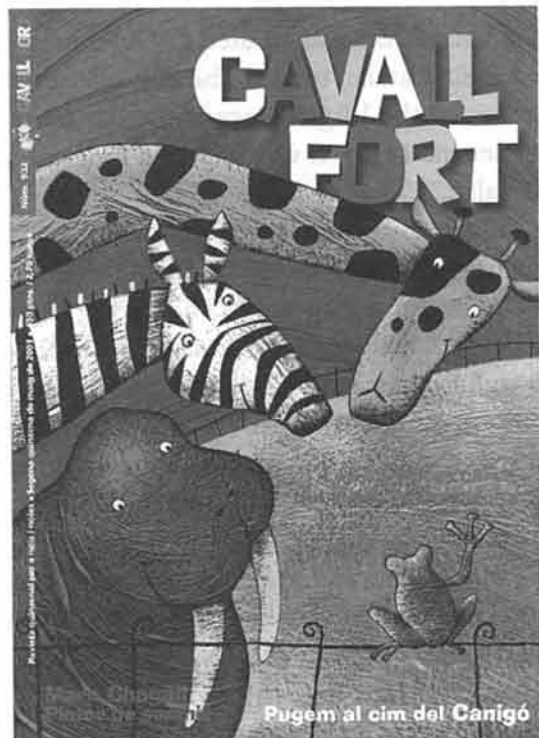




Cover of the Catalan-language current affairs weekly *El Temps* published in Valencia.



Cover of the Catalan-language children's publication *Cavall Fort*.

riodicals are in Catalan, except in areas with a high proportion of Spanish-speaking residents. Some local and regional dailies also issue Sunday supplements in Catalan with circulations proportional to the readership of the main paper.⁵⁰

Electronic press

A growing number of Catalan dailies, weeklies and magazines are available on line and there is one electronic newspaper in Catalan: Vilaweb. Addresses can be found in the appendix.

Books

Six centuries of Catalan books

The first books in Catalan appeared at about the same time as in many other European languages. Valencia and Barcelona both had printing presses earlier than London and by the end of the 15th century –just a few decades after the famous Bible attributed to Gutenberg (c. 1455)– books were being printed in six Catalan towns. The first major work in Catalan was a set of texts in praise of the Virgin Mary known as *Obres e trobes en lahors de la verge Maria* (Valencia, 1474). It was followed four years later by the first printed Bible in Catalan.

Over 600 years later Catalonia still has a thriving publishing industry which accounted for 37.7% of the titles published in Spain in 1998 and 58% of publishing revenue.⁵¹ The spring book fair to mark the feast of Saint George, Catalonia's patron saint, is a lively event which draws large crowds. It is significant that the date –April 23rd– was also chosen for another reason: to commemorate the death of Cervantes, the most illustrious of Spanish writers, and books in Catalan and Spanish are offered side by side on the stands that line the streets of all towns and villages – along with roses, for it is also 'rose day'.

But readers in Catalonia have not always enjoyed so wide a choice. The total prohibition of all books in Catalan was one of the first measures taken

50. COM21-1 (2000 : 41-48).

51. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 75).

by the Franco dictatorship after the end of the Civil War. Gradually, to improve its image, the regime made a few exceptions though the stringent censorship was never lifted. Initially only books with archaic spelling were allowed; for twenty years no new Catalan translations of foreign works were authorized; and until the end of the dictatorship only topics of little appeal to the general public were permitted.

The figures speak for themselves. In 1950, 11 years after Franco came to power, only 43 titles were published in Catalan (an increase over previous years!): in 1936, the year the Civil War began, 865 titles in a much wider range of fields had been issued. The total rose to 184 in 1960 and by the year of the dictator's death it had reached 661. But it was not until 1977 that the pre-war total was finally exceeded.⁵²



Bookstalls for the St George's Day book fair, offering a selection of titles in Catalan and Spanish.

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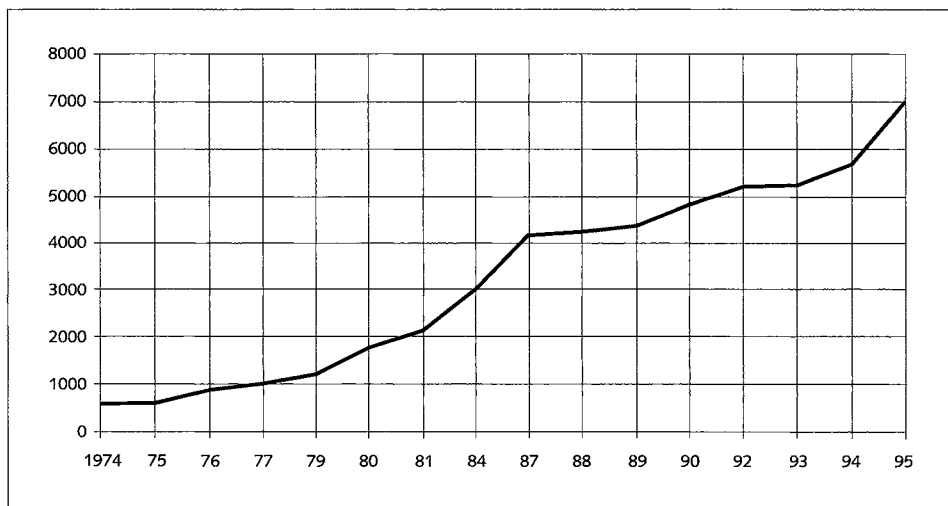
Page from an incunabulum in Catalan:
Epistola de fratre Egidi Roma al Rey de
Franza sobre lo llibre del regimét dels
Priceps (Barcelona, Johan Luschner, 1498,
188 p.). The first Catalan edition of this
work was published in 1480.

52. Marí (1993 : 154).

Catalan books today

Since the return of democracy the number of books published in Catalan has grown steadily. In twenty years the number of titles published each year multiplied by twelve. Between 5,000 and 6,000 books a year were coming out by the early 1990s and the 1998 ISBN register included 7,406 books in Catalan (including some published in Valencia and the Balearic Islands), 12% of the total for Spain.

Evolution of the number of books published in Catalan: 1974-95



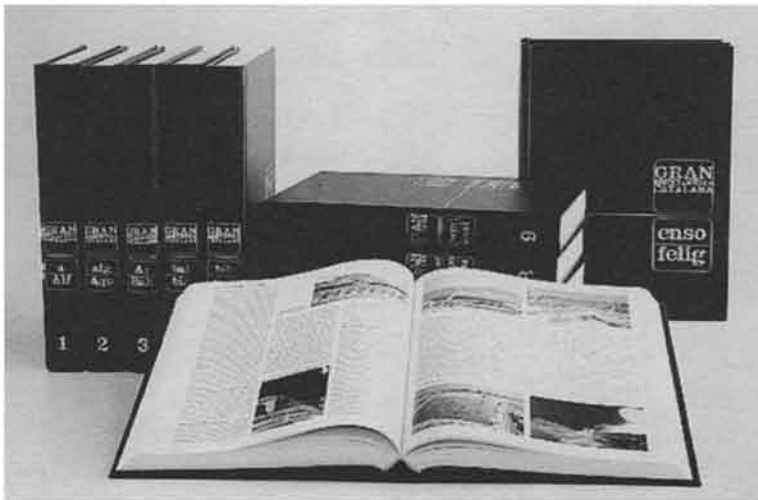
Source: Graph generated by Modest Reixach from data supplied by the Association of Publishers in the Catalan language.

However publishers of books in Catalan still labour under severe difficulties. The smaller potential readership is further reduced by the generations of Catalans who still find it easier to read in Spanish and many books, including best sellers, come out in Catalan long after the Spanish edition has been in the bookshops. Print runs are much shorter than for books in Spanish (3,511 as against 5,196) since the latter enjoy a readership covering Latin America as well as Spain. Consequently profits are also smaller and for Catalan authors the prospects of a successful literary career are less bright if they choose to write in Catalan. Hence data for 1999⁵³ show that while 7,261 titles

53. Source *Estudio de Comercio Interior*, 1999, published by the Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya.

in Catalan were published in Catalonia and 25,493,815 books in Catalan were sold, these figures amounted to only 30.6% of all the titles published in Catalonia and 20.7% of all the books sold.

The 41,185 titles available in Catalan in 1999 included modern and ancient works, originals and translations, fiction and non-fiction, serious and light literature. A number of important Catalan language reference works are available: a multi-volume general encyclopaedia, a range of dictionaries, a vast, in-depth etymological study of the Catalan language, and handsome books on art, nature, and travel. But the overall figures fall short of those for other languages with a comparable number of speakers and there are serious shortcomings and imbalances. School text books accounted for 36.6% of the Catalan titles published in 1999 while 26.5% were for children and young people, denoting that young people read more in Catalan than their elders, but also that sales are heavily dependent on the educational and youth market. University text books, on the other hand, are much scarcer than in Spanish and adult reading materials on popular topics – such as computers, science, business or sports – are few and far between ('practical books' accounted for only 1.9% of Catalan titles in 1999, as against 8.4% of those in Spanish). The position of Catalan paperbacks is especially discouraging and the immense majority of cheaper editions available from newspaper stalls and supermarkets are in Spanish: in 1999 a mere 18% of the paperback titles issued in Catalonia, and 5% of the copies sold, were in Catalan.⁵⁴



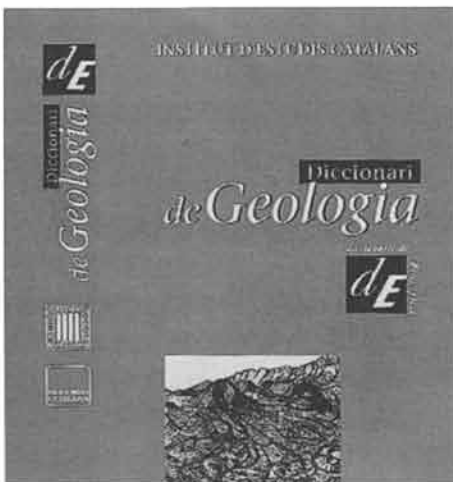
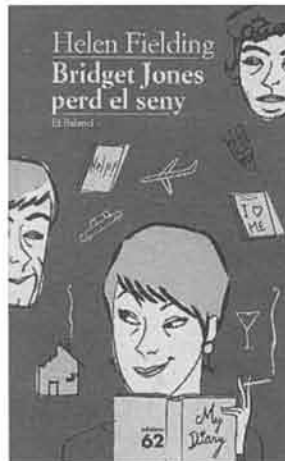
The Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana (24 volumes).

54. *Idem.*



Two of the many Catalan bilingual dictionaries available.

Catalan translations of popular titles for the young.



A specialized dictionary of Catalan terminology.

Entertainment

Performing arts

The performing arts are subject to commercial factors similar to those which affect publishing. Productions originating in Catalonia tend to be in Catalan, though Spanish versions are often produced later for 'export'. However the impresarios of shows originating elsewhere in Spain and major international entertainment groups consider Catalonia an integral part of the Spanish market and not only the performance itself but in nearly all cases the advertising, programmes and public announcements as well are solely in Spanish.

Drama is perhaps the form of entertainment in which Catalan competes most successfully with Spanish since understanding of the spoken language is widespread and it is easier for local productions to find outlets without substantial outside investment. Productions made by and for the Catalan television channels have added to the already abundant supply of talented Catalan-speaking actors, many of whom also perform in Spanish.

In 1999 Catalan theatre-goers had the opportunity to see 556 theatrical productions of which 273 (48%) were in Catalan and 125 (22%) in Spanish. The remainder were in foreign languages or had no words (mime, etc.). In terms of audience, 41.6% of the spectators went to see productions in Catalan, 34.4% attended productions in Spanish, and 6.5% went to other productions.⁵⁵ With slight fluctuations, this breakdown is similar at that found in previous years.

These figures do not mean that theatrical programmes are primarily local in content. Barcelona is included in numerous touring circuits for productions in Spanish and other languages. The 2000-2001 season at the Catalan National Theatre, for instance, commenced with the Spanish classic *El Alcalde de Zalamea*, coproduced by the Teatre Nacional itself and the Spanish Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico. Also on the programme were performances by Théâtre de l'Odéon, Berlin Tanzteatre and DCA/Festival de Saint-Denis, as well as Catalan productions of works by British, German, Norwegian, Greek and Bulgarian authors.

Music and dance, in many of their manifestations, are of course largely independent of language. Barcelona's opera house, the Gran Teatre del Liceu, offers a selection of operas and ballets from the classical repertory and of contemporary works, usually in the original languages. A Catalan transla-

55. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 87-88).

tion of the librettos appears above the stage and programmes are in Catalan with Spanish and English translations. Concerts given at venues such as the Palau de la Música Catalana and the Auditori include of course works by international and Spanish composers, but also by distinguished Catalan composers such as Enric Granados or Frederic Mompou.

In a less high-brow vein, several generations of Catalan singers, performing primarily in their own language, have earned popularity both at home and abroad. Members of the movement known as the *nova cançó* (new song) played a vital part in the protest movements of the 1960s and 70s. Some have updated their styles and repertoire and are still at the forefront of the artistic scene: these include Lluís Llach and Maria del Mar Bonet (both of whom continue to sing almost exclusively in Catalan) and Joan Manuel Serrat, who also performs in Spanish and enjoys considerable success in the Latin American market.

