció del llenguatge contracultural i, en definitiva, d'un idiolecte generacional, és duta a terme exclusivament en espanyol." (Argente et al., 1979: 256).

"Ens trobem, per tant, davant d'una pràctica usual que aboca a molts a una òbvia traïció d'encuny lingüístic -a parer d'alguns autors- encara que per a molts sigui d'arrel inconscient, i l'hagin anat interioritzant d'acord amb les exigències marcades com de *bona educació* per una determinada societat; bona educació que no amaga altra cosa que una estratègia socialitzadora per tal de coaccionar la tria lingüística en el fet de la comunicació." (Erill et al., 1992: 101)

Original version of extracts given in English

Extract 2

Joan: *y otro el habla*

Pablo: *qué habla!*

Noia1: *qué habla* [diverses veus]

Noia2: (...) *de hablar*

Pablo: [més alt] *qué habla!*

Andrés: (*muérete*) *guarra, zorra y tous esas cosas.* [rialles i veus]

Ricardo: *he he he he he*

Mateo: *cómeme la polla ha ha ha >ha ha* [rialles generalitzades]

Ricardo: *>ho ho ho ho ho ho!* [GB02: 116-25]

Extract 3

Raquel: *para estar too el día de pie · toa noche por ejemplo si vamos a bailar o tal · >con tacones · minifalda*

Luis: *<tu quíereh ir con minifalda pa estar sentá[?]*

Raquel: *mmm hombre · pero* [Luis laughs] *· >joer*

Paula: *<no >(xx) pero de vez en cuando*

Raquel: *<es que · tú no- tú nunca has ido >con- · con- · con tacones*

Pablo: *<si quieres ir con tacones · [...]* [GB06: 177-84]

Extract 4

Paula: *lo- lo que no voy a hacer · lo que no voy a hacer · yo no soy la que entra en el grupo · [noia riu] · es ella · · si- si es ella pues · yo no voy a irla a lamerla el culo para que se quede*

Pablo: *haaata que vulgar!*

Raquel: *no además · además yo digo una*

Extract 5

Patricia: *joo què sé · jo coses · · yo el fi- quan deia fill de puta era quan em pegava amb un cla- quan estava clavant un clau i em pegava amb el martell · i deia fill de puta · o quan em queia algo a terra allò · però no deia fill de puta allò va · venga · fill de puta · o dir me la suda no ho deia mai tampoc* [IA04: 680-6]

Extract 6

Luis: *somoh máh · cortaos de otro patrón como más brutos no[?]* *máh · · nos gusta pergarnos meternos entre nosotros · cuando no sabemos de que hablar insultarnos para pa picarnos y tal · · · pues sí ·*

somo · máh · [Ella riu] · d- bueno ya has visto que · ir por ahí no? · no saber qué hacer · Riquini · me vah a comer la polla · y ya el otro se mosquea · (me da) · que te pego bum · · · (claro) nunca · pero eh máh- máh que ná entre nosotros o sea nunca noh metemo con la gente o · · · pa divertirnos pa · · · pa (que) siempre hay algo de qué reír no? pueh · · cuando no sabemo de qué reír pue · insultarno [Ella riu] · · sin hacerla- o sea · sin mala intención nunca no? · · tu ya lo hah visto no? · incluso · incluso gente que no venga y (no) está al caso se la puede pasar bien se puede reír · venir en metro y metiendonon unoh con otroh · · y la gente está por ahí escuchando pueh ri- riéndose y tal. [IB04: 611-32]

Extract 9

Paula: metido · mira · nosotras hemos salido · solas · y nos hemos puesto a imitarnos las unas a las otras · en la manera de bailar · y nos hemos · y nos hemos sacado los defectos [GB05: 230-7]

Extract 10

Irene: pero yo aquí no me bajo eh? porque sé que me bajo · hala tía que no sé qué no sé cuantos · si (no) os metéis con el culo · os meteréis con las piernas

Luis: y tú te lo tomarías a mal por qué · [Irene: sí] porque piensas que nosotros no (noh) gustaría verte con faldas?

Joan: no igual porque quieres vestir como quieres y no quieres que la gente te lo comente así te lo eche así

Irene: claro

Raquel: porque es que se están toa la tarde metiéndote con la falda de la Irene

Irene: al final · te amargas · y no te la pones [altres veus] [GB05: 647-660]

Extract 11

Irene: que nosotras nos metemos con vosotros y os sienta · os sienta tope de mal · sin embargo a nosot- no · vosotras os metéis con nosotras y no nos puede sentar mal porque joder! [GB05: 19-24]

Extract 12

Luis: eh que es otra fieht- són máu · · máh de tacatuca no? máh · má en plan lolailo fumar mucho petardos y tal · y armar laa · la bulla por la calle · meter con gent- bueno · · metersee ir cantando por la calle y la que alguien salta pué armarla no? y · armar la bronca no? er- · eeh pasa · pueh lo típico de la mili no? que · la hicimo en Segovia y · somos del segundo del 90 · eeh · y venia uno de otro reemplazo · íbamos aa o a armarla siempre · o · somos de paracas · pueh nosotros de artillería · y había una historia montá de de · de peleus de hace años no? · · donde están los de aviación · pues han ido tal pab · ahí por le rollo · · uy teníamos una de bronca y ya nos íbamos p'allá y · y a armarla ya eh que íbamoh

Joun: os meteis en broncas así en plan [IB04: 463-81]

Extract 13

Luis: pueh demuéltrame la diferencia que hay entre tú ·

Raquel: es que tú >(xx la razón)

Luis: <tú te puedes meter conmigo y cuando llegue un momento me mohquee y te digo mira o te callah o te parto la cabeza

Raquel: pero yo no soy capuz de decirte eso

Paula: porqué · porqué ·

Raquel: porque yo soy >de otra manera

Paula: <luis · >(xx) yo te digo otra cosa

Luis: <bueno · vale · digo otra cosa > · no la fuerza vale

Paula: <yo te · yo te di- · >yo te digoo

Raquel: <(es que yo) te >digo te parto la cabeza

Paula: <que te parto la cabeza >y te pones a reír

Luis: <vale · no la fuerza · no la fuerza ella se mete conmigo y le digo >sí · sí?]

Raquel: <y encima me la parte · · sabeh [Ella riu] [GB05: 328-45]

Extract 14

See extract 6

Extract 15

Silvia: no · por ejemploo · anoche natalia me estaba contando que estaba muy deprimida no? porque se veía · que no tenía estudios y que · bueno que no tenía estudios pues s- · que se lo parecía a ella no? y · o sea que estaba muy mal cuando se encontraba que no tenía trabajo · que los estudios los tenía a medias · que · que debía ponerse a trabajar pero que no había encontrado curro · y que · tampoco se hu puesto a buscarlo no? · y eso- es un poco todo · estábamos hablando así · más porque la vi un

poco deprimida le pregunté que qué le pasaba (xxx) · y le pregunté que · pues · · que qué le pasaba no y · · · y por eso no[?] e- ellos se estaban haciendo un porro pues nosotras qué vamos a hacer pues · empezamos a hablar no[?] · también hacía que no la veía desdee antes dee navidad y todo no[?] · cómo le había ido el pueblo y eso le pregunté no[?] si había ido al pueblo · y ella me dijo pues a mí lo mismo

Joan: igual las chicas estáis como mucho [IA03: 1254-77]

Extract 16

Silvia: pero a lo mejor quedamos · y en- (va) hemos quedado la natalia y yo · ah[!] pues la clara · pues ahora también me voy no sé qué · o la patricia no[?] ah[!] · pues yo también me voy entonces pues quedamos cuatro o cinco y entonces ya sí que se arma · si emp- empezamos otra vez a hablar de penas · con mucha gente · pues · · noo no puede ser tampoco no[?] entonces pues claro aprovechamos el momento no[?] · de decir · ahora · vamos a hablar no[?] · · en cinco minutos · a ver qué · · però tampoco no es tan [IA03: 1355-66]

Extract 20

Jaume: lo que passa que las tías · ho fan · en moments que a lo millor estem tots junts · a- por lo menos ahir va ser això no[?] · estem tots junts i de repent pues · els veus · i nosaltros allí no[?] flipant no[?] · i a lo millor jo vull parlar amb el chimo a lo millor estic dos dies · aguantant-me · sense parlar perquè hi ha més gent · i no ho faig tenir (xxx) · ho faig per no tallar el rotllo de la gent no[?] · o sinó li dic ei chimo vem- · al matí què fas · tal · vale pues baixa que vull parlar amb tu no[?] · I ja està no[?] · · que no- · no és dissimular com diguéssim no[?] · · però és per no agobiar la penya perquè jo estic amb la gent [IA03: 1328-41]

Extract 21

Luis: él y yo por ejemplo · y eh para- · cuando si algunah · bueno hemoh · salido juntoh loh doh soloh · sin mah gente · · y ha sido para hablar cosas dee · o sea · · digamoh · para desahogur · para contar cosah · (x) contar cosah a lo mejor porque necesitaba contárselah a alguien y mira pues · [GB06: 426-33]

Extract 22

Paula: yo con su nariz no me he metido ·

Irene: exactamente

Andrés: con mi nariz · con mi forma de bailar · · con mis dientes · · con mis dlentes con mi formu de bailar con mi forma de vestir · con mi forma de ser pues lo que sea [GB05: 505-14]

Extract 23

Luis: igual que la tere cuando decía el curro no[?] eh · me voy al curro y eeeh la risa · el curro joé ni que fueraa · de minero no[?] [Ella riu] · por lo que hace · a (veo) · eso del · lo que tú decíah en el- · en las hojas aquellas el · peta [IB04: 671-4]

Extract 26

Irene: no sé · · és que bebe mucho eh[?] [Joan: m?] · que beben mucho · · la bebida es otra cosa ee · ·

Joan: beben más los chicos >que las chicas

Irene: <que las chicas · · aunque la tere se lleva la palma también [Ella riu] · >no sé porqué ·

Joan: <tu · vas mucho de agua ·

Irene: hombre yo también bebo no[?] · de vez en cuando · · pero jollines · yo · una vez me puse mala · · y nunca más · ya lo he dicho · nunca más · y encima con tequila · y ya dije que nunca más · o sea · · no me en- · me encontr- · fué en castelló · fue en semana santa y iban · todos uaaaa [Ella riu] un pedo impresionante no[?] · y me encontraba es que me encontraba · · es que no me encontraba vamos no me encontraba era una cosa de · · no porque era otro y otro y como estaba bueno pues otro y otro · y no te das cuenta no te das cuenta yy · ·

Joan: (x) es lo que decía con una amigo mío · cuando te das cuenta ya no te das cuenta

Irene: que va · y yo se lo digo muchas veces eh[?] · · que no beban tanto · · joder pues (si) no bebes · [veu tonta] si no sé qué · (si) no sé cuantos · (xx) [...] yo muchas veces he hablado con ellos eh[?] · · con el ricardo por ejemplo he hablado · pero por qué bebes y tal no sé qué no sé · · y qué vas a hacer · · y qué vas a hacer pues · te lo pasas bien · oye no te lo pasas bien bebiendo yo me lo paso mal · · porque yo bebo · · y después estoy por los suelos · · pa estar por los suelos · pues no bebo oye · · te lo pasas mal bebiendo · · ellos se lo pasan bien · · y parece que no estén oye pero cuando beben · parecen que no estén es- · están ajillipollaos · · · · no sé · es una cosa que · [IB06: 1055-116]

Andrés: =porque es su casa ·

Paula: no- pues vale · también me quedaré yo la próxima vez · · y que lo haga too tu madre · te parece bien?

Pablo: yo no te he dicho nunca nada[!] ·

Irene: [Ella riu] >hostia

Pablo: <te he dicho yo alguna vez algo[?]=

Paula: =pe- pero es que te parece bien pablo que yo >fuera a tu casa y me quedara sentada?

Pablo: <yo nunca te he dicho nada [Irene riu]

Luis: tú- tú un momento · tu seguro-

Mateo: tu es que te has- ya estás >sacando el tema de >quicio

Luis: <cállala mateo esperate

Pablo: <too ha sio- too ha sido cuando hemos comido en mi >terreno que has

Mateo: <está sacando el tema de quicio ya

Pablo: <ido y dices uy · hoy no he hecho nada · qué habrá dicho tu madre? y digo qué va a decir · nada[!]