Many Catalan pop and rock groups also emerged in the 1980s. Their popularity peaked in the early 1990s and their most successful records sold 75,000-100,000 copies. The small record industry which backed them still accounts for 80% of their sales, though some have also recorded for international labels. The evolution of styles in recent years, which reflects trends on the international scene, has been matched by a tendency to sing in Spanish and especially English, as well as Catalan.⁵⁶

Cinema

The cinema is one of the areas in which the Catalan language is most poorly represented. Most of the few full-length feature films made in Catalonia are in Spanish. The Catalan government's policy of grants to film producers proved unsuccessful and funds were diverted in the mid-1990s to Catalan television programmes and dubbing foreign films.

These attempts too have failed to yield the desired results and the number of films in Catalan available to Catalan-speaking film-goers is strikingly low. In 1999 whereas 92.6% saw films in Spanish and 5.3% saw films in foreign languages, only 2.1% were able to see a film in Catalan.⁵⁷ Moreover, a large proportion of the films that are screened in Catalan are for children and many have been dubbed through funding from private educational organizations.

56. Blay, P., in FJB (1999 : 649-657).

57. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 79).

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Una en medio del desierto. **Lauren Horta 8. Lauren Universitat 2. Warner.**

AMOR, CURIOSIDAD, PROZAK Y DUDAS. España, 2000. Director: Miguel Santesteban. Intérpretes: Pilar Punzano y Guillaume Depardieu. **Drama.** 13 años. Cristina es una cabeza loca nocturna; Rosa, una súperjecutiva, y Ana, una perfecta ama de casa. Las tres son hermanas y viven perfectamente las unas sin las otras, hasta que descubren que se necesitan entre sí. **Lauren Cinemes 2. Yelmo Icaria 2 (madr.).**

ARACHNID. España, 2001. Director: Jack Sholder. Intérpretes: Alex Reid y Chris Potter. **Terror.** Apta. Una expedición viaja a una isla del Pacífico para investigar un virus que supuestamente está diezmando a la población, pero descubren que se trata de enormes arañas extraterrestres. **Glòries. Gran Sarrà. Yelmo Icaria 2 (catalán).**

ASESINATO EN FEBRERO. España, 2001. Director: Elio Ortega Santillana. Intérpretes: Natividad Rodríguez y Begoña Elorza. **Drama.** 13 años. Película basada en monólogos de los familiares y amigos de Fernando Buesa y de su escolta, Jorge Díez, asesinados por ETA en febrero del año pasado. **Bolliche 4.**

BILLY ELLIOT (QUIERO BAILAR). Reino Unido, 2000. Director: Stephen Daldry. Intérpretes: Julie Walters y Jamie Bell. **Comedia dramática.** Apta. Un día, un niño tropieza con una clase de ballet en el mismo salón municipal que alberga a su club de boxeo. Muy pronto dejará los guantes para unirse a las clases de danza. **Paris 2.**

BLOW. EE.UU., 2001. Director: Ted Demme. Intérpretes: Johnny Depp y Penélope Cruz. **Drama.** 18 años. George Jung empezó vendiendo marihuana y ahora es el primer socio norteamericano del cártel de Medellín. Con ellos contacta a través de un colombiano que ha conocido en la cárcel y que le presentará a Mirha, una joven que también se verá envuelta en el mundo de la droga. **Cinesa Diagonal. Cinesa Maremàgnum. Cinesa Waldorf 1. Comèdia 2. Lauren Gràcia 4. Lauren Horta 5. Warner. Yelmo Icaria 6 (V.O. sub.).**

CHOCOLAT. EE.UU., 2000. Director: Lasse Hallström. Intérpretes: Juliette Binoche y Johnny Depp. **Comedia.** Apta. Una mujer y su hija se instalan en un pequeño pueblecito y abren una chocolatería. Sus bombones supondrán una irresistible tentación que abrirá las mentes de los reprimidos vecinos. **Cinesa Alexandra 3.**

CÓDIGO DESCONOCIDO. Francia - Alemania - Rumanía, 2000. Director: Michael Haneke. Intérpretes: Juliette Binoche y Thierry Neuwic. **Drama.** 13 años. En una calle, alguien deja un papel en las manos de una mendiga. Esto es lo que une la vida de una actriz, un educador musical y una rumana que pide para vivir. **Verdi 5 (V.O. sub.).**

CUANDO BRENDAN CONOCIÓ A TRUDY. Gran Bretaña-Irlanda, 2000. Director: Kieron J. Walsh. Intérpretes: Peter McDermott y Flora Montgomery. **Comedia.** Pendiente. Brendan es un maestro solitario. Cuando conoce a Trudy, una ladrona, se ve envuelto en sus actividades delictivas y descubre placeres que jamás hubiera sospechado. **Casablanca 1.**

CUBA FELIZ. Francia, 2000. Director: Karim Dridi. Intérpretes: Miguel de Morales 'el gallo' y Pepin Vaillant. **Musical.** Apta. Un can-

una cárcel, en un círculo que las hace a todas iguales. **Verdi 1 (V.O. sub.). Yelmo Icaria 7 (V.O. sub.).**

EL DIARIO DE BRIDGET JONES. Francia, Gran Bretaña-EE.UU., 2001. Directora: Sharon Maguire. Intérpretes: Renée Zellweger y Colin Firth. **Comedia.** Pendiente. Adaptación de la novela de Helen Fielding sobre una treintañera soltera obsesionada con perder peso, dejar de fumar y abandonar el alcohol. **Bosque. Cinesa Alexandra 1. Cinesa Diagonal. Cinesa Maremàgnum. Cinesa Waldorf 3. Glòries. Gran Sarrà. Lauren Horta 6. Lauren Universitat 1. Renoir-Les Corts 5 (V.O. subtitulada). Warner. Yelmo Icaria 8 (V.O. sub.).**

EL EMPERADOR Y SUS LOCURAS. EE.UU., 2000. Director: Mark Dindal. **Dibujos animados.** Apta. El joven y arrogante emperador Kuzco se convierte en llama por culpa de su consejera, que quiere hacerse con el reino. Para recuperar el trono, Kuzco tendrá que recibir ayuda de un bondadoso campesino. **Aribau 1. Bosque. Cinesa Diagonal. Cinesa Maremàgnum. Diagonal (catalán). Glòries. Gran Sarrà. Lauren Horta 5. Lauren Universitat 2 (catalán). Warner. Yelmo Icaria 9 (V.O. sub.).**

EL REGRESO DE LA MOMIA. EE.UU., 2001. Director: Stephen Sommers. Intérpretes: Brendan Fraser y Rachel Weisz. **Aventuras.** Apta. Ocho años después, bajo las arenas del desierto una nueva pesadilla está a punto de desatarse y otra momia va a revivir. **Cinesa Diagonal. Cinesa Maremàgnum. Club Doré 1. Warner.**

EL SASTRE DE PANAMÁ. EE.UU.-Irlanda, 2001. Director: John Boorman. Intérpretes: Pierce Brosnan y Geoffrey Rush. **Thriller.** 13 años. Un espía británico caído es designado a Panamá, donde conoce a un sastrero de la alta sociedad que antes fue delincuente en los bajos fondos. A pesar de su aparente amistad, pronto el sastrero comenzará a chantajearle e intentará conseguir a su mujer. **Bosque. Cinesa Diagonal. Comèdia 1. Nàpols 1. Warner.**

EL VIAJE DE ARIÁN. España, 2000. Director: Eduard Bosch. Intérpretes: Ingrid Rubio y Abel Folk. **Drama.** 18 años. Arián es una joven que lucha en la kale borroka. Cuando se enamora de un terrorista, decide entrar en uno de los comandos. Así inicia un viaje sin retorno que le obliga a abandonar a su familia y a cambiar de vida. **Bolliche 1.**

EN DORAEMON HES MILI UNA AVENTURAS. Japón, 2001. Director: Tsutomu Shibayama. **Dibujos animados.** Apta. Doraemon es un gato del siglo XXII que hace vivir toda clase de aventuras a su joven dueño, gracias a los inventos que guarda en su bolsillo mágico. **Aribau 3. Bosque. Cinesa Diagonal. Glòries. Warner.**

ENEMIGO A LAS PUERTAS. EE.UU.-Gran Bretaña-Irlanda-Alemania, 2001. Director: Jean-Jacques Annaud. Intérpretes: Jude Law y Ed Harris. **Drama.** 13 años. Historia real, situada en Stalingrado, de un francotirador soviético y su enfrentamiento casi personal con el mejor tirador nazi. **Aribau 2. Yelmo Icaria 3 (V.O. sub.) (madr.).**

EVOLUTION. EE.UU., 2001. Director: Ivan Reitman. Intérpretes: David Duchovny y Julianne Moore. **Comedia.** 7 años. Un meteorito choca contra la Tierra trayendo vidas que dan un nuevo significado a la ley del más fuerte. Pero cuatro personajes se inter-

más el asunto. **Bosque. Club Coliseum. Gran Sarrà. Verdi 2 (V.O. sub.).**

GINGER SNAPS. Canadá, 2000. Director: John Fawcett. Intérpretes: Emily Perkins y Katharine Isabelle. **Terror.** Pendiente. Ginger es atacada por un animal feroz y se convierte en una loba sedienta de sangre, mientras su hermana Brigitte intenta encontrar la poción para eliminar a la bestia que lleva dentro. **Yelmo Icaria 11 (V.O. sub.).**

HAMLET. EE.UU., 2000. Director: Michael Almereyda. Intérpretes: Ethan Hawke y Kyle MacLachlan. **Drama.** Pendiente. Adaptación de la obra clásica de Shakespeare, ambientada en Nueva York en la actualidad, en un mundo de portátiles y limusinas. **Alexis.**

HOMBRES FELICES. España, 2001. Director: Roberto Santiago. Intérpretes: Aitana Sánchez-Gijón y Sergi López. **Drama.** 18 años. Ana y Ángel están casados y en permanente crisis. Ella se consulta con su mejor amiga y él con reiteradas infidelidades. Todo va bien hasta que ella decide separarse y se desata la venganza. **Renoir-Les Corts 2. Yelmo Icaria 14.**

JUERGA DE SOLTEROS. EE.UU., 2001. Director: Gregory Poirer. Intérpretes: Jerry O'Connell y Shannon Elizabeth. **Comedia.** 13 años. Un grupo de amigos hizo una apuesta por la que el último soltero ganará una importante suma de dinero. Ahora uno de ellos debe conseguir que el otro que queda se case en menos de un mes para saldar una deuda con un casino de Las Vegas. **Cinesa Diagonal (madr.). Warner.**

LA HORA DE LA ARAÑA. EE.UU., 2001. Director: Lee Tamahori. Intérpretes: Morgan Freeman y Monica Potter. **Thriller.** 13 años. Después de la muerte de su compañero, un psicólogo forense decide retirarse. Pero un psicópata que ha secuestrado a la hija de un senador lo involucrará en un nuevo caso federal. **Aribau 4. Cinesa Diagonal. Warner. Yelmo Icaria 11 (V.O. sub.).**

LA LUNA EN DIRECTO. Australia, 2000. Director: Rob Sitch. Intérpretes: Sam Neill y Patrick Warburton. **Comedia.** 13 años. Un gigante telescopio australiano debía ser el soporte del receptor principal de la NASA. Pero cuando la luna antena se estropea, ésta será el único medio para que el mundo vea la legada del hombre a la Luna. **Aribau 3. Verdi Park A (V.O. sub.).**

LARA CROFT: TOMB RAIDER. EE.UU.-Gran Bretaña, 2001. Director: Simon West. Intérpretes: Angelina Jolie y Daniel Craig. **Acción.** Apta. Lara Croft dispone de 48 horas para descifrar el misterio de un triángulo místico que puede convertirse en la llave de apertura del tiempo y el espacio. El futuro del universo está en sus manos. **Bosque. Cinesa Diagonal. Cinesa Maremàgnum. Cinesa Waldorf 2. Comèdia 4. Glòries. Gran Sarrà. Lauren Gràcia 1. Lauren Horta 4. Lauren Universitat 3. Rex (V.O. sub.). Warner. Yelmo Icaria 10 (V.O. sub.).**

LA RUTA HACIA EL DORADO. EE.UU., 2000. Director: Eric "Bibo" Bergeron y Don Paul. **Dibujos animados.** Apta. Dos timadores de poca monta buscan la ciudad de El Dorado para hacerse ricos. Pero antes deberán escapar del barco donde están atrapados. **Cinesa Diagonal.**

LOS CACHORROS DE BUDDY. EE.UU.-Canadá, 2000. Director: Bill Bannerman. Intérpretes: Kevin Zegers y Caitlin Wachs. **Comedia.** Apta. Buddy, un astro del balón, se

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A 'random' fragment of the entertainment page from a Barcelona daily. 82 films are offered in Spanish, 14 in other languages (sub-titled in Spanish) and 3 in Catalan.

The cause is not to be sought in any difficulty in understanding Catalan. Live theatre in Catalan is highly competitive and official television ratings show that films in Catalan draw large audiences. Public opinion, moreover, is receptive: 83% of respondents to a recent survey were in favour of at least half the films billed being in Catalan.⁵⁸ Nor is the size of the potential audience to be scorned: Catalonia has the highest proportion of filmgoers in Europe and constitutes the sixth largest film market in terms of audience (the eighth largest in turnover).⁵⁹ It is simply a question of profits: the powerful distributors who control the market know that the Catalan population also understand Spanish, and it is less profitable to dub and distribute films in two language versions than in one.

In sovereign states with less widely spoken languages, firm governmental measures can solve such problems. But when the Catalan government attempted to introduce regulations under the 1998 Law of Linguistic Policy to ensure that a reasonable number of films in the cinemas were in the country's own language, opposition from the distributors was so fierce that the government had to back down. Yet the aims were modest: 25% of the reels were to be dubbed or subtitled in Catalan – a percentage far short of the percentage of Catalan-speakers in the population – and 25% of screenings to be in Catalan (20% during an introductory three-year period). Negotiations are currently underway to find mutually acceptable ways of improving the situation.

The availability of videos in Catalan, despite Catalan government funding and increased sales over the past few years, is also low, the reasons being largely the same. The arrival of technologies such as DVD, offering a large number of channels for different language versions, may provide a viable technical solution, provided private interests do not consider even the small investment involved to be excessive.

58. *Avui*, 19-7-1998.

59. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 79).

Education

The introduction of Catalan-language schooling

The Catalan language was banned from the entire education system, as a subject and as a language of instruction since the introduction of public education, and more especially throughout the Franco dictatorship. Though a few exceptions were granted in the early 1970s, it was not until the arrival of democracy and Catalan self-government that the situation began to change.

The real turning point came after 1983 when the Law for the Linguistic Normalization of Catalan approved by the Catalan Parliament gave Catalan a key role in education at all levels. The 1983 law, which declared Catalan the language of education at all levels, set as the key goal that of ensuring that pupils attained equal mastery of both official languages by the end of their compulsory education. It was designed for the situation prevailing in the early 1980s when many children from non-native families were still unfamiliar with Catalan and its provisions included: the right to receive early instruction in the children's usual language, obligatory teaching of Catalan and Spanish at all levels, progressive introduction of Catalan as a language of instruction as the children's mastery of it increased, and exemptions from the requirement to demonstrate knowledge of Catalan for children from schools outside Catalonia.

The 1998 Law of Linguistic Policy, which replaced its predecessor and is still in force, contains more detailed provisions designed to meet the needs of the situation prevailing after Catalan had been in use in the schools for several years. While maintaining the basic safeguards –freedom of choice in early instruction, teaching of both Catalan and Spanish at all levels, special measures and dispensations for pupils from outside Catalonia– it declared Catalan the normal vehicle of expression in both teaching and administrative tasks at all levels.

Under both language laws, the article relating to higher education –a stage at which students are deemed to have acquired the required basic command of both official languages– provides for freedom of choice by both professors and students and for special measures to encourage the use of Catalan. The 1998 law also provides for complete freedom of language in international activities.

Translations of the relevant parts of both laws can be found in the section devoted to legislation.

Both time and efforts were required to implement the necessary changes

The reason for introducing immersion programmes was the assumption that pupils would acquire a greater competence in Catalan, their second tongue, without any cost for the mastery of their own language or other aspects of academic achievement. Before the immersion programmes began there was a certain conviction among teachers that if Catalan were not the predominant language in the curriculum, Spanish-speaking pupils would not attain the knowledge required by the various language normalization laws by the end of their basic schooling. Results (of various pedagogical research projects) confirm that the programmes yield a better competence in Catalan without any foreseeable cost for the mastery of Spanish. And the discrepancy between the results regarding achievement in non-linguistic contents does not support the idea that immersion pupils are inferior in this respect.

Joaquim Arnau⁶⁰

in the education system for the shortfall was considerable. Three years after the first law came into force the 1986 census showed that one in five teenagers between the ages of 10 and 19 was still unable to speak or read Catalan and almost one in three could not write it. Pedagogical research was also showing that merely teaching Catalan or putting both languages on an equal footing in the schools would not be sufficient to enable students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds to reach the required level of Catalan by school-leaving age, whereas for both Catalan and Spanish-speaking students, intensive exposure to Spanish in the social environment made the acquisition of the required standards in Spanish relatively easy.

There were good reasons to believe, moreover, that a substantial majority of parents were in favour of the use of Catalan in the schools. Catalan early immersion classes were proving highly popular and 50,000 children had already been placed in such classes on a voluntary basis by their parents. By 1992, 88% of all schools (94% of public schools) had organized immersion classes imparted by specially trained teachers. The classes had been attended by 233,128 pupils.

The use of Catalan as the language of instruction was gradually extended to all levels of compulsory education. Spanish continued to be taught as a subject, and the right of parents to opt out of education in Catalan for their children was maintained. Hardly any parents, in fact, made this choice. But when Catalan was declared the

60. FJB (1999 : 742).

An immersion program cannot succeed unless the home language enjoys greater prestige and power than the school language. ... other important factors are the prestige of the school language and the motivation and attitude of the children towards what for them is a new language. ... access to the program involving a change of language must always be optional and voluntary.

... the implementation of a program of this type must not mean the explicit or implicit rejection of the children's home language and culture. ... provided these conditions are met, attendance at an immersion program is not in any way detrimental to the acquisition of the home language and culture.

... we formulate the hypothesis that these requirements are fulfilled in present-day Catalonia in the case of Spanish (the socially strong language) and Catalan (the language in a situation of inferiority which is given precedence in school).

Josep M. Artigal⁶¹

language of basic education in Catalonia from the 1993-4 school year onwards, there was opposition from minority groups in Catalonia itself and from the right-wing Spanish press and the decrees were appealed to the Spanish Constitutional Court. The Court's ruling, however, handed down in December 1994 (Ruling 337/1994) was largely favourable to the Catalan system.⁶²

The present situation of language in schools

In 1995-6, Catalan Department of Education data gave the following breakdown of schools in terms of the language of instruction:

- ♦ Primary schools: in 67.5% of schools all classes were given in Catalan, except for those devoted to Spanish and foreign languages and literature, whereas in the remaining 32.3% instruction was in both Catalan and Spanish.
- ♦ Secondary schools: in 25.9% all instruction was in Catalan, and in the remainder instruction was in Catalan, except for certain subjects which were taught in Spanish.

61. Artigal (1991 : 10-11).

62. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 55).

In terms of pupils 87% were being taught in Catalan in public schools and 75% in private schools (those receiving bilingual instruction were 13% and 25% respectively, and those taught solely in Spanish were 0.3% and 0.9%). The above percentages remain virtually unchanged to the present day.

Pupils who enter the Catalan school system after commencing their education in Spanish are entitled to special attention. They also receive special language tuition: the 130 such groups in operation in 1998-9 were attended by 1,556 children (0.14% of the total) and there were also conversation groups attended by approximately 2,000 students.

Exemptions from education in Catalan were requested by the parents of ten pupils out of a total of nearly 800,000 in the 1998-99 school year. No such requests were received in the 1999-2000 school year.⁶³

The impact of Catalan-language schooling

An indication of the effects of recent language policy in schools is given by the proportion of students who sit their university entrance examination in Catalan, which has risen from 52.3% in 1991 to 73.5% in 1999.⁶⁴ Further indirect evidence is provided by the overall knowledge of Catalan attested by recent census results which show that students, especially those between 10 and 19, have a far better command of Catalan than their elders (95% understand, speak and read it, and nearly 90% can write it).

The impact of primary school is shown by the sharp rise in Catalan speaking ability between the 2-4 and the 10-14 age groups (from approximately 54% to 96%), though the fact that nine out of ten children already understand Catalan by the age of 4 indicates previous exposure to it outside school.

Even so the opposite reading of the

Whatever the analytical perspective adopted, it is systematically in childhood, adolescence and, to a lesser extent, youth that we find the highest levels of knowledge of Catalan ... Thus school, to a large degree, is the institution which is doing most to prevent knowledge of Catalan from being a distinguishing mark of social class, which is making it possible, to a great extent, for inter-territorial differences to fade, and which enables those born outside Catalonia to acquire Catalan at an early age.

Jaume Farràs, Joaquim Torres, F. Xavier Vila⁶⁵

63. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 55).

64. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 56).

65. Farràs et al. (2000 : 156).

Education succeeds in ensuring widespread understanding of Catalan among the population of other origins, but their active use of this acquired language is far from being as fluent and spontaneous as the use of Spanish by native Catalans: thus there is the fear that Catalan may recede in this field of individual communications which is where, in the last resort, the survival of the language is at stake.

Isidor Marí (the views quoted are attributed to Albert Bastardas)⁶⁶

same figures reveals that, *despite* education in Catalan, in 1996 there were still 80,000 children and young people between the ages of 5 and 19 who could not speak Catalan and 57,000 teenagers aged 15-19 who could not write it.⁶⁷ Such results cannot be seen as a sign that the goal of ‘normalization’ –equal mastery of Catalan and Spanish– has been achieved.

Beyond school

In higher education both the 1983 and the 1998 language laws give students and teaching staff the option of using either Catalan or Spanish, while stipulating that (in the words of the 1998 law) ‘universities must offer courses and other appropriate means so that students and teaching staff may perfect their understanding and knowledge of the Catalan language’.

Currently anything from slightly over half to 100% of the lectures and classes in the different faculties, departments and universities are in Catalan. The computerized distance degree courses offered by the Open University of Catalonia are entirely in Catalan. Close to 7,000 students were enrolled in them in the 1998-99 academic year.⁶⁸

It is worth noting that the relative complexity of the language situation in Catalonia compared with other parts of Spain seems no barrier to student exchanges for Catalonia receives more Erasmus students than any other region. The university with the highest number of foreign PhD students is also a Catalan university: the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya.⁶⁹

66. Isidor Marí, in FJB (2000 : 725).

67. Farràs et al. (2000 : 57).

68. Josep Nieto, in FJB (1999 : 494).

69. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 57).

In adult education the law provides that both Catalan and Spanish must be taught and in 1999 two thirds of the students enrolled in such courses studied entirely or mainly in Catalan, and one third entirely or mainly in Spanish. Over 43,000 adults attended the nearly 2,000 Catalan language courses organized throughout Catalonia in 1998-9 through cooperation between local authorities and the Catalan Department of Culture. Numerous Catalan language courses at different levels are also organized for Spanish, Catalan and local government employees and for employees of the judicial system.⁷⁰

Attitudes to Catalan government policy in education

Surveys have provided constant evidence that Catalan government language policy in education has commanded widespread support over the years and that opposition was confined to a small minority. Confirmation is provided by two recent surveys.

A study conducted in December 1999⁷¹ yielded the following results:

- ◆ 32.8% of respondents wanted more Catalan in the schools.
- ◆ 58.8% of respondents wanted the amount of Catalan in the schools to remain the same.
- ◆ 4.1% of respondents wanted less Catalan in the schools.

Another survey carried out in March-April 2000⁷² produced the following responses:

<i>In which language do you mainly prefer your children to be educated?</i>		
Catalan	607	60,7%
Both: Spanish and Catalan	178	17,8%
Don't mind	88	8,8%
Spanish	80	8,0%
Other answers	41	4,1%
Don't know / No answer	8	0,6%

70. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 57 et sqq.).

71. Study of Language and Economic activity in Catalonia, Gabise, December 1999, published in Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 13).

72. Ubach (2000).

Economy and work

The background

Catalonia has been one of the most economically advanced areas of the Iberian peninsula for centuries. In the Middle Ages a complex guild structure evolved and Catalan trading posts were set up throughout the Mediterranean. Following the discovery of the New World, Catalan manufacturers and merchants were banned for centuries from commercial relations with the American colonies over which Castile had a monopoly. When the prohibition was lifted in the late 18th century, however, revenue from trans-Atlantic trade paved the way for an Industrial Revolution which reached Catalonia long before the rest of the Spain, giving it a class structure akin to its neighbours to the north and very different from the centre and south of Spain whose economy was still dominated by wealthy landowners.

Today Catalonia remains one of the most highly developed parts of the peninsula, with an appreciably higher per capita GDP and activity rate than Spain as a whole. The Catalan tertiary sector accounted for nearly 60% of gross added value in 1998, as opposed to only 1.1% for agriculture.⁷³ Catalonia has an extremely open economy, with a considerable proportion of goods and services being exported to the Spanish, European and international markets.

In the field of private enterprise, more than anywhere else, language use is subject to the laws of the market, which dictate that, in the absence of legal restrictions or some obvious payoff, it makes economic sense to cover the largest possible market with the smallest possible number of languages.

Current economic trends tend to reinforce rather than alleviate this situation. Though Catalonia is traditionally a land of small businesses, mergers and takeovers are increasingly frequent, and companies whose headquarters are elsewhere, many of them multinationals, control an ever larger portion of the economy. The scope and operational structure of such companies make the use of more widely spoken languages more rational, in cost-benefit terms. And it must be confessed that the majority of Catalan-owned companies, pursuing the same objectives as their competitors, do not distinguish themselves by their firm stance in defence of their own language.