Paula: pero eso me ha pasado muy pocas veces [GB02: 578-607]

Extract 46

Pepe: yo te- · le doy mucha razón a la magda · y es más · · nno me quedo contento · con la · con la con la solución que damos de que bueno es normal · es normal · · que si este · al tema- al tema que me está preocupando · yo veo que el salva · me va a entender mejor · que el jaume [>Silvia: claro pues se lo dirás a él] <no no · pues no me quedo contento con eso · porque creo quee · · >por lo menos por mi parte no espera espera

Silvia: <tu- · yo creo que tu subconsciente ya te lleva directamente o sea [Pepe: sí · pero es que aparte · pero es que-] · vale que te lleve · a la primera persona que tienes delante se lo vas a contar · si es un amigo tuyo no? [Pepe: sí · pero es que no · pero creo que no] · pero · a lo mejor no te entiende tan bien · como te podría entender él · si se lo explicas a >él

Magda: <pues entonces no es colega

Pepe: <sí pero creo- · pero creo que es más que eso creo que es más que eso porque · igual · igual es por donde va la magda no? · y a lo que la magda · a lo que la magda aspira · pero yo lo que me encuentro · es que a veces · yo · no le comento · a la magda · tal cosa · no porque ella · no sea afin en este tema conmigo · sino porque me siento cortado y digo · uy! · a ver si a la magda hablándole de esto · no estoy · no estoy · hablando de más no? · entonces · yo creo que hay un problema añadido [Silvia: también · puede que sí] · hay un [GA01: 726-60]

Extract 47

Clara: currarnos esta historia no y es y es una contradicción que tengo todavía no? · · que de coño porque la sociedad iría tan bien y no sé qué no sé cuantos · · no? · y como tía pienso que tal tal tal no? pues me voy a currar esto y lo otro · · peroo · ff- · pues como tía · pues me llamo Anita y entonces · · yo tengo mis limitaciones y paso dee · de · · de castigarme no? · qué pasas[!] yo tengo que seguir viviendo y · yo quiero vivir lo mejor posible · no? · y que · mi calidad de vida sea buena · · y paso de batallar es que · no puedo · · y · y me como la cabeza eh? · pero

Josep: pero · pero en canvi per exemple [GA02: 704-37, 927-40, 772-90]

Extract 49

Pepe: estàvem tothom allà · dinant · · i la meva germana · parlava del tema tabú · però súper tabú no[?] · que teníem a casa que era · porque sí sí · porque yo soy independentista ep! · totes les cares blanques no[?] ja- la del meu pare · i les- · i les nostres també no[?] el meu pare indignant- · indignat el pavo · pero pero como · se tendria que saber · que en mi casa eso no se puede decir · no[?] · i jo i la clara pensant · no estoy de acuerdo · no estoy de acuerdo porque yo soy anarquista · porque · ni españa ni cataluña · porque yo soy anarquista no[?] · dèiem · que no que no · qué coño · hombree · no- nos estan ehplotando los españoles noh van a explotar también loh catalane · d'aquest pal no[?] · · però ja · a primer de buup · fins a vu- no · vuitè d'egb i primer de bup ja · començava a pensar que (ja) bueno · mira va ser el mateix moment que vaig decidir que quee · que bakunin no · que no · quan vai començar a ser marxista [IA06: 625-646]

Extract 61

Satva: la coordinadora se habla catalán · · generalmente no[?] pero la gente de santa coloma · · habla todos castellano · · la gente de sants hablan todos catalán · · no sé depende no[?] · yo creo que también va por el barrio · · porque santa coloma pues · son todos unos garrulos · · y en sants pues són todos · [To més alt, cantat] muy así muy hipis muy catalanistas y

Joan: tu experiencia del catalán en la [IA02: 325-33]

Extract 62

Jaume: a partir de catorse anys · vai fer la meua penya no[?] de la penya que era de ·· de l'esplai · allavors pues el meu vocabulari a lo millor va canviar una mica · més ·· a- al principi era més *callejero* no[?] · va canviar una mica més ·· i va ser en plan de · no kumba però · en plan d- · o sigui *típico esplai* no[?] o sigui [veu xava] una mica així (d'aquella-) ·· però això va estar poc t- poc temps i · després · amb la gent que sempre m'ha anat bé · ha sigut amb tios · més o menys · que no d- que són com jo no[?] i · per això que noo · la meua parla no és molt ·· és simple no és una cosa · rebuscada ni res no[?] [IA03: 925-36].

Extract 69

Silvia: *pues yo hablo castellano · casi siempre ·· no tengo problemas para el c- para hablar catalán pero a veces me cuesta no[?] · según qué palabras porque no estoy acostumbrada a hablarlo no[?] · bueno acostumbrada ·· si yo- si tengo que hablarlo lo hablo o sea · no es que prefiera que me hablen en castellano · qué va · es que me da igual no[?] · peroo · des de pequeña siempre he hablado en castellano en mi casa no[?] · mi madre mi padre es de gerona · no[?] mi madre es de ·· de Málaga no[?] entonces mi madre siempre hablaba en castellano y con nosotros igual · y sin embargo con mis tíos pues hablamos el catalán no[?] mi (padre) pues (x) lo mismo · y · pues con la gente · según · si hablo en catalán pues hablo en catalán · si hablo en castellano · pues · en castellano pero · me siento mucho más cómoda hablando en castellano no[?] · porque · me sé expresar mejor ·· pero · no no es por otra cosa ahí*

Joan: *y en la escuela no te representó ningún problema >cuando lo introdujeron o*

Silvin: *<(cuand-) · que va nunca · desde- ya desde pequeña ya · cuando yo empecé a hacer clases de catalán · pues · en el egebé no[?] · yy · yo hacía* [IA03: 1480-1508]

Extract 70

Magda: *porque no me sient- · no es que no lo sepa hablar · porque sí · lo sé hablar · pero es que yo estoy pensado en castellano por qué estoy hablando en catalán si estoy pensando en castellano · porque lo traduzco y digo palabras que · como no las sé traducir las cambio[?] no · yo quiero decir la palabra que estoy pensando · y no es porque yo no quiera que hablen catalán · a mi que me hablen me da igual · bueno a veces · no me da igual ·· peroo hablarlo yo en ·· cuando debo y ya está cuando busco curro y estas cosas* [IA05: 781-90]

Extract 71

Jaume: *con ella · amb ella parlo en castellà no[?] · amb el chimo parlo català amb tu · català i a vegades si comença en castellà en castellà · no tinc un idioma · propi no[?] per parlar · o sigui ·· me puc expressar com vulgui en castellà i en català · (lo poc) que sé ho faig no[?] [IA03: 1406-12]*

Extract 72

Mateo: *ui hosti menudo ridículo · cuando me lo hacían hablar ·· yo no quería la mayoría de veces es que (xx) que pasaba de salir a · y habla veces quee · cualquier ejercicio así · le decía · no no no lo he hecho · solo por el mero hecho de salir ulli a hacer el · ridículo*

Joan: *y en ·· en las · bueno en la* [IB05: 585-92]

Extract 73

Clara: *no noho sé · perquèe ·· perquè · yo me daba cuenta de qu- · de no[?] de que lo que estaba haciendo era · era utilizar pues pues una historia solo por verguenza ·· no[?] · pues hablar un idioma que nunca he hablado · (pues lo que hice) fue quitarme la verguenza · y ya está · (es decir no es) · no es que cambiara de · idea · yo era super consciente · de porque yo utilizaba de porque yo soy anarquista · eh[?] yo ·· me conozco mucho · o sea me paso (toas las) horas del día · dedicadas a mi no[?] · y me conozco mucho · si es por verguenza pues · o bien di que es por verguenza ·· o bien rompe con la verguenza ·· quiero decir que no se me abrió la luz* [IA10: 677-90]

Extract 74

Patricia: *passo perquè · també · no em posa- no em ve de gust posar-me a barallar de la importància del català perquè m'enviaran a la merda ·· vaig a l'escola i els hi començo a dir que · van- han de parlar en català perquè no sé què no sé quantos i em tiren un totxo al cap [rient] ·· és lo mateix que deien de · *porque las feministas* no sé què no sé quantos i el que et poden tirar és una ampolla · és lo mateix · llavors més val fer-ho d'una altra manera · pues és parlar en cat- parl- els hi parles d'en tant en tant en català ·· hi ha gent que · que sí quee · que potser* [IA04: 956-76]

Extract 75

Clara: *bueno amb el ayats ell sempre ha parlat en català · i un dia amb mi em va començar a parlar que · ui uixxx · quietof!* [Els dos riem] *(te voy xxx) dos hostias · (vete a) militar (x) lo que tu quieras*

pero · a mi no me lles · clar perquè a més tu · tu parles · · més o menys eh[?] · pues com has començat a parlar amb una persona · ffjate yo · yo tenia un novio que era · medio gitano · pero lo c- · pero lo conoçi hablando · en catalán · ·

Joan: vols dir gitano castellanoparlant perquè si vas a gràcia · o a sants · >· els manolos parlen en català

Clara: <castellanoparlante · · · castellanoparlante total y absoluto · · y sempre parlàvem en català · perquè no · (no[?] eh) · i · y cuando hablábamos en castellano pues · no podíamos ·

Joan: [ric] · és bestial això [IA10: 497-512]

Extract 76

Patricia: un cop hi ha molt de contacte amb una person- · per exemple jo amb la clara començo a parlar en català amb ella i em sona fals · · parlar-li en cata- tenir una conversa amb ella en català · i a ella m- i a ella igual llavors clar després amb una persona tornar-li obligar a parlar-li- parlar-li amb un altre idioma [IA04: 998-1002]

Extract 77

Guille: és que jo que sé jo amb l'edu per exemple · que és una persona no[?] que · · més o menys · tenim un rotllo així · guapo no? · i em poso amb ell a parlar amb català i acabo parlant amb castellà [riu] i · al principi no al principi no em passava · al principi amb català no[?] · però després al · barrejant-se no[?] amb més gent · doncs · o estàs explicant algo ii · comences amb una persona a parlar-li en castellà perquè estàs acostumat a parlar-li en castellà · i de cop i volta li canvies en català no[?] · però és que · nni me'n done compte no[?] · · no sé jo penso que es parla · molt de tot [IA05: 743-57]

Extract 79

Luis: *eh que nunca me ha entruo y cuantoo · máh me cuehta una cosa máh la aborrehco no[?] · · y no hay- · no hay manera · · ah · bueno · loh que sean catalanihta · o sean independentihta me da lo mismo por ello no[?] [...] nunca me ha gustao el catalán ni · · · lo- lo entiendo a veceh lo hablo pero no · · · se puede decir que odio las cosas catalana [rialleta] · en pocas palabrah algunah cosa · · todo lo que tiene nada que ver con fanatimmos y · como el barça como o sea así ·*

Cambrer: (esto no tiene nada que ver) te gustan más las catalanas que el catalán

Luis: *tamblén eh verdá [Jo ric] · · lah catalana sí be- eso sí que me guhta · · sí sí · lah catalanah me encantan [IB04: 717-19; 734-46]*

Extract 80

Pablo: *no me gusta el catalán yo qué sé · · · o sea lo tienes que aprender porque estás en cataluña pero simplemente · o sea es como si te obligaran · · y a mí como no me gusta que me obliguen · pues · a lo mejor no me gusta por eso · · pues igual que el latín el latín yo le tengo asco · · porque me obligaron o sea no me gustaba a mí · y claro en- en [IB01: 1042-9]*

Extract 81

Luis: *profesore muy manláticoh que · · declan lo típico [veu gutural] eh quee · con el franquismo noh costó mucho ahora que podemos · pue venga catalán · venga catalán · · y (qué) culpa tenemos los demás hombre · déhano tranquilo · ·*

Joan: *bueno a ver · luego tengo así otras · preguntas sueltas que [IB04: 962-7]*

Extract 82

Ricardo: *es lo que digo yo yo- · (o sea) si estuvieses · o sea con- · con gente que está hablando todo el día catalán pues acabarías hablando el catalán · · (lo que pa- aquí) vale · aquí nos cachondeamos · y tal e · ah · sale mal esta palabra ee · que no sé qué que · (x) a mí me gusta e- · y · me parece que soy uno de los pocos que me gusta el catalán · o sea no- · o sea yo no hablo por el hecho de que (te da) · · no sé · pero a mí me gusta o sea a mí me gusta oír una conversación en catalán · [...] bueno y · como al pablo que no sé quien más que no · se ve que no les gusta el catalán · a mí si me gusta · (x) es eso que noo · hombre yo con (x) algun un cliente · me pasa lo mismo que al andrés como ehtamoh de camarero pues · pues a veceh pues sí que hablas el catalán no[?] · aunque metas gambazoh no[?] [IB08: 692-703, 712-15]*

Extract 83

Paula: *sí · · si eel · · l- los de recepción hablan entre ellos en catalán · pero a lo mejor estoy hablando yo con ellos · · y por ejemplo eh- · ellos [dubte] · a lo mejor ellos están hablando en catalán no[?] y llego yo · y si me tienen que decir algo me lo dicen en castellano · y yo se lo digo a ellos · que no hace falta que- · que os pongáis a hablar conmigo en castellano · pero · es la costumbre ya · · y siempre me han · a lo mejor llego- y- bueno llego yoo bueno llega otro quee · y le hablan en castellano [IB03: 77-88]*

Extract 84

Salva: pues · no sé porque · · · yo qué sé si el catalán es · la lengua de aquí · · habría que hablarla no[?] · y no porque diga · porque esto es cataluña hay que hablarla no? · sinó · · por decir · joder que sano que es · saber- poder hablar dos idiomas no? · · y aparte pues que a mi me interesa porque · no sé hablar catalán · · y · y aprovecho eso no[?] · y bueno y además sabiendo pues · · que el- el ayats si yo digo sanahoria · no se va a reir de mi no[?] · · o quee · claro que no se van a reir de mi porque (claro) · están peces como yo [1A02: 284-90]

Extract 85

Aleix: una altra · · s'intenta parlar en català per raons polítiques fdiguessim · per reivindicar · peer- per lo que parlàvem · · (xxx tu estarás) amb una història · però tu intentes (treballar a xxxx més global) no [?] · o sigui si hi ha una gent que treballa per una història · · tu no vas a despreciar · tu vols que la gent entengui la teva tu entens el sentit de l'altra · llavors · · uns perquè estem per laa història dee reivindicar el català · altres · perquè diuem bueno · jo sóc castellanoparlant però · · aquí hi ha una gent que sempre ho havia parlat · · i els (reivindica) com per treballar-ho no? · llavors al nivell del mili kk revolta al moc · (tothom) · (doncs) la idea és aquesta Jo: i es realitza la idea · amb una [1A01: 337-55]

Extract 86

Guille: clar · · a mi és el que em passava · o què sé · joo de petit tenia amics · per exemple uns amics de la escala que eren castellans no[?] · · iii · no sé · jo el sentia parlar amb castellà i · em donava pal contestar-li amb català no[?] no sé per quina raó · i acabava parlant en castellà · · i potser no feia hen fet no[?] perquè igual el xaval aquell volia aprendre el català · m'entens[?] · però · · jo què sé · · no sé per què ho feia · però ho fas

Magda: un respeto · un (xxx) [1A05: 853-64]

Extract 87

Pepi: és curiós perquè · · jo veig una persona que- que el- la seva llengua és el català · i li començo a parlar en català · ara això ja no em passa tan com abans no[?] · però com abans el parlava molt pitjor que ara · doncs · · semblava que diguessin pobret no[?] I em parlaven sempre en- amb castellà · i això és bueno de mala educació i és · · em sembla que és · una facta de respectee · m- molt gran no[?] · quan militava passava això · quan estava a la lliga em passava això · · [Acord de guitarra flamenca] [...] sí · però és · això és sempre lo que passa és que · per lo que et deia abans de què t'anaven tallant el rotllo · · fins quee · fins que lal- · fins que tu ets més fort que la vergonya · · i passes dee · · de tallar-te tu mateix el rotllo no? llavors si tu parles català amb algú · i aquest és catal- aquest- parla sempre català · i et contesta en castellà · tu passes igualment · continues parlant català · fins que el tiuu · · se n'adona no[?] · · o no o dir-li por qué me contestas en castellano · no[?] · · [acords de guitarra flamenca]

Joan: sí · · i quina necessitat hi ha · vull [1A06: 431-81]

Extract 88

Clara: vull dir el discurs del · aleix es · · que cadascú · parli com vulgui no sé què no sé quantos · pero la meva cult- · o sea no[?] · i jo per això · parlo sempre català · (val vui dir) tú si vols parla sempre · en castellà · · vale · jo llavors parlo sempre català [1A10: 484-8]

Extract 90

Joan: de la escuela taller a donde tú vas a ahora pues · es bastante diferente

Salva: sí · un cambio de la hostia · · No sé es que · · es acostumbrarse no[?] · · porque claro (entré) en el trabajo y · · estaba pues · joder · ahora irse a la plaza · unos porros · · una cervezas y (xxx) de la hostia porque claro no te pues marchar · · yy es ponerte e- en situación no[?] de decir · ahora estoy en un curro serio y que no · que no me puedo pasar · y en la escuela taller pues estaba como · como queria no[?] · pero es · no sé es acostumbrarse no[?] · igual es un poco de resignación pero · · Joan: la experiencia de la escuela taller [1A02: 550-63]

Extract 91

Irene: jolines a mi me ha costado · qué quieres que te diga · llegar a a a quinto · · vamos a- jolines años de estudio y estudio no[?] · y ahora · eh que ara no lo dejo segurísimo · · yy trabajar pues sí me gusta no[?] · he aprendido muchas cosas · · pero creo quee · lo que tenía que aprender ahí · yu lo he aprendido · · ahora ya siempre es lo mismo lo mismo lo mismo lo mismo · lo que yo estaba comentando com mi madre es que me gustaría o sea a mi me gustaría seguir trabajundo · pero · en otro sitio no[?] [1B06: 374-86]

Extract 94

Aleix: tu dius · és que · parleu d'això nosaltres parlem d'això altre [Silvia: no no pero] · lo que passa · és que · jo crec que aquí hi ha una cosa que és · · no sé no[?] · · que precisament això lo que hem d'intentar és pues la gent estar mesclada i no per estar mesclada sinó [Lluís: ja] · perquè · · jo què sé intentar introduir-te no[?] només i [Lluís: per (muntar) un (xx) · ja] · *"vale tenemos afinidades diferentes por lo tanto · o sea es que es así si a mí me gusta una cosa y a este también y a este también"* · [Lluís: (xxx); Silvia: no pero] *y como · a ti a ti a ti* també us agraden · coses · pues no no[?] · vui dir jo com me'n vaig · de marxa tinc ganes d'estar amb tothom no? [Lluís: ja ja] · llavors · jo el que intento [...] [BG-GA02: 202-218]

Extract 100

Clara: perquè ell · mai mai ha parlat · el castellà mai mai mai mai mai · però la diferència del josep · no[?] · és que ell · està obert · *no no si tu habla como quieras · y yo también* · que clar a més · *está rodeado de gente que sólo habla castellano* · ·

Joan: la diferència amb qui · ·

Clara: amb els catalanoparlants que només parlen català

Joan: m · ·

Clara: *bueno no qué va no es esa la diferencia · qué va · no sé por qué lo hacen* [rialla]

Joan: vull dir que dius > que és diferent que una altra gent · que potser són més assertius

Clara: *<porque es raro · · home · home és diferent · és diferent · ·*

Joan: que no exigeix · vols dir

Clara: nooo · que · · · · >(que pensado eh?)

Joan: <la diferència · la diferència es que no exigeix amb els altres · per exemple que parlin >català

Clara: <sí · però hi ha molts >que

Joan: <o que ell · >no s'exigeix a si mateix de parlar-lo

Clara: <no però · · no · *es que no porque no porque a mí · vamos · yo los amigos · catalanoparlantes que tengo tampoco me exigen nada nunca (x) · y si me exigieran · creo que estaría bien · · que me daría igual · · · no sé · es · él es raro [riu]* · *es que el aleix es raro* · [BG-IA10: 534-65]

APPENDIX 2

I give below a brief inventory of words and expressions that belong to the Catalan juvenile slang. The list is by no means exhaustive. It is only meant to illustrate the basis of my analyses, particularly with regard to the issues discussed in section 5.1 on popular styles of speech. The main criterion I have used to identify elements of slang is my own competence, although I have also taken into account the opinions, comments and information given by my participants. However, on the basis of my own competence, I could have brought in many more expressions. In this case, I have restricted myself to those linguistic elements for which I had 'hard' evidence (i.e. they appeared in my fieldnotes, interviews, natural conversations, group discussions) or, in some cases, those which I definitely remembered as having been used in some particular situation by the members of the groups. In this way, I have been able to provide in most cases quotations of instances where people used these expressions. Additionally, the following list contains most of the unconventional language that appears in the transcripts of my analysis.

I have compared my own linguistic intuitions with the information provided by various Catalan and Spanish dictionaries (Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana, 1983; Vinyoles, 1978; Moliner, 1991; León, 1992). Most of the expressions appear in the dictionaries listed above. Only some of them do not, which probably means that they are recent coinages of the *penya*. Indeed, during my fieldwork I had to learn a few new items myself because I had lost touch with this kind of language for two or three years. In some cases, I found that some expressions I had taken as slang were, in reality, plain colloquial Catalan or Spanish (such as "**picar-se**", to get angry, offended). I have eliminated some of those, but I have preserved others. This is because I still had the impression that these expressions belonged somehow to the world of the *penya*. With regard to the example given above, for instance, there are the words "pic" or "**pique**" that are being used by speakers of Catalan with meanings that are not traditionally associated with these forms (i.e. to designate a dispute, a row). In some cases, the words may well be common to the standard language, but they are used by young people much more insistently and in situations where they would not be used by other speakers (for instance: "*agobiar*", to annoy, or "*paranoia*"). I have sought to restrict the list to those items that are likely to be used by the younger generations only, but not by most of the parents of the *penya*. Therefore, I have avoided most swearwords, dirty language and Andalusian dialectalisms. As a result, this vocabulary reflects mainly the speech of the Trepas, although some of the examples come from the Ramblers as well.

The majority of the items listed are used both in Catalan and Spanish with slight phonetic variations. Additionally, most of them appear to have been borrowed from Spanish into Catalan amongst young people. Indeed, the large majority of them can be found in León's (Ibid.) dictionary of Spanish slang. This supports the point I made in chapter 5 that Catalan slang is constructed through the appropriation of Spanish forms of expression. I provide first the Catalan entry (in bold) and then the Spanish equivalent between brackets (in italics), unless both written forms coincide. When the Spanish equivalent does not exist, I indicate other equivalents or 'possible' equivalents accompanied with a question mark. When the Catalan equivalent does not exist, I provide the Spanish form only and in italics. In many cases, I have only been able to provide examples in one of the languages. Therefore, the judgement on whether a particular expression exists or not in the other language is based on my own experience again.

I have only provided the English translation for the definitions. This is because I felt that a translation of the quotations would be difficult and of little relevance. First of all, the Catalan and Spanish repertoires of slang are quite different. More often than not, words and expressions have no equivalents, or even closely related expressions. Therefore, translation can only be done by paraphrasing the utterances in a way that the original structure and flavour are lost. Additionally, the tone of many slang expressions is very different, and this has to do with differences in the way youth culture is socially valued in Catalonia and Britain. It is significant that, in English, a word like 'youth' has a negative tone, whereas this is not the case for their equivalents "*jove*" or "*joven*". In this sense, the definitions will be enough to provide a sense of the meanings that are constructed through the language of '*la penya*'.