The Catalan government has made a series of attempts to regulate the use of Catalan in certain aspects of economic life by legislation, but lack of con-

73. Generalitat de Catalunya (1999).

Language: a human or governmental right?

The unique backing which an independent state can provide to its official language in the economic field was demonstrated recently by the sudden appearance of Catalan on labels and other materials manufactured by certain multinationals. After a short period of euphoria Catalans discovered that this was not out of deference to the seven million Catalan-speakers living in different self-governing regions of Spain, but because the tiny principality of Andorra, where Catalan is the official language, had just been admitted to the United Nations.

sensus, motivated partly by political interests and partly by corporate opposition, have not infrequently compelled it to back down either before tabling its bills or in the implementation process. Principles which have proved impossible to establish include the use of Catalan on product labels and in instructions for use (Spanish government legislation merely makes the use of Spanish compulsory), the right of consumers to be served in commercial establishments in the official language of their choice, or the establishment of minimum percentages of Catalan in commercial media and the cinema.

Language use in the workplace

The use of the Catalan language in the workplace reflects the situation of the language in society as a whole. While Catalan is in widespread use among office workers, technicians and executives –including top management– it is mainly reserved for informal, speech-oriented aspects of working activity, while tasks calling for writing or greater formality are generally performed in Spanish. The insufficient mastery of the formal, written language among generations of Catalans educated in monolingual Spanish schools clearly has much to do with this, as does the exclusion of Catalan for decades from fields such as science and technology, business studies, or law. In less skilled professions, where the majority of workers are of Spanish mother tongue, the proportion of Catalan even in oral exchanges is much lower.

The imbalance between the two languages emerges clearly from the results of various surveys which indicate that Catalan is used between 70 and 90% of the time in informal conversations, but that well over half the tasks involving writing or reading –and often considerably more– are done in

Spanish. The percentages of catalogues, contracts, invoices, pay sheets and business letters in Catalan are even lower.⁷⁴

Interaction between companies and the public

The extent to which the Catalan language is used in the interaction between companies and the public depends to some degree on the sector of activity and the corresponding intensity of contacts with the consumer: the more good public relations are a factor in good business, the more Catalan is used. Hence in industry, where direct contact with the customer is infrequent, the use of Catalan is less widespread than in sectors such as the retail trade, transportation, or services. Banking and insurance are two areas where the use of Catalan has attained reasonably high levels: not only are a large proportion of staff members in a position to serve customers in both languages, but many documents and forms are also provided in both.

Accordingly the jobs in which a command of Catalan is most clearly an asset to potential applicants are those involving contact with the public. This does not prevent Spanish from being the 'default option' in many interactions between staff and customers: answer phone messages and initial greetings, for instance, are frequently in Spanish, and many employees will continue speaking Spanish even if addressed by a customer in Catalan.

In advertising, signs, company names and the other elements that make up the corporate image, Spanish is clearly predominant in most sectors. Many firms have Spanish, or linguistically neutral names, including many native Catalan firms (though it should be remembered that company names often date back to the dictatorship, when Catalan names were prohibited). It is only in the Catalan language press and media that Catalan is used to any appreciable extent in commercial advertising. On Catalan public television channels, Catalan is used in some 85% of the commercials,⁷⁵ but data on the press indicate that Catalan-language newspapers carry less advertising than their Spanish counterparts, probably because their circulation is also more limited, and that advertisements in Catalan tend to be smaller than advertisements in Spanish. In the Spanish-language press it comes as no surprise that Spanish is by far the dominant language of advertising. The language break-

74. Bastardes & Renau (2000).

75. Web Page, Catalan Department of Culture (www.cultura.gencat.es/llengcat/socio/mitjans.htm#act2).

down of other forms of commercial advertising such as hoardings, neon signs, handouts and leaflets delivered to the home is difficult to ascertain on account of its heterogeneous nature, but overall trends points to a predominance of Spanish in most key sectors.⁷⁶

Labels and instructions

The overwhelming majority of products on sale in Catalonia bear labels written exclusively in Spanish, or in Spanish and other European languages, but hardly ever in Catalan. As European economic integration grows stronger this trend has intensified and such is the importance of economies of scale that products labelled in Portuguese, Italian and even Greek, Hebrew or Arabic can readily be found nowadays on any supermarket shelf, whereas it requires considerable determination to find a single label in Catalan. Though a few Catalan owned supermarket chains pursue the policy of labelling their own products in Catalan –some have even launched web pages permitting on-line shopping in Catalan– the immense majority of items bearing labels in Catalan are locally manufactured produce which reaches the consumer with few intermediaries and is sold in small shops or markets. Examples are confectionery, sausages, cheese, milk and eggs.

There are even fewer exceptions regarding the instructions for use supplied with household appliances, games, computer software, and so on. The majority are printed in several foreign languages, but never in Catalan. Even medicines, sold with or without a prescription, carry information about vital topics such as dosage and side effects solely in Spanish.

Labour relations

In the days of the Franco dictatorship, labour unions and supporters of Catalan language rights joined forces to overthrow the regime and since democracy the unions have shown sensitivity to the need to take special measures in favour of Catalan. However, the fact that many wage-earners are from Spanish speaking backgrounds has been an obstacle to widespread use of Catalan in labour relations. Even so, according to recent data one third of collective agreements signed in 1999 were in Catalan, and 13% were in both Catalan and Spanish.

76. Salarich (1997-98).

Information and communications technologies

The new information and communications technologies are both an opportunity and a threat to smaller language communities. On the one hand they offer powerful tools for the pursuit of cultural and educational endeavours, notably in language-related fields, make it possible to reach a large audience quickly and at low cost and provide links between groups and institutions which reinforce the language community. But on the other hand, commercial interests and the power of independent states tend to tip the balance in favour of the more widely spoken languages which also benefit from the same advantages.

Operating systems, navigators, software and multimedia

Since the early 1990s, a wide variety of computer tools in Catalan have appeared on the market. Seven different operating systems are currently available in Catalan, including Windows 98 and Macintosh OS 7.5 and 7.6, as well as the two leading navigators, Netscape and Explorer. A Catalan version of the McGraw Hill official guide to Windows 98 has appeared (*Windows 98 pas a pas*) and various spelling and grammar checks have been provided for Catalan users, among them Word Correct which is part of the Microsoft Office 2000 package.⁷⁷

However the production of each all these tools has been fraught with difficulties. Without pressure and funding from government and private institutions, Catalan versions would not be made at all since manufacturers consider the Spanish versions sufficient to cover the whole of Spain and Spanish-speaking America. Computers are sold with pre-installed Spanish versions of operating systems and software, Catalan versions of programmes usually appear much later than their Spanish counterparts, they are not subsequently updated, and so on, all of which affects demand: during the year when Windows 98 became available in Catalan, barely 5% of the copies sold in Catalonia were in Catalan.⁷⁸

Despite a number of interesting initiatives, the number of multimedia

77. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 91 et sqq.); Isidor Mari in FJB (1999 : 755-756); Web Page, Catalan Department of Culture (www.cultura.gencat.es/llengcat/socio/mitjans#act3).

78. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 91).

products available in Catalan is also severely limited, for similar investment-related reasons.

Catalan faces much more severe problems in this respect than languages with an even smaller number of speakers which are backed by a state government of their own, such as Norwegian or even Icelandic since Spanish government policy aims solely to guarantee the availability of Spanish versions, without regard for other official languages. The Catalan government has recently created a Commissioner for the Information Society with a mandate to define policy in this area.

Language-related computer applications

Some interesting developments with positive repercussions for Catalan have taken place in the application of software to language. A recent innovation has been the inclusion of Catalan among the fourteen European languages covered by Freespeech, the speech processing software manufactured by Philips. Largely automatic translation is also used for a number of purposes: to produce the identical Catalan and Spanish editions of certain newspapers (notably *El Periódico de Catalunya*), the Catalan version of the official Spanish government journal (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*), and Catalan versions of news agency despatches.

One of the earliest and most ambitious projects –the Catalan Terminology Centre, TERMCAT– has been in progress since the mid-1980s as the result of an agreement between the Catalan government’s Department of Culture and the Institute for Catalan Studies. TERMCAT’s staff of linguists and computer technicians have standardized Catalan terminology in a multiplicity of socio-economic, technical and scientific fields, compiled lists of neologisms and bibliographical references and established links with numerous terminology centres worldwide. They respond to some 12,000 terminological consultations per year, not counting those related to bibliography. An automatic consultation system, Cercaterm, has recently been put in service.⁷⁹

The area of computerized language testing has also received attention. The General Directorate for Language Policy has developed testing materials for seven foreign languages and Catalan within the framework of the KoBaLT group (Computer Based Language Testing).⁸⁰

79. Franquesa (2000).

80. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 130).

Educational applications

The most ambitious project involving the use of new technologies in education is the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (Open University of Catalonia), inaugurated in 1995. The Open University operates in the Catalan language as a private network using Internet tools which enable students to communicate with their tutors, carry out administrative tasks, borrow library books and even 'chat' with other students in a virtual bar. The innovative use of conventional and electronic teaching materials and the original operational design of the university's virtual campus won it the European Commission's Bangemann Challenge Award for distance education in 1997. Registration at the UOC rose from 200 students in 1995 to 7,000 in 1998-99.⁸¹

New technologies are also successfully applied by the Computer and Audiovisual Programmes of the Catalan Education Ministry which equip schools with computers and video equipment, foster audiovisual production by pupils, run web pages with input from schools and teachers and were pioneers in the use of CD-Roms containing educational materials.



The opening lecture for the 2001-2002 academic year at the Open University of Catalonia.

Catalan on the Internet

Catalan is one of the best-represented smaller European languages on the Internet. Webs of particular interest include Vilaweb, set up in 1997 to interconnect Catalan web sites, which has developed into an electronic newspaper in Catalan; Barcelona city council's 'digital city', which aims to promote the use of new technologies by citizens and firms; the web of the Catalan Institute of Technology, which includes 30 virtual communities specializing in different areas of technology; those of the Catalan universities, notably the Open University of Catalonia; that of the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce; several Catalan search engines and webs offering computer software in Catalan; the TERMCAT web and others offering terminological and bibliographic resources, and many more of which a selection is provided in the appendix.

81. Josep Nieto, in FJB (1999 : 494).

According to a recent study carried out by Vilaweb,⁸² there are nearly 450,000 web pages in Catalan, 0.14% of the total (it should be noted that no language, except English, has more than 6% and that Spanish, with 7.5 million webs, has 2.42% of the total). Catalan is thus the 19th most extensively used language on the Internet, immediately after Hungarian but before Turkish, Greek or Hebrew. In terms of the ratio between the number of web pages and the number of speakers of each language, Catalan ranks 15th, before either Portuguese (22nd) or Spanish (24th). The same source indicates that 65% of the webs in areas where Catalan is spoken are in Catalan.

Government and the judiciary

The Catalan government and local authorities

Since the 1983 Law for the Linguistic Normalization of Catalan, Catalan has been the language of the Catalan government and local authorities in Catalonia. The Law (Article 8) also stipulated that citizens could use the official language of their choice in their communications with all levels of government (including, in theory, the Spanish central government).

Sessions of the Catalan parliament are conducted almost entirely in Catalan. Cabinet meetings are also in Catalan and ministers and spokespeople of both the government and opposition parties normally make speeches and statements to the media in Catalan when in Catalonia.

All Catalan government employees now have a command of Catalan, though the implementation of this requirement under Catalan law 17/1985 was delayed for six years when the law was appealed by the central government on grounds of unconstitutionality. Six years passed before the Spanish Constitutional Court confirmed the validity of the requirement, during which time most Catalan civil servants had already been appointed.⁸³

Catalan is now the normal working language of the Catalan civil service and of bodies run by the Catalan government: public corporations, communications media, and others. Official documents are produced in both Catalan and Spanish and citizens can communicate with the Catalan government in either language. Catalan is also the predominant working language in the four provincial authorities in Catalonia (*diputacions*) and in local authorities

82. *Avui*, 8-6-2000.

83. Isidor Marí, in FJB (1999 : 720).

throughout the country. Local council meetings are held in Catalan nearly everywhere except in a few boroughs in the Barcelona suburbs where a large majority of the population is Spanish speaking.

Central government and the bodies dependent upon it

The use of the Catalan language remains slight in branches of the Spanish government in Catalonia and bodies directly or indirectly dependent on it. A law passed in 1992, twelve years after Catalan became the official language of Catalonia, finally established the principle that Spanish government employees in Catalonia should be able to attend the public in Catalan. However effective implementation of this rule has been extremely limited since knowledge of Catalan has not, until very recently, been taken into account when selecting candidates for posts in Catalonia. In 1995 an official Spanish government report stated that barely one in three Spanish government civil servants in Catalonia were habitual Catalan-speakers, less than half used Catalan in their contacts with the public, and less than one official form in three was available in a Catalan or bilingual version.⁸⁴

Nowadays the situation varies from one branch of the administration to the other. Whereas the central government police forces (National Police and Civil Guard) still use Spanish almost exclusively, a slight shift towards bilingualism has been noted in aspects such as elections, tax offices and government advertising campaigns.