- a sac (a saco)** fr. adv. a) Molt, en gran quantitat, agudament: *Ahi si que actúa el rol [entre chicos y chicas] al saco paco o sea una pasada* [Clara, GA01: 887-9]. b) Dur, sense contemplacions: *El idioma que hablan, mucho más a saco que el nuestro.* [Salva, IA02: 142-3]
Literally: in a bag. a) A lot, in great quantities, intensively. b) Hard, without contemplation.
- àcid (ácido)** m. Droga química anomenada tècnicament LSD.
acid, LSD.
- agobiar** v.tr. Marejar, molestar, aclaparar: *Pues te agobia también tanta fiesta tanta fiesta.* [Ricardo, IB08: 396-7]. v.refl. Preocupar-se, deprimir-se. *Le sé que cuando venga del pueblo, me voy a agobiar.* [Natalia, IA08: 194-5]
to annoy. In reflexive form: to worry, to get depressed.
- ajilipollao (ajilipollat?)** adj. Designa l'estat d'una persona amb la qual no s'hi pot comptar per fer determinades coses, sobretot pels efectes de drogues: *Cuando beben, parece que no estén. Están ajilipollaos.* [Irene: IB06: 1094-6]
Literally: to get or feel 'cocked up'. Somebody who cannot be counted upon to do some things, particularly because s/he is under the effect of drugs. Stupidised.
- ajo (all?)** m. Droga química anomenada tècnicament LSD. [*Porque el Costa se ha pasado el verano de ajo.*] [Salva, NA13: 164-6]
Literally: garlic. LSD.
- al.lucinant (alucinante)** adj. Fantàstic, meravellós: *Luego hay otro despacho, con una mesa de roble de esas alucinantes.* [Irene, IB06: 184-5]
Literally: hallucinating. Fantastic, wonderful, surprising.
- al.lucinar (alucinar)** v.i. Metàfora que, fent referència als efectes de certes drogues, s'utilitza per expressar sorpresa, estranyesa o plaer segons el context. *Estoy completamente alucino, oye* [Chimo, FA04: 131-2] *Es una pasada, jo al.lucino. Estic molt retrassat, eh?* [Jaume, IA03: 1053-5]
hallucinate. It refers metaphorically to the effect of certain drugs, and it is used to express feelings of surprise, strangeness or pleasure according to context.
- amfeta (anfeta)** f. Amfetamina, fàrmac estimulant que s'utilitza com a droga.
amphetamine. A substance used in medicine because of its stimulant action. It is often taken by young people together with other drugs.
- anar de (ir de)** fr. v. a) Utilitzar per expressar el fet d'estar sota els efectes d'alguna droga: *anar de cubates, anar de coca.* b) També s'utilitza per indicar la manera de ser i de tractar d'una persona: *va de punki, va de mangui. ...i ens sent a la Clara i a mi de dir: "Però bueno, de què aneu?"* [Patricia, IA04: 718-9]
Literally: to go of (or about). It originally served to indicate the form of drug-taking one was practising, i.e. 'to go of cocaine'. It is also used to indicate the character of a person.
- apalancar-se (apalancarse)** v. refl. Quedar-se aturat en un lloc o en un punt, esp. per mandra, cansament o indisposició.
To stay quiet in one place, state or situation because of laziness, tiredness or indisposition.
- apalanque** m. Nominalització d'apalancar-se: *...però portava tothom un apalanque impressionant, i men'n vaig anar a casa.* [Patricia, IA04: 633-5]
Nominalisation of the verb above.
- bareto** m. Bar, esp. petit i senzill: *Es que vam anar a un bareto que és una cerveseria.* [Pepe, NA13: 21-2]
A bar, particularly a small and unpretentious one.
- bataca** m. El qui toca la bateria en un grup de música, el bateria. *Necessitem un bataca.* [Ayats, NA13: 108]
The percussionist of a rock band.
- bicho (bitxo?)** m. Droga química anomenada tècnicament LSD. *Luego pa pillá un tripi un bicho treh mil quinientah pelah.* [Luis, Cas 3 principi.]
A pill, a dose of LSD.
- birra** f. Cervesa. *Tenen mogollón de birres d'aquestes, no?* [Pepe, NA13: 25-32]
beer, a borrowing from Italian.
- bocata** m. Derivació de "Bocadillo", entrepà. *Eh, vamos al bocata aquel.* [Andrés, NB03: 202-5] (l'exemple designa, en aquest cas, un establiment que s'anomena així perquè s'hi fan entrepans).
sandwich. Word formed by "Bocadillo" plus the typical slang ending '-ata'.
- bola (bola?)** f. Interès o focus d'atenció d'una persona en un moment determinat, estat d'ànim. *En vez de hacer una de más, tu va a tu bola, no? va? nen?* [Oscar, NA15: 158-9]
Literally: ball. Interest, focus of attention, mood of a person.
- borde** adj. Estúpid, calçasses: *...li parlaràs, però si va en plan borde, està clar que no* [Guille, IA05: 916-7]; *Yo no soy así de borde.* [Pepe, GA04: 180-1]
Literally: border. Stupid person.
- bullia** f. Acció de molestar, marejar: *Creeré que lo he entendido y a lo mejor... L además dándote bullia.* [Magda, IA05: 1136-8]
The action of hassling, bugging.
- cabezu, comer la** (vegeu: menjar el coco) f. v. a) Convèncer, manipular la opinió o les decisions d'una persona: *Le comi la cabeza a la Natalia para que se matriculara.* [Clara, IA10: 180-3]. b) Deprimir: *Paso de estar too el rato allí porque te come mucho la cabeza* [Ricardo, IB08: 347-9]
Literally: to eat someone's head. To convince, to manipulate someone's opinion. In reflexive form: to cause someone or feel depressed or sad.

- cacau mental** (*cacao mental*) fr. n. Confusió d'idees. *Si, yo flipaba. Tú imagina el cacao mental que me hice yo* [Magda, IA05: 1182-3]
Literally: mental cacao. Confusion in the mind or in the spirit.
- cagar-se** (*cagarse*) v. refl. a) Maleir, odiar. b) Cagpirant-ho metafòricament, pot expressar un sentiment extremadament positiu (similar a: si ve la Marta, em moro d'alegria). *Molaria que te cagas* [NA15: 90]
Literally: to shit one-self (but not to oneself), which means in popular speech to defecate involuntarily. It normally means to be afraid. In many swearing formulas, it also expresses hate, disdain (to shit on somebody). Taken as an extreme, it can also mean something extraordinarily positive.
- cantar** v.i. Ésser o fer-se molt perceptible, contrastar. *Es que canta, mucho mucho mucho [tu manera de hablar catalán]* [Clara, IA10: 463]
Literally: to sing. To stand out, to be very perceptible, to stand in contrast.
- canuto** m. Porro, cigarret lligat a mà barrejat d'haixix o marihuana.
joint. A handmade cigarette of marihuana or a of mixture of tobacco and hashish.
- canya** (*caña*) f. Força, èmfasi. En música, ritme ràpid i sorollós en oposició a lent; *Mira, a fer-la lenta, amb la lletra, la canya, l'estribillo, torna lenta, la canya i el final.* [Salva, NA12: 145-8]
Literally: cane. Strength, emphasis. In music, a quick rhythm, a loud stretch, as compared with a slow and soft one.
- cascos** m. a) Els auriculars d'un equip de música b) El cap, la closca. **Trencar-se els cascos**: esforçar-se, treballar dur: *Es clar que l'ho explicava ell, però te tenies que trencar tu els cascos per fer-ho.* [Patricia, IA04: 117-9]; *Prou cremada per anar a buscar feina com per sobre tindre't que trencar els cascos quan...* [Aleix, GA02: 873-5]
Literally: helmets. a) Earphones. b) Head. To break one's helmets, to work hard.
- catxat** (*cachado*) adj. Cansat, esp. físicament. *Tampoco es tan, tan cachado [mi trabajo]* [Lola, IA07: 676]
Tired, part. physically.
- cavall** (*caballo*) m. Heroïna. *Pues yo vengo de pillar tres gramos de caballo y sin problemas.* [Salva, NA03: 142-3]
Literally: horse. Heroine.
- chini** adj. Petit, nyau. *Mi hermana chini va al insti.* [Magda, IA05: 340]
Probably originated in 'chino', Chinese. Small.
- chiri** (xiri?) m. Porro, cigarret lligat a mà barrejat d'haixix o marihuana. *El chiri es un petardo.* [Magda, IA05: 666]
joint.
- coca** f. Cocaïna.
Cocaine.
- coco** m. El cap, la closca. **menjar el coco**, convèncer, manipular l'opinió o el pensament d'alguí. *Vamos a comerle el coco que así sale.* [Pablo, IB01: 1619-20] *Vegeu cabeza.*
Literally: coconut. The head, the skull. To eat someone's coconut: to convince, to manipulate someone's opinion.
- col.lega** (*colega*) m. f. Amic, company, entre membres de la penya. *[Os presento a] Joan, un colega.* [Pepe, FA07: 280-1] *El Salva també ens ha dit d'una masia d'un col.lega que fa con'certillos.* [Ayats, NA13: 1142-3]
Literally: colleague. Mate, friend amongst members of the penya.
- columpiarse** v. refl. Fer alguna cosa repetitiva i inútil, mandrejar. *[En la oficina,] si salimos tarde, igual es porque nosotras nos hemos columpiado.* [Lola, IA07: 421-2]
Literally: to swing one-self (as when children play in the park). To do something in a repetitive way, to be idle.
- cotarro** m. Qüestió, tema: *...porta una miqueta més el cotarro d'advocats i tota la història.* [Patricia, IA04: 411-2]
Question, issue.
- cubata** m. Cuba Libre, combinat de rom i cola. En general, qualsevol combinat de licor sec fort i beguda dolça. *Y cuando ha pasado lo del vino, dice: "Va ahora unos cubatas.* [Salva, NA04: 236-9]
Cuba Libre, another term coined with the slang suffix '-ata'.
- currar** v.i. Treballar, pensar: *Ara, crec que és curro i crec que és molt de curro.* [Aleix, GA01: 379-80] *Mi padre curra en un banco.* [Salva, IA02: 20-21]. *No, que yo ya tengo curro.* [Pepe, FA08: 45-6]. Refl. Treballar en una cosa, dedicar-hi esforç. *Em van elegir a mi perquè era la persona que m'ho currava, no?* [Jaume, IA03: 251-2]. *Pues me voy a currar esto y lo otro* [Clara, GA02: 777-8] *Si tu t'ho curras amb les ties, les ties estan bé [a la feina]* [Aleix, GA02: 805-6]
To work, to work hard. In a reflexive form, to work hard on something.
- cutre** adj. D'aspecte degradat, brut, abandonat. *Cutre per cutre, prefereixo la Verneda abans que el Poblenou.* [Patricia, IA04: 1301-2]. Persona indesitjable: *Porque el periódico [...] es de los cutres.* [Clara, IA10: 745-6]
Disgusting, degraded, soiled.
- descarat** (*descarao*) adj. És clar, obvi, innegable: Joan: *[Le] han cogido con lo meaos en el vientre.* Luis: *descarao!*
Literally: faceless. Of course! Undeniable! Obvious!
- desfasar-se** (*desfasarse*) v. refl. Perdre el control o les formes, esp. degut al consum de droga. *Ultimamente me estoy desfasando si.* [Salva, IA02: 215]. *Si estamos los chavales juntos, nos desfasamos más. O sea, hacemos más el burro.* [Pablo, IB01: 618-21] *Las fiestas suelen ser muy desfasadas, no?* [Ricardo, IB08: 546-7]
Literally: to be out of phase. To lose control of one self, not to be able to stick to formal appearances, particularly because of drug taking.