The 1998 Law of Linguistic Policy passed by the Catalan parliament gave Catalans the right to apply to any branch of the central government in Catalonia in their own language and receive attention in Catalan without any translation being required. The following year, almost twenty years after self-government, the Spanish government also introduced regulations stipulating that both Spanish and Catalan are to be used in documents and forms for the use of the public, advertising campaigns and other fields. If implemented these measures would cause far-reaching changes. However progress is slow and it is still unusual for citizens applying to branches of the central government in Catalonia to be dealt with in Catalan in the normal way.

84. Comisión de Coordinación de la Función Pública, quoted by Romaní & Strubell (1998 : 810).



Most notarial documents, like this one dated 1829, were drafted in Catalan till Spanish was made obligatory.



The ban has now been lifted but professional habits die hard and Catalan legal documents like this one (1999) are still the exception.

The judiciary

In no official sphere is Catalan used less than in the administration of justice. Though Catalan has been permitted in theory since the mid-1980s, virtually all court proceedings and legal documents in Catalonia are still in Spanish. A 1994 study by the Catalan law society reported that only 8% of hearings and 7% of documents were in Catalan, though the language was used in 44% of informal conversations.⁸⁵ Five years later, in 1999, over one in five employees of the judicial system was still unable to speak Catalan, and nearly one in ten did not even understand it. The same year there were still 39 offices (nearly one in ten) in which not a single employee habitually spoke Catalan in his or her dealings with the public and 279 (65% of the total) where not a single employee normally used Catalan in writing. Documents drawn up in Catalan by notaries public in 1999 amounted to only 8.5% of the total.⁸⁶

The main obstacle to the use of Catalan is the frequent transfers of staff –including judges– from other parts of Spain and the system whereby, until 1998, knowledge of Catalan was not even a factor in appointing civil servants to jobs in Catalonia.

85. Lepretre (1997).

86. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 37-39).

When jurisdiction over the administration of justice was transferred from the central to the Catalan government in 1998, the applicants' knowledge of Catalan began to be considered an asset. It is still not obligatory, however, and an elementary diploma is considered sufficient.

In some respects mastery of Catalan in this branch of the civil service has actually declined in recent years owing to staff increases and the corresponding rise in the number of employees recruited elsewhere in Spain with no knowledge of the language. Thus while the percentage able to speak and write Catalan rose from 38% to 40% between 1997 and 1999, the percentage who did not even understand it rose still more, from 3.1% to 8.3%.⁸⁷

Slow progress

The services dependent on the Spanish government often leave an indelible impression on visitors: post offices with mail lying in haphazard stacks on the floor and yellowing, handwritten signs taped to the walls; dilapidated police stations where officers type carbon-copy forms on cast-iron typewriters; chronically slow, unpunctual trains boarded by passengers who have to clamber across the tracks after confusing last-minute announcements; and everywhere, impossible opening hours, intricate red tape, queues reaching out into the street and even longer delays.

True, things are improving, but not very fast. In terms of language the same applies. In Franco's day to request a new driving licence or a postal order in Catalan was an act of rebellion requiring considerable courage. Today you still think twice before trying. The man behind the counter may not even understand you and you will have to repeat your request in Spanish. More probably he *will* understand (unless of course he is a judge or a police officer) but will answer in Spanish, often impatiently, and to simplify matters you switch to Spanish anyway.

Dealings with Spanish public services often involve employees outside Catalonia who cannot be expected to understand Catalan and are frequently hostile to it. If you dial directory enquiries, your call may be answered in Burgos or Cáceres, so heaven help you if you make your request in Catalan. And if you are lucky enough to find a bilingual tax form, actually completing it in Catalan may be unwise, not to mention writing a letter to a Spanish government service in Catalan, or submitting a legal document in Catalan. You are entitled by law to do all these things of course –after all, Catalan is the official language where you live– but it will almost certainly entail complications, delays, and possibly unpleasantness and added cost.

87. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 37-39).

Public services

Some progress towards equality for Catalan and Spanish has been accomplished in recent years in certain aspects of dealings between utility companies and their customers. Bills, advertising and correspondence tend often nowadays to be bilingual, though usually the customer must ask to receive such documents in Catalan: the default option is Spanish. Telephone directories are now bilingual, as are most signs in company offices. The majority of utility company employees based in Catalonia who are in contact with the public can speak both languages. However the 'rationalization' of certain services has led to a situation in which it is increasingly difficult for Catalan-speaking customers to receive attention in their own language since the whole of Spain is dealt with from centralized offices by monolingual Spanish staff using identical printed materials (advertising, circulars, etc.). The opening of the telecommunications sector to commercial operators, many of them multinationals, has also led to major difficulties in obtaining services in Catalan, since they use Spanish for all their operations within Spain.

Some languages are more official than others

The Constitution states that 'The wealth of Spain's different linguistic modalities (sic) is a cultural heritage which will be the object of special respect and protection'. The Spanish government, however, unlike the authorities of many countries with more than one official language, sometimes seems to do more to impede than to facilitate the use of official languages other than Spanish. The following are a few examples.

- ♦ Spanish official documents, such as passports, identity cards, car registration paper and driving licences are solely in Spanish (and in other European languages where necessary).
- ♦ Until recently, though legal documents such as contracts or property titles could legally be drafted in Catalan and were valid in theory for all purposes in Catalonia, if they had to be used in other parts of Spain a (costly) sworn translation had to be provided, just as if they had been written in Japanese or Urdu.
- ♦ Despite repeated attempts by Catalan parliamentarians to enable other official languages to be used in the Spanish legislature, even the most symbolic of concessions, such as one which would have permitted members of par-

It is significant ... that it is precisely state institutions and bodies – primarily the legal system, the security forces and semi-public companies and services (the post office, airports and airlines, railways, telephone company) – which constantly make it difficult for citizens to use the Catalan language. Thus after over a decade of decentralized government*, the scant interest of state organizations, maintained by the citizens and theoretically at their service, in the language training and proper distribution of staff is obvious.

Isidor Mari⁸⁸

* Written in 1993.

liament to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution in their own official language, were refused for many years.

- ◆ All Spanish bank notes and coins are solely in Spanish. Despite campaigns in favour of the introduction of Catalan and other official languages, the new Euro notes and coins to be issued in January 2002 will again be only in Spanish.

- ◆ Of the 3,609 stamps issued by the Spanish post office between 1850 and 1998, only 18 (0.5%) – none before the establishment of democracy – bore words in Catalan (usually the names of places or people). The percentages for other languages which are official in different parts of Spain were even lower: 0.16% in Galician and 0.03% in Basque. The words ‘España’ and ‘Correos’ (post office) have never appeared in any other language. This practice is in contrast with a hundred or so other countries throughout the world which issue bilingual stamps or stamps in several official languages.

- ◆ Following the creation of the main Catalan television channel, TV3, in 1984, relays were set up by volunteer groups in Valencia and the Balearic Islands, where Catalan is also spoken, to make the programmes available to those who wished to watch them. When the new commercial television operators were set up in 1988, the Spanish government not only failed to take into consideration the existence of languages other than Spanish in granting the licences but allocated to the commercial channels exactly the same frequencies that were being used to relay Catalan television programmes, thus effectively blocking reception outside Catalonia.

- ◆ When TV3 commenced broadcasting, Televisión Española, which regularly cooperated with foreign television news services in transmitting pictures over its network for news services and outside broadcasts, refused to

88. Mari (1993 : 181).

Catalonia *too* is the State, so the State should be ours, not one of our enemies. It is very convenient to leave the debris of language and culture in the hands of the autonomous governments, behind countless confining locks and impenetrable walls. For every law in defence of Catalan there are more than a hundred which prohibit or ignore it: the licences for 56 digital channels (!!!) have just been granted *without any condition relating to language*, a giant step towards a single language and culture.

Joan Solà⁸⁹

perform the same service for the Catalan television. For some considerable time the Catalan station was compelled to fly in its footage by air.

- ◆ The Spanish government introduced regulations to ensure that computer hardware sold in Spain included the character ‘ñ’. No steps were taken to guarantee the inclusion of the special characters of other official languages (for instance, the ç, the grave accent, or the ll required to write Catalan).

- ◆ Spanish legislation makes it compulsory to label products ‘at least in Spanish, the official language of the State’. The only measures taken with regard to other official languages have aimed at restricting their use.

Again, some progress has been accomplished which should also be mentioned.

- ◆ The Spanish government has contributed to the cost of language normalization in Catalonia and funds certain cultural activities in Catalonia (though on a much smaller scale, for instance, than in Madrid).

- ◆ It has recently become possible, to a very limited extent, to speak Catalan, Basque and Galician in the Spanish Senate.

- ◆ A Catalan edition of the official journal of the Spanish government (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*) is now published.

- ◆ The Spanish parliament agreed in 1999 to debate a proposal to permit Catalan and other official languages to be used on banknotes, coins, identity cards and so on. This has so far had no practical repercussion.

- ◆ The Spanish government has very recently decided to ratify the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages.

89. *Avui*, 21-12-2000 (italics in the original).


The respect and protection of Spanish linguistic diversity proclaimed by the Constitution will not be possible until the State institutions give the same treatment to Catalan, Galician and Basque as they give to Spanish.

Albert Branchadell, Joan Moles, Joan Vilarnau⁹⁰



The stamp on the left is one of less than 1% of Spanish stamps that include words in Catalan.

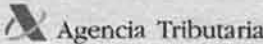
90. Branchadell et al.

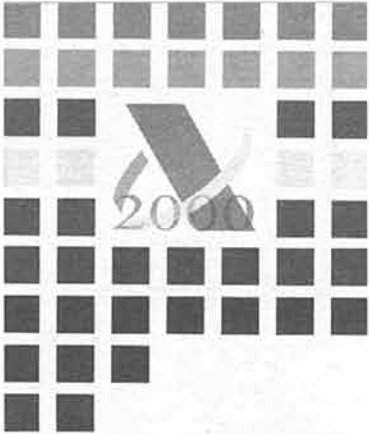


Ministerio de
Economía y Hacienda

IMPUESTO SOBRE
ACTIVIDADES
ECONOMICAS
CUOTA MUNICIPAL

Modelo 845





**CALENDARIO DEL
CONTRIBUYENTE**

2000

**INSTRUCCIONES PARA
CUMPLIMENTAR EL MODELO**

**IMPUESTO SOBRE LA RENTA DE LAS
PERSONAS FISICAS**
Actividades económicas en estimación directa

PAGO FRACCIONADO
Declaración – liquidación

Modelo
130

Este documento deberá cumplimentarse a máquina o utilizando bolígrafo sobre superficie dura y con letras mayúsculas.

Todas las menciones que en estas instrucciones se hacen a la Ley y al Reglamento del impuesto se entienden referidas, respectivamente, a la Ley 40/1998, de 9 de diciembre, del Impuesto sobre la Renta de las Personas Físicas y otras Normas Tributarias (B.O.E. de 10 de diciembre) y al Reglamento del Impuesto sobre la Renta de las Personas Físicas, aprobado por el artículo único del Real Decreto 214/1999, de 5 de febrero (B.O.E. de 9 de febrero).

(1) Identificación

Si dispone de etiquetas identificativas facilitadas por la Agencia Estatal de Administración Tributaria, adhiera una de ellas en el espacio reservado al efecto de cada uno de los ejemplares de este documento, no siendo necesario en tal caso que cumplimente sus datos de identificación.

Si no dispone de etiquetas identificativas, deberá consignar en los espacios correspondientes de este apartado su número de identificación fiscal (N.I.F.), así como los restantes datos solicitados en el impreso. En este caso, al efectuar la presentación deberá adjuntar a este modelo una fotocopia de la tarjeta o documento acreditativo del N.I.F.

(2) Devengo

Ejercicio: consigne las cuatro cifras del año natural al que corresponde el trimestre por el que se efectúa la declaración-liquidación.

Periodo: se hará constar: el número 1, 2, 3 ó 4, según que la declaración-liquidación corresponda al primero, segundo, tercero o cuarto trimestre, respectivamente, del año natural.

(3) Liquidación

1. Actividades económicas en estimación directa, modalidad normal o simplificada (excepto actividades agrícolas, ganaderas, forestales o pesqueras).

Cumplimentarán este apartado las personas físicas que desarrollen actividades económicas distintas de las agrícolas, ganaderas, forestales y pesqueras, cuyos rendimientos se determinen en régimen de estimación directa, en cualquiera de sus modalidades: normal o simplificada.

No obstante, las personas físicas que desarrollen actividades profesionales no están obligadas a presentar declaración de pago fraccionado ni a efectuar ingreso alguno por este concepto en relación con las mismas si, en el año natural inmediato anterior, al menos el 70 por 100 de los ingresos procedentes

Information and forms issued by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Revenue, only in Spanish.

Language legislation

It is obviously beyond the scope of this book –and the competence of its author– to provide an in-depth account of the numerous laws, regulations, appeals, rulings and interpretations regarding the status and use of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia.⁹¹ What follows is a brief summary of the basic legislation, together with a series of reflections on a few crucial issues.

Fundamental legal texts

The fundamental texts on which the current Catalan legislation relating to language is based are the Spanish Constitution and the Catalan Statute of Autonomy:

Spanish Constitution (1978)

Article 3

1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
2. The other Spanish languages shall also be official in their respective Autonomous Communities, as laid down in their Statutes.
3. The wealth of Spain's different linguistic modalities is a cultural heritage which will be the object of special respect and protection.

Catalan Statute of Autonomy (1979)

Article 3

1. Catalan is Catalonia's own language.
2. Catalan is the official language of Catalonia, as is Castilian, which is official throughout Spain.

91. Legal texts refer to the 'Spanish' language by its official name, which is 'Castilian'. Cf. footnote 4 (p. 26).

3. The Generalitat⁹² will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will take the necessary steps to ensure knowledge of them and will create conditions which will make it possible to achieve full equality between them in terms of the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia.

Under the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution (itself dependent on Article 2, which established the right of regions and nationalities to political autonomy), Catalan subsequently became official in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia, Basque became official in the Basque Country and part of Navarre, and Galician became official in Galicia, in each case by virtue of their respective statutes of autonomy. The situation created was not of co-officiality, but of double officiality, each of the above-mentioned autonomous communities having *two co-equal official languages*.

Key aspects of the overall situation in Catalonia arising from these two texts are as follows:

- ◆ Spanish is official throughout Spain but Catalan is official only in Catalonia (and in Valencia and the Balearic Islands, by virtue of their respective statutes).

- ◆ Whereas the official status of Spanish is based solely on the legal criterion that it is official throughout Spain, the official status of Catalan is also based on the fact that it is 'Catalonia's own language'. (The concept of a country's 'own language' is further discussed on page 105).

- ◆ The responsibility for guaranteeing the use of both languages and for establishing equality between them is attributed to the Catalan Generalitat. Underlying this attribution is the acknowledgement that Catalan and Spanish *are not in a position of equality*, i.e. that Catalan is in a position of inferiority as a result of official discrimination dating back to the early 18th century which became particularly severe under the Franco dictatorship. This provides the legal point of departure for the 'normalization' of Catalan (even in fields which in other respects do not come under the Catalan government's jurisdiction, as was recognized by the Spanish Constitutional Court in its ruling 74/1989, dated 24 April 1989).

The Statute of Autonomy also attributes to the Generalitat 'exclusive jurisdiction' in a variety of fields including culture (Article 9, paragraph 4) and 'full jurisdiction' over all levels of the education system (Article 15).

92. As explained elsewhere (p. 25) the Generalitat is the autonomous Catalan government.

The language laws

The main laws which were subsequently adopted by the Catalan parliament in order to implement the powers attributed to the Generalitat under the Constitution and the Statute of Autonomy are:

- ◆ The Law for the Linguistic Normalization of Catalan (Law 7/1983, of 18 April 1983).
- ◆ The Law of Linguistic Policy (Law 1/1998, of 7 January 1998).

The basic justification for the legislation can be summarized in words of the Preamble to the 1998 law:

The Catalan language is a fundamental element in the formation and national personality of Catalonia, a basic instrument of communication, integration and social cohesion of the citizenry, regardless of their geographical origin, and the link par excellence between Catalonia and other Catalan-speaking lands, with which it forms a linguistic community which over the centuries, through its own original voice, has made a valuable contribution to universal culture. It has furthermore been a witness to the fidelity of the Catalan people to its country and its specific culture. Originally forged in the territory of Catalonia and shared with other lands – where it also receives diverse popular and even legal names – the Catalan language has always been the country's own language and, as such, has been adversely affected by certain events in the history of Catalonia, which have placed it in a precarious situation. This situation arose from various factors, such as the political persecution it suffered and the legal imposition of Castilian during more than two and a half centuries; the political and socio-economic conditions in which the demographic changes of the last decades took place and, in addition, its character as a language of limited extension, similar to other official languages in Europe, especially in the present-day world in which communication, information and cultural industries are tending towards globalization.

As a result, therefore, of all these circumstances, the sociolinguistic situation of Catalonia today is complex. The reality of the country's own language which has not achieved full normalization and which, in the international context, has a relatively small number of speakers, is combined with the fact that for many citizens of the territory of Catalonia, Castilian is their mother tongue, the language in which they usually express themselves and the language through which they have quite often made significant contributions to Catalan culture, as have other citizens in other languages. This situation, therefore, calls for a language policy which will provide effective assistance in normalizing Catalonia's own language and which, at the same time, will guarantee scrupulous respect for the linguistic rights of all citizens.

The preamble to the 1983 Law is similar, except that it refers explicitly to the ‘prohibitions and persecutions of the Catalan language and culture unleashed after 1939’ and to the virtually uninterrupted ban on Catalan in compulsory education from its introduction in the mid-19th century until 1978. It also contains a specific allusion to the influx of Spanish speaking immigrants at a time when Catalonia was unable to take adequate steps in the socio-economic, city planning, education and other spheres so as ‘to enable them to become integrated and to participate fully in Catalan society from their own cultural identities, which the Generalitat acknowledges and respects’.

The 1983 Law contained provisions regarding language use in the Catalan government and public service, local authorities, place names, education, and the media.

The 1998 Law, which replaced it and is still in force, covers language use in areas including government institutions, public documents, official registers, collective agreements, place names, education, communications media, cultural industries and socio-economic life (public corporations and private enterprise, attention to customers, signs, advertising by public bodies, and labelling). It also governs the operation of organizations to coordinate the normalization process through cooperation between the Generalitat and other bodies including local authorities.

It should be noted that, in recognition of the sensitive nature of any language legislation, *no penalties* for non-observance were included in the 1983 Law, while the 1998 Law *specifically excludes penalties for individuals* and provides for public corporations and firms to be penalized (in most cases through other laws relating to the same fields) only ‘if (their) activities can be considered a public service and if the protection of the linguistic rights of citizens makes it advisable.’

Linguistic rights and duties of citizens

While Catalan and Spanish are both official in Catalonia, the rights and duties of citizens with respect to each are defined differently. The rights and duties attached to Spanish are established under article 3 of the Constitution quoted above. In the case of Catalan, the rights of citizens to know and use Catalan are defined by the two language laws passed by the Catalan parliament in 1983 and 1998. The 1998 Law, which is currently in force, states the following:

Catalan and Castilian, as official languages, can be used indistinctly by citizens in all public and private activities without discrimination. (Article 3, paragraph 2).

... in order to create the conditions which will make it possible to achieve full equality in terms of linguistic rights and duties, in Catalonia everyone has the right:

- a) To know both official languages.
- b) To express themselves in either of the two official languages, orally and in writing, in public and private relations and acts.
- c) To receive attention in either of the official languages according to the terms laid down in this Law.
- d) To freely use either of the two official languages in all fields.
- e) Not to be discriminated against on account of the official language they use. (Article 4).

An important distinction arises from these definitions: while knowledge and use of both Spanish and Catalan are rights, only knowledge of Spanish is a duty. This difference has given rise to numerous difficulties of interpretation, especially when considered in conjunction with another distinction already discussed: the right to know and use Spanish exists all over Spain, but the right to know and use Catalan exists only in the Catalan-speaking autonomous communities.

The complexity of the issues raised can obviously not be dealt with satisfactorily in the space available here. However, certain over-simplistic readings need to be commented upon, notably the claim that since knowledge of Catalan is not a duty, no one is under any obligation to know Catalan, much less to use it. This argument has been invoked in the field of education (though rarely by the students' parents and guardians) to challenge the inclusion of Catalan as a compulsory subject in the curriculum and the use of Catalan as a language of instruction. It has also been used in support of the alleged right of civil servants and other workers to obtain any type of employment anywhere in Spain without being required to understand or speak any language other than Spanish, or even to learn such a language following their appointment.

In refuting this interpretation, legal specialists argue that the 'duty' to know Spanish refers essentially to the fact that no citizen can allege ignorance of Spanish in order to evade responsibility before the law⁹³ and merely be-

93. Mirambell (1988).

Until a couple of years ago* in the competitive examination for posts as primary school teachers in Catalonia ... knowledge of Catalan was not compulsory. ... we Catalans had the right to be educated in Catalan, but the teachers were not required to know Catalan.

... (until six or eight weeks ago* the Catalan government) could not require its civil servants to have knowledge of Catalan, though Catalan is the official language under the Statute and citizens have the legal right to use Catalan when communicating with the government.

Joan Solà⁹⁴

* Written in 1991.

cause no equivalent constitutional or legal 'duty' to know Catalan exists it does not follow no one can ever be required to know Catalan. There is a clear question of conflicting rights at stake here and the questions raised include the following:

- ◆ How can the members of one language community exercise the legal right to express themselves in their language (in this case Catalan) if members of other language groups are under no obligation to know it?
- ◆ How is it possible to uphold the legal right of citizens to acquire an equal command of two official languages, and the obligation of a government to ensure that they do so, if one of the languages cannot be taught and used to a sufficient extent in all schools?
- ◆ How can citizens exercise their legal right to receive attention in the official language of their choice (in all fields, but more especially in sensitive areas such justice, taxation, medical and psychological care, legal advice, administrative information, and so on) if those responsible for providing such attention, even when they are public servants, cannot be required to have a command of both languages?

The concept of a country's 'own language'

The reference to Catalan as 'Catalonia's own language' found in the Catalan Statute of Autonomy and subsequent legislation warrants some words of explanation. The concept of '(a country's) own language', indicating the lan-

94. Solà (1992).

guage which has been common to the inhabitants of that country for a long period of time, and the language which is therefore characteristic of that country, was an important innovation which was subsequently developed and applied to specific areas of action.

For instance Article 2 of the 1998 law declares the following:

1. Catalan is Catalonia's own language and characterizes it as a people.
2. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is the language of all the institutions of Catalonia, and especially of the administration of the Generalitat, local Administration, public corporations, public enterprises and services, institutional communications media, education and place names.

The notion is related to the idea of a territorial language, understood as the language common to a particular community inhabiting a particular area of the earth's surface who exercise a collective right to use it in that area. This collective right is distinct from the purely individual right of any person or group –such as immigrants or travellers– to use a particular language without regard to the place in which they do so.

Laws relating to education

Some of the main contents and implications of the laws relating to the use of languages in education are commented upon in the section of this book dealing with education. The texts are reproduced here for reference.

Law for the Linguistic Normalization of Catalan (Law 7/1983, of 18 April 1983)⁹⁵

Article 14

1. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also the language of education at all levels.
2. Children have the right to receive their early instruction in their usual language, be it Catalan or Castilian. The Administration must guarantee this right and provide the means to ensure it can be exercised. Parents and guardians may exercise it in the name of the children, by requiring it to be applied.
3. The teaching of Catalan and Castilian is obligatory at all levels and grades of non-university education.

95. Translation of the 1983 law based on that published in Webber & Strubell.

4. All children in Catalonia, irrespective of their usual language when they first enter school, must be able to use both Catalan and Castilian normally and correctly by the end of their basic education.

5. The Administration must take the necessary measures so that: *a)* children are not separated into different schools for reasons of language; *b)* Catalan is used progressively as the pupils' mastery of it increases.

Article 15

No child who has begun his/her studies after the publication of this law may be given the certificate of basic general education unless s/he can demonstrate, on finishing it, that s/he has adequate mastery of Catalan and Castilian. However, proof of mastery of Catalan may not be required of those children who have been excused from studying the language during all or part of their schooling, or of those who have studied basic general education outside Catalonia, and the Executive Council will provide regulations for these circumstances.

Article 16

1. In centres of higher education staff and students alike have the right, in every case, to express themselves, either orally or in writing, in the official language of their choice.

2. Catalan universities are obliged to offer courses and other means to ensure that all students and teachers who do not understand Catalan may learn it.

Law of Linguistic Policy (Law 1/1998, of 7 January 1998)

Article 20

1. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also the language of the education system at all levels and in all forms of education.

2. Educational institutions at all levels are to make Catalan the normal vehicle of expression in their teaching and administrative activities, both internal and external.

Article 21

1. Catalan is to be normally used as the language of instruction and learning in non university education.

2. Children have the right to receive their early instruction in their usual language, be it Catalan or Castilian. The Administration must guarantee this right and provide the means to ensure it can be exercised. Parents or

guardians may exercise it in the name of their children by requiring it to be applied.

3. The teaching of Catalan and Castilian must be guaranteed sufficient presence in the curricula, so that all children, irrespective of their usual language when they first enter school, can use both official languages normally and correctly by the end of their compulsory education.

4. In post-compulsory education the educational authorities must foster curricular and instructional policies to guarantee that the knowledge and use of both languages is perfected, so that all young people may acquire the instrumental and cultural background proper to such education.

5. Pupils must not be separated into different schools or classes on the basis of their usual language.

6. The diploma of secondary education cannot be granted to any pupil who fails not demonstrate that s/he has the oral and written knowledge of Catalan and Castilian appropriate to this stage.

7. Pupils who have been dispensed from learning Catalan during their education or part of it, or who have received their compulsory education outside Catalonia in circumstances which the government of the Generalitat must establish by regulation, cannot be required to demonstrate their knowledge of Catalan.