- embarronar-se** (*embarronarse?*) v. refl. Comprometre's, implicar-se: Que s'embarroni una mica no? [Pepe, IA06: 884-5]
To get oneself involved (in something).
- emmerdar-se** (Sense equivalència en espanyol) v. refl. Embolicar-se: Si necessiten ajuda m'hi fico, però no m'hi emmerdo massa. [Patricia, IA04: 506-7]
Literally: to get stuck in or stained with shit. To get embroiled or involved with something.
- enganxar** (*enganchar?*) v.t. Agafar, prendre, posar. Si n'hi ha alguna bona, o sinó enganxar una peli de vídeo. [Patricia, IA04: 222-3]. Vegeu: pillar.
To get.
- enrollar-se** (*enrollarse*) v. refl. a) Originàriament, fer-se pesat o avorrit (Vegeu: rollo). b) Portar-se correctament, amablement, participar en la diversió: Ostres, el tiu s'enrolla no? Perquè et deixen instal·lar i tal. [Chimo, FA15: 208-10] No mi hermano se enrolla mucho, en ese aspecto. [Natalia, IA08: 150-1] Falta que la gente, yo que sé, diga "vamos a enrollarnos con la gente", no? [Pablo, IB01: 1503-5]. c) Involucrar-se en una relació sexual: Yo nunca me he plateao enrollarme con él ni mucho menos. [Silvia, GA01: 176-8]
Literally. To roll or fold oneself, or to. This is one of the most successful coinages of Spanish slang. It originally referred to doing something long and boring. b) As the word 'rollo' (see below) expanded its meaning, it came to mean to be fair, to participate, to be kind. c) To get involved in a sexual relationship.
- enrollat** (*enrollao*) adj. Persona correcta, com cal, divertida, políticament progressista. Una tia d'aquelles típiques que te va de "muy enrollada", però és una porca d'aquelles. [Patricia, IA04: 337-9]
A nice person, a funny person, a politically correct person.
- fantasma** adj. Persona indesitjable. Ya me dijeron eso, Joder, tío. Qué fantasma, tío. [Irene, IB06: 320-1]
Literally: a ghost. An undesirable, disgusting person.
- fardar** v.i. Presumir, demostrar o indicar la satisfacció amb un mateix o respecte d'alguna cosa que un posseeix. Un pijo para ti es una persona que farda mucho de lo que tiene. [Magda, IA05: 1273-5]
To show off.
- farra** f. festa, diversió. Anar de farra, anar de festa: ...por nochevieja cada uno se lo monta, se va de farra [Joan, GB03: 1626-8]
Party, feast.
- fer-s'ho bé** (*hacérselo bien*) fr. v. Participar, mostrar amabilitat, actuar apropiadament. El bajo se lo hace bien. [Lola, FA04: 237-8]
To participate, to be nice, to be good.
- flipar** v.i. a) Originàriament, estar sota els efectes d'alguna droga (vegeu al·lucinar). b) Per extensió: gaudir, experimentar plaer. Per mi és una cosa asquerosa, però per a ells, flipen: "anda mira que taque que guai". [Jaume, IA03: 1101-3] Fins a 8è d'egb m'encantaven i em flipava fer mates. [Guille, IA05: 1041-2]. c) Experimentar sorpresa, meravellament. Si yo flipaba, Tú imagina el cacao mental que me hice yo. [Magda, IA05: 1182-3] Encima me hizo la entrevista el corbatas. O sea, flipa, no? [Irene, IB06: 207-8]
a) Originally, it meant to be under the effect of drugs. b) The meaning was extended to enjoy, feel pleasure. c) To feel surprised, amazed.
- gallumbos** (*gallumbos?*) m. Calçotets. [FB09: 164-6]
Men's underpants.
- gamba** f. a) Cama, peu: ...y no voyas a hablarlo porque, para meter la gamba? [Irene, IB06: 582-3]. b) Cent pessetes. Oyeme déjame dos gambas, o dos libras [Pablo, IB01: 652-3]
Literally: a shrimp. a) A leg, a foot. b) One hundred ptes.
- gambazo** m. Ficada de pota, error. Si que hablas el catalán, no? Aunque metes gambazos. [Ricardo, IB08: 718-9]
The fact of putting one's foot in it.
- garito** m. Bar, pub, discoteca, esp. per a la penya. Cuando salíamos nosotros, nos íbamos a garitos que nos gustaban a nosotros. [Pablo, IB01: 552-554]
A locale (disco, pub), particular those attended by the penya.
- garrulo** (*garrulo?*) adj. Bast, barroer. Lo encuentro muy garrulo, muy lolaila, no? Irene [IB06: 616-7]
Rough.
- guai** adj. Positiu, bo, magnífic, bonic. Que les coses estiguin en català és guai. [Pepe, FA07: 327-8, FB09: 114-8]. Tampoc no està tan malament [aquesta feina]: ambient guai, no treballes molt. [Jaume, IA03: 225-6]. ...el Barça. He ido viendo que le tiene cariño y que es guai tener cariño a un equipo. [Magda, IA05: 1235-7]. Llevaba una americana marrón así, muy guai. [Irene, IB06: 238-9]
Great, good, super.
- guapo** adj. a) Correcte, positiu, interessant. Si yo pienso Cataluña independiente como una apuesta guapa... [Pepe, GA05: 518-9] ...una relación que yo creo que es muy guapa. [Salva, IA02: 211-2] Para fin de año hacen reportajes muy guapos [en televisión]. [Pablo, IB01: 439-40] Guai, tío. Está guapo, tío! [Ayats, NA13: 117-8]. b) Net, polit. de bon veure: Si tens ganes de posar guapo el pis, pues ho fas. [Clara, IA10: 32-3]
Originally, it meant 'handsome' or 'good-looking'. a) Positive, nice, interesting. b) clean, tidy.
- guarro** adj. Barroer, porc, molest, embrutidor: Cuando se pone en plan guarra, empieza: "me vah a comé el chocho". [Salva, IA02: 139-41] ...fer-ne el butlletí, moltes vegades el treball més guarro [Patricia, IA04: 489-90].
Disgusting, dirty.

- guita** f. Diners, pasta. Com que no queda molta guita a l'empresa, pues... [Jaume, IA03: 44-5]. He cobrao una mierda hasta ahora. Pero bueno, yo ponía guita [en casa] también. [Magda, IA05: 453-5]. Entrava [a l'escola-taller] més que res perquè necessitava guita. [Chimo, IA09: 824-5]
Money.
- harapo** (harapo?) m. Escopinada, gargall. No, bueno. No tiro harapos, que consti que conste. [Magda, IA05: 562-4]
spit.
- heavy** [pron: /xéβi/] adj. Originat en el corrent musical anglès "Heavy Metal" (Metall pesat, dur). Extremat, fort. Veo más heavy el el miedo masculino. [Pepe, GA03: 871-2]
Coined after the English expression 'heavy metal'. It means hard, strong, extreme.
- història** (*historia*) f. a) Situació, qüestió, tema. ...era una historia que había que moverse. [Salva, IA02: 224-5] Porta una miqueta més el cotarro d'advocats i tota la història. [Patricia, IA04: 411-2]. b) Preocupació, afecció. Cada una trae ideas diferentes e historias diferentes. [Magda, IA05: 673-5]
Literally: story. a) Situation, question, topic. b) Worries, inclinations of a person.
- i tal** (*y tal*) fr. Etcètera, i tota la resta. S'usa amb molta regularitat. Ostres, el tiiu s'enrolla no? Perquè et deixen instal·lar i tal. [Chimo, FA15: 208-10]
and so on.
- infumable** adj. És probable que tingui el seu origen en el fumar porros. Inaguantable, fastigós. Els serials que foten al migdia són senzillament infumables. [Patricia, IA04: 219-21]
Unsmokable. It probably originates in drug taking: unbearable, disgusting.
- ionqui** (*yonqui*) m. De l'anglès "junkie". Consumidor d'heroïna, heroinòman, perdut. Eh, espera que ese yonqui acabe. [Salva, FA04: 154-5]
junkie.
- jiñe** (*jinye*?) m. Nominalització de "jiñar", cagar. Temor, pànic. Yo lo veo más un jiñe porque estamos toos... [Pepe, GA02: 588-9]
Nominalisation from 'jiñar', to shit. To be afraid, terrorised.
- joder** v. tr. a) Originàriament, equivalent al català 'fotre' o 'cardar', realitzar l'acte sexual. El seu sentit, però, s'ha expandit en diverses direccions. b) com a exclamació de sorpresa o contrarietat. Joder, hacerme la crítica no? [Clara, GA01: 1013-5]. c) Perjudicar, molestar, estafar. Eso que me jodia bastante, no? [Natalia, IA08: 442-3] A mi, no te jodas tío [Pablo, GB01: 495-6] [encima] que te están jodiendo tú estás contento. [Ricardo, GB03: 1179-81]. Refl. Espatllar-se, fer-se mal. Me jodi el brazo currando. [Salva, IA02: 83-4]
Literally: to fuck. b) It is used in exclamations. c) to damage or molest somebody. c) In a reflexive form, to break down, to hurt oneself.
- jolines** excl. Eufemisme de 'joder'. Pero despues pienso, "jolines" y si después te dicen... [Irene, IB06: 352-4]
Euphemised form of 'joder'.
- kumba** adj. Originari de "Kumbayá", una cançó espiritual negra típica de focs de camp en l'escoltisme o l'esplai. En general, es refereix a formes de cultura, presentació i expressió naïf, de 'bons nens': ...el meu vocabulari... va ser en plan de, no kumba però en plan de, o sea típico esplai. [Jaume, IA03: 927-32]
It originated in the Gospel song "Kum-ba-ya". Now it designates people associated with the culture and ways of speaking of members of the scout or esplai movements, who used to sing a song in their campfires.
- lapa** f. Escopinada, gargall. Ah, no te gusta tirar lapas? [Guille, IA05: 568]
spit.
- litrona** f. Ampolla d'un litre de cervesa.
A bottle of beer of one litre.
- lligar** (*ligar*) v. i. Establir o cercar d'establir una relació de caire sexual no rmalment de curta durada. Joan, ara no em dirás que has vingut aquí a lligar [Clara, FA12: 380-1]
Literally: to tie. To seek or establish a sexual relationship, normally a short one.
- lliura** (*libra*) f. Cent pessetes, moneda de cent pessetes. Té, et dono tres lliures [Pepe, FA07: 423]
pound. One hundred ptes.
- loluito** m. f. adj. Caracteritza individus de colles de joves de classe baixa afeccionats a les rumbes, gitano. Lo encuentro muy garrulo, muy loluito, no? [Irene, IB06: 616-7]
Taken from the typical hum of a Rumba song, this word is used to designate or characterise a type of person, commonly lower class youngsters who like Rumba music. Gypsy.
- macho** m. Apel·latiu retòric, sobretot per a nois o homes. Joder, macho, hasta que no le haces la monda un poco... [Andrés, GB02: 454-5]
Literally: male. Used as rhetorical apellative, like 'mate'.
- madero** m. Agent de la policia. El cantante antes había sido madero [Carlos, FA09: 265-6]
Literally: piece of wood. Cop.
- mamon** (*mamón*) m. f. Estúpid, infantil, aprofitat. Desde que empezaron a hacer el mamón esta gente... [Pablo, IB01: 1417-9]
sucker.
- mamoneig** (*mamoneo*) m Acció estúpida, acció de dubtosa moralitat: ...mamoneo político el mamoneo de dinero, no me interesa para nada. [Lola, IA07: 1279-81]
Literally: suckery. Stupid or morally dubious action.

- mangui** adj. Persona malintencionada.
crook.
- mani** f. Manifestació, en el sentit de demostració pública i col·lectiva en suport d'una opinió o una causa. *Estás currando en la pollería y de golpe entra una mani y esto.* [Salva, NA04: 287-9]
Demonstration.
- maria** (*maria*) f. Dona gran, usualment catalanoparlant.
An aged woman, particularly a Catalan-speaking one.
- maruja** f. Dona gran, usualment castellanoparlant.
An aged woman, particularly a Spanish-speaking one.
- marxa** (*marcha*) f. Festa, divertiment. *A la Tere le va la marcha, sabeh?* [Pablo, GB05: 154]. *Jo quan me'n vaig de marxa tinc ganes d'estar amb tothom* [Aleix, GA02: 216-8]
The merriment, the feasting.
- menjar el tarro** (*comer el tarro*) fr. Convèncer, manipular l'opinió o les decisions d'una persona (Vegeu: menjar el coco):
Suposo que si hagués anat al cap d'estudis i li hagués menjat el tarro... [Patricia, IA04: 320-2]
Literally: to eat someone's pot. To convince, to manipulate someone's opinion.
- mitjana** (*mediana*) f. Ampolla de cervesa de talla mitjana (normalment 1/3 de litre). Cambrer: *qué os pongo. Mauro: una mediana.* [Mauro, NA14: 244-5]
Literally: a half one. A bottle of beer of a third of a litre.
- mogollon de** (*mogollón de*) fr. adv. Gran quantitat. *Antes hay un mogollón de cosas más.* [Clara, GA03: 912-3] *Tenen mogollón de birres d'aquestes, no?* [Pepe, NA13: 25-32]. *Tens mogollon de coses que t'emportes.* [Aleix, GB04: 672-4]. *Supongo que habrá un mogollón de expresiones y de historias que...* [Magda, IA05: 676-8]
an awful lot.
- moguda** (*movida*) f. a) Iniciatives d'algú, esdeveniments, modes, baralles: *... discusión pues los malos rollos que han habido, las movidas, etcétera.* [Salva, IA02: 439-440] *Va sortir una moguda, t'iu, a Menorca. [d'anar a tocar amb el conjunt].* [Ayats, NA13: 108-9]. b) Rutina. *El trabajo, lo de siempre, la típica rutina de servir, la movidilla.* [Ricardo, IB08: 20-1]. c) Estil de sortir i de divertir-se. *Llevábamos otro tipo de movida antes.* [Ricardo, IB08: 651-2.]
a) Initiative, movement, fashion. b) Routine. c) Somebody's way of going out, of enjoying oneself.
- molar** v. tr. Percebre favorablement, agradar. *Pero aunque haya el rollo ese, no?, pues "me molaría enrollarme con él o con ella"...* [Clara, GA01: 187-8]. *Yo me doy cuenta, digo: molaría hablar en catalán.* [Salva, IA02: 271-2]. *Ya mola, t'iu!* [Chimo, NA13: 92]
to please.
- monos** (monos?) m. La policia.
the cops.
- montar-se** o **muntar-se** (*montarse*) v. refl. Organitzar-se, iniciar. *[Si no saps què fer, mires] una peli, o et montes una altra història.* [Patricia, IA04: 594-5] *...por nochevieja cada uno se lo monta, se va de farra* [Joan, GB03: 1626-8]
to organise one-self, to initiate something.
- monton** (*montón*) m. Un montón: molt, moltíssim. *Aunque luego se lo pusen tope de mal y se aburran un montón.* [Luis, GB01: 918-20] *Me costa un monton agafar un llibre.* [Jaume, IA03: 971-2].
a lot.
- move's** (*move*) v. refl. freqüentar (determinats llocs, ambients). *...tampoco no me movía en ambientes callejeros.* [Silvia, IA03: 1122-3]
Literally: to move oneself. To frequent particular places, quarters.
- nen** m. Originari del català "nen". S'utilitza com a apel·latiu. *Nos vamos a morir, nen!* [Salva, NA11: 68-9]. *En vez de hacer una de más, tu va a tu bola, no? ya? nen?* [Oscar, NA15: 158-9]
From Catalan "nen", kid. It is used in a similar way to 'mate'.
- neura** f. Capficament, depressió, mania.
A mania, a craze for something, a feeling of sadness or depression.
- notas** (notes?) m. Persona que busca notorietat sense merèixer-la. *Sube el notas al escenario.* [Pepe, NA03: 92-3]
A person who seeks notoriety, an ass-hole.
- olla** f. Cap, cervell. *Había un chaval, que está un poco mal de la olla...* [Ricardo, IB08: 125-6] *¿Se le va la olla que te pasas.* [Salva, NA13: 164-6] *Se me ha ido la olla.* [Aleix, GA04: 315]. Menjar-se l'olla, capficar-se, encaparrar-se. *Me comía mucho la olla, de que me queda de trabajar un montón de años.* [Ricardo, IB08: 1104-5]
Literally: a pan. The head. To eat one's head, to worry about something, to work one-self up about something.
- pal** (*palo*) m. Estil, tipus, classe, manera de pensar. *Nos estan explotando los españoles nos van a explotar también los catalanes."* [Anàvem] *d'aquest pal, no?* [Pepe, [IB06: 625-646]
Literally: a stick. Style, type, way of thinking.
- pal** (*pato*) m. Molèstia, incomodat, nosa, càrrega. *Es un palo verte una película en [este canal].* [Pablo, IB01: 428-9]
Literally: a stick. A bug, a nuisance.
- pallissa**, donar la (*paliza, dar la*) fr. Fer-se pesat amb alguna cosa, tema. *[En el bar viene] gente a desayunar, a comer, te dan la paliza todo el día.* [Ricardo, IB08: 93-4]
Literally: to give a beating. To insist on a boring topic.

- panki** m. f. adj. Persona o cosa relacionat amb el moviment musical o les idees Punk. *Eso es una idea muy panki eh? No hay futuro.* [Luis, GB0X: 264-5]
punky.
- papa** f. Intoxicació resultant del consum de droga, especialment alcohol, borratxera. *...a prendre algo. vam pillar una mica de papa, no?* [Guille, IA05: 32-3]
Drunkenness, intoxication from drugs.
- papeo** o **papeig** (*papeo*) m. Aliment, menjar, dieta. *Te pagaven el viatge d'anar i tornar i el papeo i l'estància.* [Ayats, NA13: 111-3]
Food, meal.
- paraca** m. Paracaigudista. Fig. buscar lloc per dormir sense haver reservat plaça. *Vam anar de paracas en una casa.* [Patricia, IA04: 1049]
Parashooter. To seek lodging somewhere without warning or previous reservation.
- paranoia** (*paranoya*) f. Capficament en algun tema o angoixa. *Y ya, pues, te entra la paranoya.* [Luis, GB03: 1640-1] *Sabes todas esas paranoias que te montas?* [Magda, IA05: 397-8]
paranoia, obsession.
- parmas, hucer** f. pl. Variació dialectal de 'hacer palmas', on un grup de persones improvisen una melodia rítmica picant de mans a l'estil d'algunes composicions musicals andaluses. *Vamos a tomar unas parmas por ahí.* [Luis, IB04: 691-2]
to clap. It refers to the clapping that appears in some Spanish folk songs.
- partir-se el cul** (*partirse el culo*) fr. Fer-se un tip de riure. *Y es que me parto el culo, pero totalmente.* [Pablo, GB03: 1602-3]
Literally: to break one's ass. To have a good laugh.
- passada** (*pasada*) f. Nominalització de 'passar-se', anar massa lluny amb una cosa, transgredir els límits. Cosa o fet sorprenent, interessant. *Ahí sí que actúa el rol, al sacco poco, o sea: una pasada* [Clara, GA01: 887-9]. *Es una pasada, jo al lucino. Estic molt retrassat, eh?* [Jaume, IA03: 1053-5]
The fact of going beyond the limit, of breaking a rule. Something surprising, interesting, exciting.
- passar de** (*pasar de*) fr. v Renunciar, ignorar, evitar. *Paso de estar too el rato allí porque te come mucho la cabeza* [Ricardo, IB08: 347-9]. *La tía se corta, y pasa de seguir actuando.* [Clara, GA03: 917-8]. *Pues van tenir un pic amb ell, i passaven d'ell.* [Jaume, IA03: 255-6]. *Trenta quilos de pols [dins a casa], doncs així es queda. Jo ja passo.* [Patricia, IA04: 187-9]
to ignore, to avoid, not to be bothered about something.
- passar-se** (*pasarse*) v. refl. Anar més enllà dels límits desitjables, abusar (expressió utilitzada molt sovint). *No sé, se pasan un montón.* [Alicia, IB07: 442-3]. *Le te va la olla que te pasas.* [NA13: 164-6].
to go beyond the limit, to abuse.
- pasta** f. Diners: *Pero sabes que [si trabajas] al final de mes tienes tu pasta.* Tere, GB01: :609-10] *...suposo [que treballo] una mica per la pasta no?...abans amb dos mil peles passava la setmana.* [Jaume, IA03: 265-7]
Money.
- pavo** m. Noi, individu: *Un pavo muy maja* [Lola, FA04: 213-4]. *El meu pare, indignat. Indignat el pavo* [Pepe, IA06: 631-2]
a guy.
- pedal** m. Ritme. [Som] *dintre la Coordinadora Feminista, però nosaltres anem al nostre pedal.* [Patricia, IA04: 554-6]
rhythm.
- pelar-la** (*pelarla*) fr. v. Originàriament, masturbació masculina. També utilitzat per expressar despreu envers algú. *...cuatro pringaos que (...), al fin y al cabo a mi me la pelan, sabeh?* [Pablo, GB03: 864-6]
Literally: to peel it. It refers to masculine masturbation. It is used to express scorn or derision towards somebody or something.
- penjar-se** (*colgarse*) v. refl. Metafòricament, quedar suspès en el curs d'una activitat, de manera que l'activitat és temporalment o definitivament abandonada per madra o per alguna distracció. *Pero yo soy el primero que me cuelgo [y hablo castellano en lugar de mantener el catalán]* [Salva, IA02: 307]
Literally: to get hanged. To get distracted, to abandon an activity out of laziness.
- penjat** (*colgao*) adj. Abandonat, exposat. *Tu no te presentas hasta d'aquí una semana i em deixes a mí penjat.* [Patricia, IA04: 392-8]
Literally: hanged. Abandoned, exposed.
- penya** (*peña*) f. Colla, gent, grup. *Es que la penya se'n va a dormir molt aviat.* [Clara?, FA14: 51-2]. *A partir dels catorze anys vaig fer-me la meva penya.* [Jaume, IA03: 924-5]. *...beber, emborrach- salir, ver a la peña, y venga reirme.* [Luis, GB03: 1651-3]
group, crowd, young people, gang.
- pet** (*pedo*) m. Borratxera, intoxicació deguda a drogues. *Iban todos, uaaaa! Un pedo impresionante, no?* [Irene, IB06: 1065-68.]
state of drunkenness, high.
- petar** (*petar?*) Venir bé, venir de gust, donar la gana. v.i.: *...en teoria vaig a l'institut, però vaig quan em peta.* [Patricia, IA04: 17-8]
Literally: to burst. To feel like (doing something).

- petardo** m. Porro, cigarret lligat a mà barrejat d'haixix o marihuana. *A lo mejor le doy dos o tres caladas al petardo.* [Pablo, IB01: 584-5].
Literally: a firecracker. A joint.
- pic** o **pique** (*pique*) m. Enfrontament, malentès, renyina. *Pues van tenir un pic amb ell, i passaven d'ell.* [Jaume, IA03: 255-6].
El tío ha tingut un pique amb algú. [Pepe, FA07: 428-9]. *Recordes aquell pique de si los porros fuera que si los porros dentro?* [Jaume, IA03: 1236-40].
confrontation, row, dispute.
- picar-se** (*picarse*) Refl. Fer enfadar, fer renyir: *Cuando no sabemos qué hablar, insultar-nos para, pa picarnos y tal.* [Luis, IB04: 614-6]
to get angry, to have a row.
- picotada** f. Gran quantitat. *Havia de demanar una picotada d'apunts.* [Patricia, IA04: 390-1]
a big quantity.
- pijo** m. Individú presumit, pretencios, indesitjable, normalment de classe mitjana o alta. Local elegant. *...si un es pijo, es un niño repipi.* [Pablo, IB01: 1164-5]
chic, posh, pretentious.
- pillado** (*pillat?*) adj. Sorprès, esbalaït. *Te quedas todo pilladísimo. Qué ha dicho?* [Luis, IB04: 930-1]
Literally: taken. Taken aback, surprised, amazed.
- pillar** v. tr. a) Generalment: adquirir, agafar, aconseguir. *...a prendre algo, vam pillar una mica de papa, no?* [Guille, IA05: 32-3]. *Hombre, si me pilla así, un poco noqueado, pues le hablo en castellano.* [Ricardo, IB08: 726-8]. *El Telediario, si me pilla por casa lo veo.* [Pablo, IB01: 436-7]. b) Comprar: *Con el Pepe nos fuimos a pillar discos.* [Salva, IA02: 86-7] c) Llogar per a una feina: *A una chica es difícil que la pillen, pillan antes a un tío.* [Magda, IA05: 410-1]. d) Entendre, copsar: *...que no llegaba a entender, pillas cuatro cosas, no?* [Lola, IA07: 1086-7]. *Hablar catalán, hay veces que no, que no lo pillas.* [Ricardo, IB08: 868-9]. e) Sorprendre, esbalair: *Eso de que "me he quedado too pillao", eso es porque lo han pegado ellos.* [Paula, IB03: 4-6]. f) Comprar droga, esp. il·legal: *Que van a un sitio a pillar lo que sea porque habrá alguien que pasa por allí.* [Luis, IB04: 1033-5]. *Cada mes pillas una vez, o pasas dos meses sin pillar, o pillas dos semanas seguidas.* [Ricardo, IB08: 593-4]
to take. a) to get, to take. b) to buy. c) to hire (a worker). d) to understand, to follow. e) to get surprised, amazed. f) to buy drugs, particularly illegal ones.
- pilotasso** (*pelotazo*) m. Beguda alcohòlica forta, Cuba Libre: *En vez de tomarte un pelotazo, te tomas una cava-cola, que te sale más barato.* [Paula, GB0X: 259-61]
Literally: a ball shot (as in football), a shot (of an alcoholic drink).
- piñata** (*piñata*) f. El dentat, les genives: *Se me duermen las encías, no? I decía: "la piñata se me ha sobao".* [Silvia, IA03: 1023-6]. *Quan va amb la papa, ja li dius: "què portes la piñata dormida?"* [Guille, IA05: 698-9]
the denture, the gums.
- pitufu** m. Agent de policia. *No decimos monos, decimos maderos, o monos es igual, o los pitufos.* [Pablo, IB01: 649-51]
Literally: a smurf (after the famous French comic characters). A cop.
- porro** m. Cigarret lligat a mà de marihuana o de tabac barrejat d'haixix: *Ahora irse a la plaza, unos porros, unas cervezas y...* [Salva, IA02: 554-5]
joint.
- potent** (*potente*) adj. Eficax, interessant, positiu: *Al milikaka hi ha ties molt potentes.* [Patricia, IA04: 422-3]
Literally: powerful. Positive, interesting, great, good.
- pringar** v.tr. Fer una pifia, perjudicar, espifiar-la: *No anava bé, o sigui que l'he pringat i l'haig de repetir.* [Guille, IA05: 168-70]. *Si te pones ahora, le pringabas todas las fiestas.* [Pablo, IB01: 73-4]
to blunder it, to get blundered.
- pringat** (*pringao*) adj. Persona mereixedora de poc respecte. *Pero la hicieron cuatro pringaos que...* [Pablo, GB03: 864-5]
a crook, a miserable person.
- privar** v.i. Beure alcohol: *...amb aquell local, menjaves, privaves, sobaves* [Ayats, NA13: 114-5]
to booze.
- punt** (*punta*) m. Originàriament, estat d'ànim o de percepció causat per la droga. Actualment designa qualsevol capficament, estat d'ànim particular; focus d'atenció absorbent, normalment de curta durada: *Entonces le da un puntazo, lo mismo te va a bailar.* [Ricardo, IB08: 134-5]. *Pero qué paranoia, suéltalo. Qué punto, tío.* [Salva, NA12: 4-5]
Literally: a point. Originally, it designated the momentary state of mind or consciousness caused by a drug, the effect of a drug. Its meaning has been extended to designate a particular (normally short-lived) mood, a worry, an absorbing focus of attention.
- punxar-se** (*pincharse*) v. refl. Injectar-se heroïna. *Siempre hay, algún esto, no va que se pinche no? Pero se les ve la cara.* [Ricardo, IB08: 969-71]
to inject one self, particularly heroine.
- putejar** (*putear*) v. tr. Molestar, dificultar els plans: *Al final van putejar i no vaig poder pujar, no?* [Jaume, IA03: 388-90]
Literally: to bitch. To molest, to sabotage someone's plans or intentions.
- quedar-se** (*quedarse*) v. refl. Impressionar algú, negativament o positiva, deixar algú bocabadat: *Es para lucir palabras, y para quedarse con ellas.* [Clara, IA10: 988-1]
Literally: to stay. To make a strong impression, either negative or positive.