8. Pupils who have entered the Catalan education system late must receive special and additional support in the study of Catalan.

Article 22. University education

1. In institutions of higher and university education, the teaching staff and students have the right to express themselves in every case, orally and in writing, in the official language of their choice.

2. The government of the Generalitat, the universities and the institutions of higher education in the field of their respective jurisdiction, must adopt the appropriate measures to guarantee and foster the use of the Catalan language in all fields of teaching, non-teaching and research activities, including the presentation of theses and contests for academic posts.

3. Universities must offer courses and other appropriate means so that students and teaching staff may perfect their understanding and knowledge of the Catalan language.

4. The universities can, when necessary, establish specific criteria for the use of languages in activities related to international commitments.

The ruling of the Spanish Constitutional Court confirmed the validity of the 'own language' concept as applied to education (ruling 337/1994 dated 23 December 1994):

Catalan, Catalonia's own language, is official in the territory of the Autonomous Community ... and ... is also the language of the Generalitat and of the Catalan territorial Administration, of the local Administration and of the other public corporations dependent on the Generalitat This undoubtedly includes the educational Administration, on which the educational institutions located in Catalonia depend as established under the jurisdiction it acquired under Article 15 of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia.

Questions and answers

What is Catalan? An archaic dialect of Spanish, a mixture of Spanish and French, or what?

- Catalan is not a dialect or a mixture of other languages. It is a language in its own right which developed direct from Latin at the same period as Spanish and French, but in a different area. Because of their common origin the three languages are alike in many respects and similar to other Romance languages like Portuguese and Italian. But they are also quite distinct.

Why don't Catalans want to speak Spanish?

- They do! Catalans are delighted to speak Spanish to communicate with people from other parts of Spain or Latin America. And many learn English and other languages to interact people from all over the world. Catalans merely want to use their own language –Catalan– in their own home country. Just like other peoples.

History has shown time and again that nationalism generates hatred and violence. So why stir up nationalistic feelings among Catalans by stressing linguistic and cultural differences between them and other Spaniards?

- Provided 'nationalism' involves fostering one's own language, culture, or welfare, not undermining or oppressing those of another group, and provided it is pursued by democratic, non-violent means, as is the case in Catalonia, there seems no inherent reason why it should lead to either hatred and violence. In fact, trying to suppress cultural and linguistic differences is far more likely to have such consequences than respecting them.

Unfortunately conflict and even war have been generated, and still are, in the name of innumerable causes, many of them perfectly legitimate in themselves. Other examples that spring to mind are religion (Christianity, Catholicism, or Islamism, for instance), political and social ideas (republicanism, socialism, unionism, freedom of speech, racial equality, women's rights), and even abstract notions like 'progress', 'reason' or

‘civilization’. It is surely not the cause which is at fault in such cases, but the means used to pursue it. A cause does not become intrinsically evil simply because illegitimate means have been used to uphold it. Otherwise innumerable eminently respectable causes would be unacceptable.

Is the situation of Catalan similar to that of other small European languages like Breton, Gaelic, Frisian, and so on?

☛ Yes and no. Catalan, like the other languages mentioned, is virtually a stateless language since the only country where it is the sole official language is the small Pyrenean principality of Andorra. This puts it at a disadvantage in comparison with languages like Danish, Slovenian or Icelandic which, though small (minute in the case of Icelandic!), have the power of an independent state behind them.

On the other hand there are considerable differences between Catalan and most stateless languages. Catalan has far more speakers than most, being the ninth most widely spoken language in the European community today. It is the language of a country with an advanced economy and a good standard of living. Unlike many of the so-called minority languages it is not spoken primarily in country areas, by the elderly and the less educated, but among all age groups and professions: business executives, politicians, industrial and office workers, farmers, teachers, lawyers, students, technicians, etc. In fact nowadays knowledge of both the spoken and written language is most widespread among young people between the ages of 10 and 20.

So though the future of Catalan is threatened, like other stateless languages, it has a much better chance of survival than most.

Europe has only recently succeeded in overcoming centuries of strife and creating a political and economic balance on which to build future peace and prosperity. Why do small nationalist groups like the Catalans persist in ‘rocking the boat’ by putting their own particular interests before the common good?

☛ In order to achieve the current political and economic balance the governments of the different European states have by no means *abandoned* the defence of their own particular interests in the name of the common good, as any daily newspaper or newscast will show! The great achievement of recent times is that they now usually defend them within the framework of international and supranational structures, by peaceful means instead of armed aggression.

Yet curiously enough a sort of double standard has emerged. Central

governments are tending to reserve the term 'nationalist', in its pejorative sense, to the activities of groups at sub-state level, even those which defend their interests by strictly democratic means. On the other hand they do not view their own activities in pursuit of what they see as the interests of the State as being nationalistic.

Europe has undergone many changes in recent decades. States have been amalgamated and sub-divided and the power-sharing system within them has been altered, sometimes through the use of violence, but often quite peaceably. Such changes are hardly surprising when the existing boundaries and balance of power are in many ways the arbitrary fruit of a series of historical accidents. Unless one is convinced we are currently living in 'the best of all possible Europes', it is hard to justify the denunciation *per se* of all demands from groups who do not happen to have an independent state of their own while considering the demands of existing states as legitimate.

My dictionary defines Catalonia as 'a region of NE Spain with a strong separatist tradition'. How widespread is separatism? Has it led to terrorism?

☛ The definition is rather misleading because not many present-day Catalans are unequivocally in favour of Catalonia breaking away from Spain and past moves to set up an independent state have also been few and far between. On the other hand many Catalans feel their country has the *right* to self-determination and most –regardless of their place of birth– are aware of its distinct identity and want it to have a considerable degree of control over its own affairs. So it would be more accurate to say that Catalonia has a strong tradition of *nationalism*, in the strictly non-ethnic, non-aggressive meaning of the word.

The policies of the Catalan nationalist centre coalition which has governed the country for close to twenty years have been based on this type of stance and other major parties in Catalonia, notably those to the left of the political spectrum, defend a basically similar position. The one party with parliamentary representation which supports independence for Catalonia –Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya– received 8.67% of the vote at the last elections (1999) and holds 12 seats out of 135. It proposes setting up an independent parliamentary democracy within the European Union and uses strictly democratic means to pursue this goal. Acts of terrorism in the name of Catalan independence, or Catalan nationalism, are virtually non-existent.

Wouldn't it be easier if everybody in Spain spoke the same language?

☛ Of course, just as it would be easier if all Europeans spoke English. But not many people in France, Germany or Sweden, for instance, would agree to give up their own languages and use only English. And if they did, an extremely important part of their specific character and identity would have been lost.

Catalans feel they have the same right as other peoples to go about their everyday lives in their own country speaking their own language.

Reports appear in the press from time to time about appeals to the European Parliament and human rights organizations about discrimination against Spanish speaking people in Catalonia. What truth is there in these?

☛ Such appeals usually refer to one or more of the following somewhat contradictory and implausible scenarios:

- ◆ Catalan speakers are a reactionary minority trying to impose an archaic dialect on a large, progressive Spanish-speaking majority.
- ◆ Catalan speakers are a powerful elite trying to impose its language on a defenceless Spanish-speaking minority.
- ◆ Catalan speakers are trying to make knowledge of their language compulsory in order to prevent Spanish speakers from obtaining better jobs and a higher standard of living.
- ◆ Catalan speakers are trying to make Spanish speakers learn their language when the latter have nothing to gain from learning it and no wish to do so.

Factors which should be taken into account when weighing up these allegations include the following:

- ◆ Constitutional guarantees: in a parliamentary democracy, with all the usual safeguards (elections, legislative approval, an independent judiciary, freedom of expression and association, etc.), imposition of Catalan would be difficult, to say the least.
- ◆ The linguistic balance of power: as the official language of Spain, with the full weight of the central government behind it, Spanish is very well protected in Catalonia.
- ◆ The demographic balance: in Catalonia itself native Catalan and native Spanish-speakers are fairly evenly balanced, so neither group is a

clear minority. However Spanish is spoken by hundreds of millions of people worldwide, probably twenty to thirty times the number who speak Catalan. In a globalized society, that makes it a much more powerful language.

- ◆ The social structure: though *knowledge* of Catalan is associated with higher educational and professional qualifications, it does not follow that all the most highly qualified members of society are *native* Catalan speakers. Many Spanish speakers hold positions of influence and prestige.
- ◆ Attitudes: surveys have repeatedly confirmed that Spanish speakers are in favour of equality for the two languages and of everyone knowing both.
- ◆ The consequences of historical factors: there is ample evidence that for 250 years *Catalan was oppressed* and *Spanish was imposed* by non-democratic regimes (implacably from 1939 to 1978).

Finally, the representativeness and affiliation of those launching such appeals warrants attention. Allegations of discrimination against Spanish do *not* have widespread support in Catalonia and the political sympathies of those making them frequently place them in the direct line of succession to the former regime.

Apart from the fact that they speak a different language, in what other ways do Catalans see themselves as different from other Spaniards? Do they consider themselves members of a separate race?

- ☛ Language plays a very important part in the way Catalans define themselves, but the notion of a separate race simply does not enter into it. Catalans see themselves as closer to northern European peoples in temperament and outlook than their neighbours to the south and west. They are also proud of their reputation for hard work and enterprise. A Spanish proverb, for instance, says that ‘Catalans are capable of making bread from stones’ and a distinguished Catalan writer described his fellow-countrymen as a ‘nation of small shopkeepers’.
- It is significant that traits such as these, unlike race or even religion, are not exclusive in nature; in other words they make it relatively easy for newcomers to integrate if they wish. This is perhaps why many people who consider themselves Catalans –including prominent politicians, and personalities in the field of culture, sport or the media– have non-Catalan family names, indicating that they or their ancestors came from other parts of Spain, Europe or even other continents.

Bilingualism, and even multilingualism, are a great asset in the modern world. So isn't it rather narrow-minded for Catalans to insist on using their own virtually unknown language, instead of cultivating a more widely spoken language like Spanish?

☛ The form of bilingualism that is usually considered an asset consists of having a thorough command of a second language and using it to communicate with people from elsewhere. All Catalans also speak Spanish so, by that definition, *all* native Catalans are bilingual. In fact, like the speakers of most smaller languages, they are far more bilingual than their counterparts from major language groups. And many know a third or fourth language too.

Unfortunately, what many of those who claim to support 'bilingualism' in Catalonia really mean is that Catalans should speak Spanish all the time so that Spanish-speakers who are perfectly able to learn a second language themselves can continue to speak only Spanish, even when resident there for many years. It is that particular, one-way form 'bilingualism' which Catalans reject.

When and why did Catalans start speaking Catalan instead of Spanish?

☛ Never, because Spanish was never the language of Catalonia: the inhabitants of the north-eastern corner of the Iberian peninsula have been speaking Catalan since the beginning of the Middle Ages. Latin evolved into Catalan, not Spanish, in the area we now call Catalonia, and it was Catalan which later replaced Latin as the language of culture and learning. For nearly a thousand years Catalan was virtually the only language used in all walks of life, including government, trade and learning.

Spanish was the native language of the people of Castile, some 800 km away, which is why its official name is Castilian. After the centre of government shifted to Castile in the 16th century, some Catalans – mainly the aristocracy and those in contact with officialdom – learned to speak Spanish but it was only a few decades ago that the current situation was reached in which all Catalans can also speak Spanish.

A friend of mine was visiting Barcelona and he asked someone the way in Spanish. They answered him in Catalan, which he was hardly likely to understand. Wasn't that very rude?

☛ Your friend probably speaks Spanish well enough to be mistaken for a native. The majority of Spanish-speakers in Barcelona understand Catalan and conversations in which one person speaks Catalan and the other speaks Spanish are increasingly common nowadays. If your friend's in-

formant had realized he was a foreigner, you may be sure the reply would have been in Spanish.

In an age of globalization, isn't it rather pointless to try to save small languages like Catalan?

- ☛ For one thing, Catalan is not such a small language. Danish, Norwegian or Finnish, for instance, have fewer speakers than Catalan. Moreover any language, regardless of its size, is the unique reflection of the culture of an entire people, built up over the centuries. If the language dies, much of the identity of that people dies with it. Which is a pity. In order for globalization to have positive repercussions for humanity, it must surely involve reinforcing *interaction* between people from *different* linguistic and cultural backgrounds, not reducing the cultural diversity of humanity, which is one of its prime assets, to a massified uniformity.

Many people feel that government intervention in many fields – particularly culture – is counter-productive and even undemocratic. Rather than taking special steps to protect the Catalan language and culture, wouldn't it be healthier to let it fend for itself?

- ☛ There are few if any countries where the government takes a line of total 'laissez-faire' in cultural matters. Languages with many more speakers than Catalan, which have never been persecuted and enjoy full official recognition both at home and abroad, receive support from their governments. The French government, for instance, has taken strong measures to reduce the influence of English on French and encourage interchange between French-speaking countries; the Spanish government fosters Spanish culture in Spain, encourages exchanges with Latin America, and supports the maintenance of Spanish in places like Puerto Rico and the Philippines. It seems only logical that the governments of countries with lesser-used languages, like Catalan, should do the same, particularly when those language have suffered centuries of oppression.