- quedon** (*quedón*) m. f. Persona excessivament orientada a impressionar: ...parece que es un quedón de las palabras. [Clara, IA10: 978-9]
a person who is excessively orientated to make an impression.
- queo** m. A casa, a casa del qui parla home.
- rebot** (*rebote*) m. Enfadament, indignació: Porto molt rebot al cole per això també. [Jaume, IA03: 150-1]. Ha habido rebotes. [Pablo, GB03: 1790]. Estuve vo un tiempo y tuve unos rebotes con el jefe. [Luis, IB04: 70-1]
Literally: a rebound. The fact of getting angry, indignant.
- rebotar-se** (*rebotarse*) v. refl. Enfadar-se, indignar-se, rebel·lar-se: Y la tía se tuvo que rebotar y pelearse con el tío, para entrar en la escuela taller de paleta. [Salva, GA02: 760-4]. El profé de literatura es chulo, de estos que no puedes aguantar porque se te rebotan. [Alicia, IB07: 68-71]
Literally: to rebound one-self. To get angry, indignant, to rebel.
- repenjar-se** (vegeu: *columpiarse*) v. refl. Penjar-se, fer el mandrós, evitar el treball passivament: Sempre me repenjo a l'hora d'anar a l'institut. [Patricia, IA04: 226-7]
Literally: to hang one-self. See **penjar-se**.
- rollo** m. a) Originàriament, activitat o narració llarga i avorrida, esp. la lliçó d'un mestre o el consell d'un pare: Hay veces que vas mentalizada en que: "oy que rollo no sé qué" y entonces es cuando mejor te lo pasas. [Paula, GB03: 1776-8]. anar explicant i fer tot el rollo de teòrica, no? [Patricia, IA04: 72-4]. b) El seu significat sembla haver-se anat extenent per designar els tipus d'activitat d'una persona o un grup durant un període de temps i la forma de percebre aquesta activitat emocionalment (Vegeu: enrollar-se): Intermedios cada cuarto de hora [en televisión]. Te cortan el rollo. [Pablo, IB01: 430-1]. ...per lo que et deia abans, que [quan intentaves parlar català] t'anaven tallant el rollo. [Pepe, IA06: 469-70]. c) En aquest sentit, també pot designar una relació de tipus sexual: Pero aunque haya el rollo ese, no?, pues "me molaría enrollarme con él o con ella"... [Clara, GA01: 187-8] d) En conseqüència, també pot designar l'atmosfera que es respira en un lloc o colla de gent determinada, o fins i tot un estil de vida: [poner en] discusión, pues, los malos rollos que han habido, las movidas, etcétera. [Salva, IA02: 439-440]. A ver, que sí, que muy buen rollo [entre chicas y chicos], pero que... [Pepe, GA01: 143-4]. [La separació entre nois i noies:] sí que ho veig el rollo, no ho veig pel rollo de gustos, ho veig pel rollo del corrillo de chicos y el corrillo de chicas [Patricia, GA01: 998-1001]. e) Aleshores, també es pot utilitzar el terme per indicar estats d'ànim: Que no hi havia ningú a l'escola taller, et feia un mal rollo de venir. [Pepe, IA06: 763-4]. Más o menos estoy bien. Traigo rollos chungos a veces. [Ricardo, IB08: 1142-3]. f) finalment, es utilitza genèricament per designar una qüestió, un tema: O sea, la ventaja que tienes, el rollo que tienes abogado. [Salva, IA02: 541-2]. El rollo de convivencia estuvo muy bien no? [Salva, IA02: 580-1]. Parlant d'una guerra, s'ha de parlar del rollo imperialista, del rollo capitalista, del rollo que t'estan... [Pepe, IA06: 273-5]. Entonces el rollo ya era sucarme este primer grado. [Lola, IA07: 469-70].
Literally: a roll. a) Originally, a long and boring story or activity, as from a teacher or a parent. b) Any type of activity, and the way of perceiving it. c) A sexual relationship. d) The atmosphere of a place or a group of people, their way of life e) It can also be used to indicate moods. f) An issue, a topic.
- ronear-se** (*rone(j)ar-se?*) v. refl. Cercar algú que els altres li paguin la beguda: No sé, el Ayats siempre se ronea. [Salva, IA02: 620-1]
to cadge.
- sa** (*sano*) adj. Bo, autèntic, positiu: El sonido [de esa canción] es tope de sano, tío. [Salva?, NA11: 162-3]
Literally: healthy, sane. Authentic, nice.
- segureta** m. Guàrdia de seguretat: Prohibido poner seguretas en los bares. [Salva, NA04: 213-4]
security guard.
- seso, comer et** (Vegeu: menjar el tarro) fr. Convèncer, manipular les opinions i decisions d'una persona: Es que la tele, no sé, come mucho el seso a la gente. [Irene, IB06: 790-1]
brain, to eat someone's. To convince, to manipulate the opinion of somebody.
- sobar** v.i. Dormir, clapar: ...amb ressaca i si no, pues, sobar, no? [Jaume, IA03: 317-8]. ...amb aquell local, menjaves, privaves, sobaves [Ayats, NA13: 114-5]
to sleep.
- sobar-se** (*sobarse*) v. refl. Tocar-se parts del cos: [La profesora de mates], que se sobaba too el rato. [Paula, FB07: 190-3]
To keep touching one's body.
- sobat** (*sobao*) adj. Passat de moda, avorrit. El rap s'havia quedat molt sobat [FA05: 87-8]
old-fashioned.
- suar la polla** (*sudar la polla*) fr. v. Expressió utilitzada per expressar indiferència envers una cosa o persona (Vegeu: pelar-la): [El] trato trato de tus compañeros de curro que me suda mucho la polla [Clara, GA02: 928-9]
Literally: to sweat one's cock. An expression used to show indifference or disdain.
- súper** adv. Molt, bastant. O siga, jo crec que és súper possible, no? [Aleix, GA01: 378-9]. ...uns graffitis súper macos no? [Jaume, IA03: 1091]. Este niño sí, aparte que es superguai, superagradable. [Lola, IA07: 267-8]
super, very.
- tacha** (*tatxa?*) f. Burilla, foc per a encendre la cigarreta. Me dice: "me das tacha?" [Silvia, IA03: 1163-4]
snot, light.

- talego m.** Originàriament, una peça d'haixix amb la que es podien fer diversos porros. Actualment, degut possiblement a que l'haixix es solia comprar en unitats de mil pessetes, el mot s'utilitza amb el significat de 'mil pessetes': Cinc talegos. [Ayats, NA14: 348]. Tenia una pedra de dos talegos, no? [Pepe, NA15: 10-11]
Originally, it designated a quantity of hashish equivalent to a thousand ptes. Now, it also means just one thousand ptes., or the relevant bank-note.
- tall (corte) m.** Sentiment d'alienació d'una situació que percebem com a una amenaça a la nostra imatge; avergonyiment, sentit del ridícul: Si pero por miedos y por cortes todo el mundo... [Aleix, GA02: 579-80]. Si no sabes expresarte si te da corte [hablar catalán]. [Ricardo, IB08: 834-5]
Literally: cut. Embarrassment.
- tallar-se (cortarse) v. refl.** Quedar-se tallat, passar vegonya; per extensió, moderar-se: Me parece que cortarse, no creo que se corten mucho, ya se meten bastante con la gente. [Alicia, IB07: 440-2]
Literally: to get cut. To get embarrassed, or to moderate one's ways.
- taque m.** Signatura personal que s'utilitza en graffitis: I va fer la firma: esto es un taque, vale. [Jaume, IA03: 1066-7]
The typical graffiti signature.
- tia, tiu (tia, tío) m. f. a)** Noia, dona, o noi, home, en general: Al milikk hi ha ties molt potentes. [Patricia, IA04: 422-3]. Yo sí que me entendió a veces muy bien con alguna tía. [Pepe, GA01: 123-5]. Una amistat entre un tiu i una tia [és possible]. [Aleix, GA01: 377-8]. b) Utilitzat com a apel·latiu: [Imaginate que estoy preocupada por] no poder que no me salga el fa. tía. Y a ti eso no te importa... [Magda, GA01: 652-4]. Però, si sonava bé, tiu! [Salva, NA11: 71-2]
guy (feminine and masculine forms).
- tira, la fr. adv.** Molt. Havia fet un treball... que m'havia tirat la tira de temps [Patricia, IA04: 377-9]
a lot.
- tirar els trastos (echar los trastos) fr.** Mostrar o indicar a algú en particular interès en una relació sexual: Tú piensas, "echar los trastos quiere decir: 'qué haces esta noche?' o..." [Clara, GA03: 664-7]. Refl. Demostrar-se mútuament interès en una relació sexual: Com deia la Clara, tirar-se els trastos és una forma de comunicació. [Aleix, GA04: 283-7]
Literally: to throw one's things. To make a pass, to display sexual interest.
- tope de adv.** Molt, extremadament: Aunque luego se lo pasen tope de mal y se aburren un montón [Luis, GB01: 918-20]. a
tope: Le va lo de sadomasoquista a tope. [Pablo, GB05: 155]
a lot.
- trip o tripi m.** Originari de l'anglès "trip", viatge. Droga química anomenada tècnicament LSD. (Vegeu: bitxo.)
LSD.
- truño (trunyo?) m.** Excrement (p.e. un excrement de gos) [FA07: 189-90].
dung.
- tubo, per un fr. adv.** Molt, en gran quantitat: Pero suelo ver, pues el [programa ese] por un tubo. [Clara, IA10: 244-5]
a lot.
- vell, vella (viejo, vieja) f.** El pare, la mare. Un gatito que la vieja estaba muerta, y no tenía leche. [Salva, NA02: 51-3]. Me meto bajo la mesa del comedor y veo la zapatilla del viejo. [Pablo, GB04: 1620-5]
old man, old woman, i.e. father and mother.
- xapar (chapar) v. tr.** Tancar, esp. un establiment, bar, botiga, etc...: A qué hora lo chapam? [NA11: 307]
to close, to shut (in particular, bars, discos and so on).
- xorra (chorra) adj.** Estúpid o estúpida, naïf, sense interès: ...que no siguin pel·lícules xorres, sinó una pel·lícula que tingui una mica de gràcia. [Jaume, IA03: 420-2]
silly, stupid, naive, uninteresting.
- xorrada (chorrada) f.** Estupidesa, cosa sense importància: Jo això ho veia una xorrada perquè no entenia [el perquè]. [Jaume, IA03: 999-1003]. Pues si nos hacemos cuatro chorradas, pues nos las hacemos nosotros. [Ricardo, IB08: 232-4]
silliness, stupidity, irrelevance.
- xufflo (chufflo) m.** Porro, cigarret lligat a mà barrejat d'haixix o marihuana.
joint.
- xungo (chungo) adj.** Negatiu, dolent, indesitjable, perillós: ...vaig veure que la gent del carrer estaven traient coses molt xungues de drogues i tal [Jaume, IA03: 917-9]. Ah! Eso es lo chungo. A mi no me importa (...) catalán o castellano... [Magda, IA05: 1066-7]. No voy a hacer la diferencia entre barrio chungo y barrio de estos. [Lola, IA07: 881-3]. Es una sensación muy rara eh? Molt xunga. [Clara, IA10: 724-5]. Antes sí, antes de la olimpiada, lo que quisieses. Pero ahora, está muy chungo. [Ricardo, IB08: 1084-88]. Home, hem passat èpoques xungues eh? [Clara, IA10: 284-5]
bad, undesirable, dangerous, shitty.
- xupar-se (chuparse) v. refl.** Empassar-se, esp. un sèrie de televisió, una pel·lícula, un còmic: Es que yo la que chupo es la otra [sèrie de dibujos animados], yo me chupo la otra. [Pepe, NA15: 126-7]
Literally: to suck, to swallow. In the example, to watch a particular television programme.
- xuta (chuta) f.** Xeringa, esp. quan és utilitzada per injectar-se alguna droga: Un tiu...li havia posat la xuta al coll. [Pepe, FA09: 86-8]
syringe.

xutar-se (*chutarse*) v. refl. Probablement originari de "to shoot", que en l'argot anglès vol dir, com a Barcelona, injectar-se droga, esp. heroïna.]

to inject one self, particularly heroine. It probably comes from English "to shoot (up)".

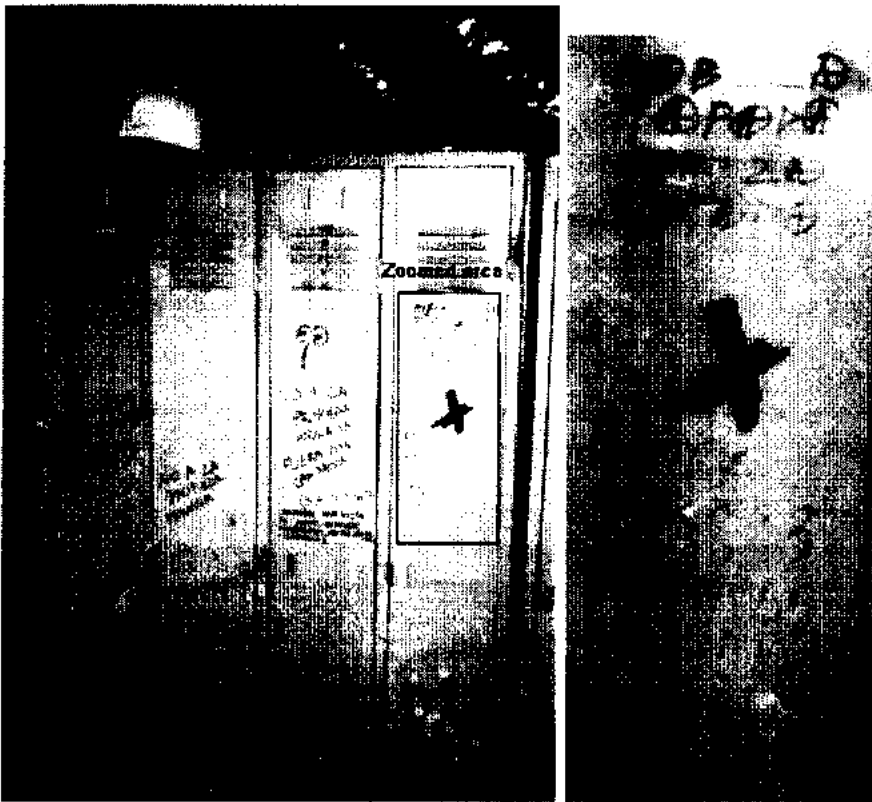
zombi m. Persona en estat físico-ànimic de cansament i insensibilitat provocat pel no dormir o pel consum de drogues. *Éramos tres zombis entre tebeos* [=mirant còmics al mercat de Sant Antoni] [Salva, IA02: 69]

lifeless, apathetic person, usually due to the effect of drugs.

APPENDIX 3

In this appendix, I provide some pictures of one of the workshops where the Trepas were undergoing training. There were some graffiti on the walls and on the furniture. I will give a translation of the graffiti and I will interpret the content of these on the basis of the framework I have built in my study. It is open to question whether the graffiti were actually written by members of the Trepas. However, I would say that political ones almost certainly were. And the meanings conveyed through this form of writing had a clear relationship with the identities constructed by the Trepas in the peer-group.

Figures 8 and 9



[Ordered from left to right and from top to bottom]

Graffiti 1, 2 and 4: **NO A LA PROPIEDAD PRIVADA**
No to private property.

Graffiti 3: **TAKILLAS PARA TODOS**
Lockers for all.

Graffiti 5: **FUERA LOS CANDADOS**
Scrap padlocks

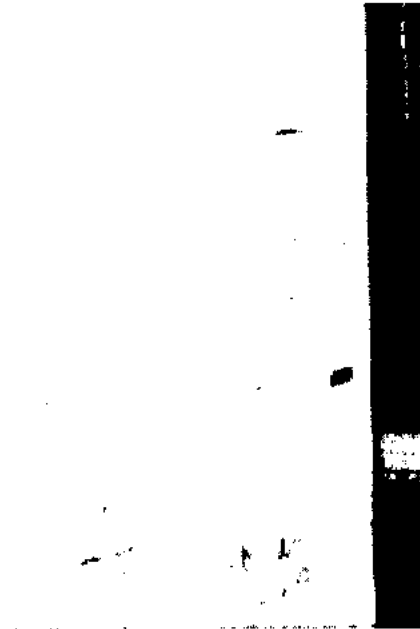
Graffiti 6: **SAPFoCaGeDe SINDIKATO ANARKISTA DE PALETAS, FONTANEROS, CARPINTEROS, GESTION, DISEÑO, G. TURISTICA**
SAPEPiGeDe Anarchist Union of builders, plumbers, carpenters, administration, design, tourist A.

These are good examples of anarchist graffiti, though some could be Marxist as well. Notice the special spellings (in 3 and 6) with the character "K" instead of the standard spelling with "QU" or "C", which is surely a way of displaying insubordination towards authoritative spelling. Nevertheless, there are some indications that these graffiti were not serious, namely the absurdly long name of the anarchist union (graffiti 6), or the triviality of some issues such as the use of padlocks. The use of political themes for humorous entertainment could also be taken as a strategy that some Trepas men had of integrating their political concerns within the legitimate activities of the **penya**. As graffiti, they had a clear transgressive value.

Graffiti 7: **KABEZA RAPADA KABEZA CHAPADA**
Skin heads, locked minds.

The 'As' of this graffiti were inside a circle, which is the symbol of anarchism. The word "*chapada*" is slang for 'shut' or 'locked'. A connection was proposed here between the world of the **penya**, anarchist and anti-fascist ideas (which were associated with some types of skin-heads) in a style which was clearly provocative.

Figure 10



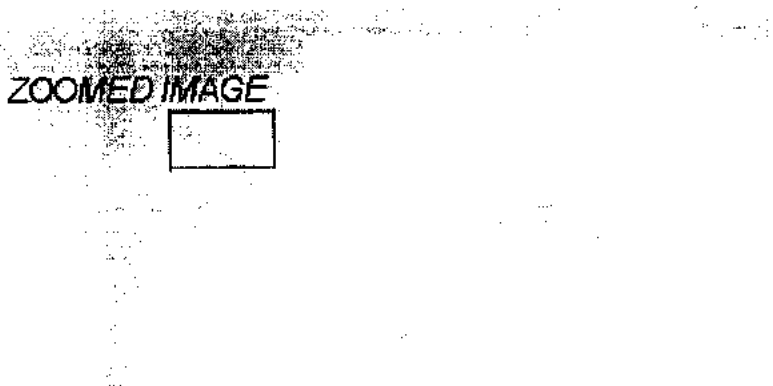
Graffiti 8: **SI EL PUNK HA MUERTO KE VENGAN A REMATARLO**
If Punk is dead, come to finish it off (or kill it again)

This seemed to be an answer to the common verbal duelling that exists in graffiti between members of different musical movements. As the Trepas tended to identify with punk, it is possible that it was meant to be taken as it reads, that is, as a defiant stance. Nevertheless, these graffiti could have also been written by somebody else.

Graffiti 9: **Me kago en los putos muertos de los NAZIS**
I shit on the bloody dead (men) of the nazis.

This can be interpreted as an anti-fascist graffiti as well, although it is actually ambiguous, because the curse could be understood as directed to the victims of the nazis rather than the nazis themselves. It is possible that the author wanted to exploit this ambivalence for humorous purposes.

Figure 11



Graffiti 10: **NO A LAS LISTAS DE HORARIO**

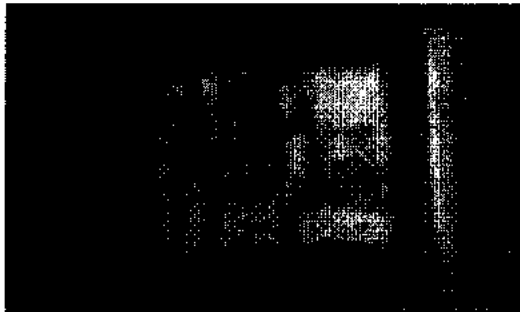
No to the time sheets.

Graffiti 11: **(SLE) SINDICATO LIBRE DE [LA ESCUELA] AFILIATE !!**

(SLM) Free Union of [the training-school] Join now!!

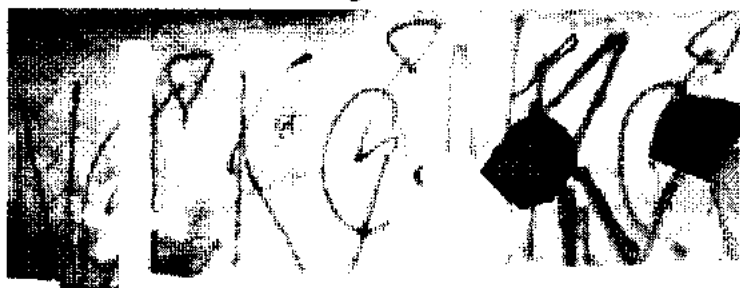
The poster on the right hand side belonged to a leftist revolutionary group and it called for a general strike.

Figures 12 and 13



Graffiti 12: In the zoomed area, there was a white label (figure 12) on one of the lockers with this drawing. This was an ambilingual graffiti-slogan (figure 13) used by political groups who were opposed to the celebration of the Olympic Games in Barcelona. It reads "no", with the Olympic rings serving as an "o"

Figure 14



Graffiti 13: **NO KONTROL**

This phrase can be interpreted as a ritual rejection of disciplinary procedures. The use of the letter "K" and the sign inside the "O" were also common to the graffiti of the **penya**.

There was another big graffiti painted on a wall. I have not reproduced it in order to protect the confidentiality of the participants in my study. It read as follows:

Graffiti 14: **SI ESTAMOS EN EL 92 - QUEREMOS [LA ESCUELA EN EL] 93**

If we are in 1992, we want [the training-school in] 1993.

This was probably the most serious of all graffiti, because the participants were very frustrated by the prospect that the school would close at the end of 1992. At that time, the figure '92' conveyed official discourses that were inviting the population to see it as a historical date because of the Olympic Games and the huge investment it had attracted to the city. The suggestion was that if so much money was being spent in the public celebrations, the training school should also receive appropriate funding.