Franco died a long time ago and the Catalan language is no longer persecuted. So why does the Catalan government still give special protection to Catalan? Why not let Catalan and Spanish compete on equal terms?

- ☛ Equal competition between Catalan and Spanish is impossible because the entire situation favours Spanish over Catalan: with far more speakers and the backing of not one but several states, Spanish inevitably has the upper edge in many vital fields including business, mass media, and new technologies.

Moreover the consequences of the 40-year long persecution which irreversibly affected two entire generations of native speakers and those of the arrival of close to a million Spanish-speaking people precisely when Catalan was banned from every sphere in which they might have learned it will take decades to eradicate. To adapt a metaphor coined by the Catalan writer Manuel Cruells, letting Catalan and Spanish compete on equal terms is a bit like expecting a canary that has spent its life in a cage to compete in a flying contest with a seagull.

Is Catalan a written as well as a spoken language? Did it generate a literature?

- ☛ Catalan is most definitely a written language, with its own rules of spelling, grammar and syntax, its own dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Nowadays it is in widespread use at all levels of the education system, including universities, as well as in government, and possesses a full and varied terminology covering fields like business, science and new technologies. Catalan generated a flourishing literature in the 20th century encompassing all the usual genres: fiction, poetry, essays, children's books, etc. Other particularly fertile periods were the late 19th century and the Middle Ages, when some of the first works of philosophy to be written in the vernacular (by Ramon Llull, from Majorca) were produced in Catalan. The earliest written documents in Catalan date back to the 12th century.

Everyone in Catalonia knows Spanish but not everyone knows Catalan, so why not use Spanish for things that have to be understood by everyone? That wouldn't prevent Catalans from speaking Catalan among themselves if they wanted to.

- ☛ To start with, the fact that Catalans know Spanish in addition to their mother tongue is hardly a reason for denying them the right to use their own language in their own country. Nor does it alter the fact that it is usually newcomers –in this case the Spanish-speakers– who adopt the language of the host society, not vice versa. For another thing, a language which is confined to private conversations is doomed to extinction. When it cannot be used in meetings, theatres, scientific reports, business correspondence, religious services, advertising, courtrooms, classrooms or airport announcements, a language fails to develop, or maintain, the words and expressions that are required in each of these situations. Then people start 'borrowing' from the language that is in public use, they switch to that language when they have to say or write something important, and before long they can no longer use their own language for anything *except* informal conversations.

The policy suggested in the question is exactly the one Franco used in his attempt to destroy Catalan: he allowed Catalans to speak Catalan among themselves but compelled them to use Spanish 'in company'.

Considering that many Catalans have such a poor command of their own language, why bother to save it?

☛ Some Catalans have an inadequate command of their own language, not by choice or omission, but because they were forcibly prevented from learning it in the normal fashion. To understand this it may be helpful to imagine what could happen in similar circumstances in a country like Sweden, where the majority of the population have a good command of English.

Imagine, for instance, a Swedish child educated in schools where he or she heard nothing except English. That child would grow up without a knowledge of Swedish spelling or grammar and would be unlikely to learn the Swedish words for osmosis, or cosine, or the Gulf Stream round the family dinner table.

Then imagine a Swedish adult living in a country where all newspapers, media and books were in English. That adult would probably never become familiar with the Swedish terms for cyberspace or the human genome or AIDS. And if they had never read a business letter or a financial or scientific report in Swedish, or filled in a tax form in Swedish, or heard anyone address a meeting in Swedish, they might have a hard time writing or speaking the sort of Swedish you need to perform each of these tasks.

This, and more, is what happened to Catalans under Franco, and to abandon the language on such grounds would be to commit a new injustice. Perhaps the most remarkable thing is that Catalans still do speak their own language, and that the language is now once more in use in all those spheres.

It may be reasonable for Catalans to have the right to use Catalan, but why should non-Catalan speakers have to learn it too?

☛ Because language is a two-way process. Unless everybody in Catalonia at least *understands* Catalan, it is impossible for Catalan speakers to exercise the right to speak it! How can you use your own language to ask someone the time, chat to your neighbours, write a letter, or buy a postage stamp, if you cannot assume that the persons with whom you interact understand you? And how can you receive proper attention from shop

assistants, doctors, civil servants, bank managers and policemen, for instance, if none of these people can be expected to speak your language? It is also in the interests of non-natives to learn Catalan in order to understand and appreciate the culture and history of their adopted country, interact with natives on an equal footing, and compete for the growing number of jobs which now require knowledge of Catalan.

How different from Spanish is Catalan?

☛ Spanish-speakers can read Catalan quite easily – unlike Basque which is a totally different language – and they learn it very much more quickly than German or Russian, for instance. But Catalan is as different from Spanish as it is from French, Italian or Portuguese. In fact the average Spaniard finds it easier to understand a conversation in Italian than in Catalan.

I've heard that Spanish-speaking children in Catalonia receive their primary education in Catalan. Doesn't that amount to the same sort of oppression which Franco perpetrated against Catalan-speaking children, but the other way round?

☛ No. There are several important differences:

- ◆ In Franco's day the parents had no choice. Today parents can opt out if they wish, though hardly any do.
- ◆ Under the dictatorship, Catalan was totally banned from the schools. Children could be punished for speaking Catalan, even at recreation, teachers could be dismissed for using it and many teachers who knew no Catalan were deliberately posted to Catalan schools. Nowadays the children can express themselves freely in Spanish and all the teachers can understand and speak it.
- ◆ In Franco's education system, all children were treated as though Spanish were their first language from their first day in kindergarten, whereas many did not even understand it. Today special teaching methods are used to help Spanish speaking children learn Catalan and make sure they are not at a disadvantage in learning other subjects. And children who have moved to Catalonia from elsewhere get special attention.
- ◆ Under Franco, Catalan was neither taught nor used to teach any other subject. The present education system is designed to ensure that all pupils acquire mastery of BOTH languages by school-leaving age. To achieve this, BOTH languages are taught at different levels and BOTH are used to teach other subjects.

If the Catalan education system aims to ensure that children learn both Catalan and Spanish, why not simply use both languages equally?

☛ Because all children, whatever language they speak at home, are exposed to so much Spanish in their everyday lives – on television, in books, magazines and games, in the street, and through contacts with people who do not speak Catalan – that they learn Spanish quite spontaneously. On the other hand, children in Spanish-speaking families have far fewer opportunities to hear and speak Catalan, especially in areas where most of the population speaks Spanish. Consequently, intensive exposure to Catalan at school was needed to help them acquire the same mastery of Catalan as Catalan-speaking children acquire of Spanish.

It is important to remember that all students also study Spanish and are taught partially in Spanish and independent studies have confirmed that their command of Spanish and other subjects is not adversely affected by being taught mainly in Catalan.

Doesn't the widespread use of Catalan in present-day Catalonia violate the rights of Spanish speakers who are entitled to use their language all over Spain?

☛ Many Spanish speakers can and do live in Catalonia speaking only Spanish and they encounter very few problems in doing so. In shops, banks, hospitals, government offices and so on, everyone understands and speaks Spanish; the vast majority of documents, signs, labels and instructions for use are bilingual or, frequently, only in Spanish. Spanish is sufficient to obtain most forms of employment and only recently has Catalan become a requirement for some civil service jobs and others involving contact with the public. Nearly all native Catalans readily switch to Spanish if necessary, without even being asked to. And leisure opportunities – newspapers, books, television and radio programmes, films, records, etc. – are far more numerous in Spanish than in Catalan.

For exactly the opposite reasons, though Catalan has official status and Catalan-speakers are theoretically entitled by law to use *their* language in Catalonia, life would be extremely difficult if they decided never to use Spanish. So it seems reasonable to argue that their rights are violated considerably more often than those of their Spanish-speaking fellow citizens.

Basic data on Catalonia

	Catalonia	Spain	Cat./Spain	EU (15)
Area (x 1,000 km ²)	32	505	6%	3,236
Population (1997)				
Population (x 1,000 inh.)	6,120	39,323	15.6%	374,583
Density (inh./km ²)	192	78	-	116
Natural growth (per 1,000 inh.)	0.3	0.3	-	0.9
Migratory growth (per 1,000 inh.)	1.3	0.9	-	1.4
Economy (1998)				
GDP (x 1,000 million PTA)	15,840.4	82,650.3	19.2%	1,249,291
Per capita GDP (x 1,000 PTA)	2,584	2,099	-	3,321
Gross Added Value (x 1,000 PTA):	14,893.6	77,451.0	19.2%	1,149,030.5
Agriculture	1.1%	3.2%	-	2.1%
Industry	31.7%	25.3%	-	24.4%
Construction	7.3%	8.3%	-	4.9%
Services	59.9%	63.2%	-	68.6%
Imports (x 1,000 PTA)	5,824	19,838	29.4%	
Exports	19,303	71,182	27.1%	
Active population (x 1,000)	2,701	16,265	16.6%	169,408
Activity rate	53.1%	50.0%	-	55.5%
Employment by sectors:				
agriculture	3.5%	8.0%	-	4.8%
industry & construction	38.3%	30.4%	-	29.5%
services	58.2%	61.6%	-	65.7%
Generalitat (Catalan government)				
Expenditure (1999): 1,911,437,000,000 pesetas.				

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- <http://www.gencat.es/parlam> (Catalan Parliament)
- <http://www.idescat.es> (Catalan Institute of Statistics)

Catalan culture

- <http://www.copec.es> (COPEC - Catalan Consortium for the External Promotion of Culture)
- <http://www.iec.es> (Institute of Catalan Studies)
- <http://www.gremieditorscat.es> (Guild of Publishers of Catalonia)

Catalan language in general

<http://cultura.gencat.es/llengcat> (General Directorate for Linguistic Policy)

<http://www.cpnl.org> (Consortium for Linguistic Normalization)

Catalan language learning

<http://cultura.gencat.es/llengcat/aprenecat> (Catalan Government Department of Culture)

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<http://turquia.uoc.es/jocs/1/index> (Journal of Catalan Studies)

<http://www.indiana.edu/~nacs/index.htm> (North-American Catalan Society)
<http://www.gencat.es/governacio-ri> (Catalan regional centres abroad)

Economy, trade, tourism

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Television and radio

<http://www.tvcatalunya.com> (Catalan public television - TV3 - Canal 33)
<http://www.barcelonatv.com> (Barcelona local television)
<http://www.catradio.es> (Catalan public radio - Catalunya Ràdio)
<http://www.comradio.com> (Catalan public municipal radio network)

Various

<http://www.bcn.es> (Barcelona City Council)

<http://www.xtec.es> (Catalan Department of Education - computer programme)

<http://www.Barcelona2004.org> (Universal Forum of Cultures, Barcelona 2004)

<http://www.linguistic-declaration.org/index-gb.htm> (Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights)

<http://www.gencat.es/icm> (Catalan Institute of the Mediterranean)

<http://www.unescocat.org> (UNESCO Centre of Catalonia)

<http://www.uoc.es/euromosaic> (Euromosaic report on languages in Europe for the E. U.)

<http://cultura/gencat.es/llengcat/ael/#cle> (European Year of Languages - Catalan)

Search engines in Catalan or with specific references to Catalan sources

<http://www.cercat.com>

<http://www.som-hi.com>

<http://www.vilaweb.com/nosaltres>

<http://www.cercador.com>

<http://www.drecera.com>

<http://www.apali.es>

<http://www.donde.uji.es>

<http://www.ole.es>

<http://www.altavista.com>

Bibliography, documents

<http://www.cbuc.es/ccuc>

<http://www.upc.es/slt/cat/online>

<http://www.bne.es/esp/libes.htm>

<http://www.bne.es/esp/editesp.htm>

<http://www.mcu.es/bases/spa/edit/EDIT.html>

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IN RECENT YEARS CATALONIA has regained its rightful place on the mental map of most citizens of Europe and other continents, who correctly associate it with holidays on the Costa Brava, the Barcelona Olympics, the Rambla, the exploits (or otherwise) of the Barça football team, the architecture of Antoni Gaudí, and many other familiar sights and names. ♣ Many also associate Catalonia with a language – Catalan – which originated there and is still in widespread use.

Unfortunately, little reliable information about the present-day status of Catalan is available to non-specialist speakers of other tongues. ♣ This booklet aims to fill that gap by providing basic information about situation of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia today. It covers topics such as the linguistic and historical background, knowledge and use of both languages in a variety of fields, relations between speakers of Catalan and Spanish, and language policy.



JACQUELINE HALL'S LINKS with Catalonia date back to the mid-1960s when she was the first undergraduate at Oxford University to study contemporary Catalan literature as part of a degree course in modern languages. Later, as a Ph. D. student at the Université de Paris-Sorbonne, she did research into the impact of immigration from other parts of Spain on Catalan nationalist ideology. ♣ Eight years' residence in Québec and over twenty years in Catalonia have given her first-hand knowledge of situations of languages in contact. During that time she has been extensively involved in studies and audiovisual productions on language

knowledge and use. She was a member of the research team at the Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana which contributed to the *Euromosaic* report on minority languages in Europe for the European Commission and took part in drafting the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights.