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LANGUAGE, COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL IN BARCELONA

University of California, Berkeley

Ph.D. 1985

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Language, Community and School in Barcelona

By

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	1
0. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	15
1.1. Communicative Norms and Language Choice...	15
1.2. The Educational Setting as an Appropriate Place to Look.....	33
1.3. The Classroom as a Microcosm Where Communicative Behavior Is Learned and Negotiated.....	39
1.4. General Considerations about the Approach Used and the Selected Setting.....	40
1.5. Doing Ethnography in One's Own Society....	45
2. LANGUAGE IN CATALONIA.....	54
2.1. A Note on History.....	54
2.2. Legal Changes Regarding Language Use Since 1975.....	58
2.3. Socio-Political Changes Affecting Language Use in the Last Few Years.....	64
2.4. Barcelona and Its Linguistic Repertoire...	70
2.4.1. The City of Barcelona.....	70
2.4.2. The Linguistic Repertoire of Barcelona.....	82
2.5. Catalan Sociolinguistics.....	103
3. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN CATALONIA.....	109
3.1. Language and School Before 1931.....	111
3.2. The Years of the Republic and the Civil War.....	116
3.3. Language and School from 1939 until 1970..	119
3.4. The General Law of Education and Its Consequences.....	120

3.5. The Current Situation.....	123
3.6. Types of Schools in Catalonia Today.....	125
4. THE PRESENTATION OF THE DATA.....	133
4.1. Introduction.....	133
4.2. The Elementary School.....	134
4.3. The School of Education.....	148
5. LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR IN EVERYDAY CLASSROOM INTERACTION.....	158
5.1. Introduction.....	158
5.2. The Elementary School Classroom: "Telling news" 1.....	160
5.3. "Telling news" 2.....	165
5.4. The School of Education: "Working in Small Groups" 1.....	175
5.5. The Elementary School: "Working in Small Groups" 2.....	183
6. THE INFORMANTS TALK ABOUT THEIR LINGUISTIC USE.....	191
6.1. The Fifth Graders Use of Catalan and Castilian.....	191
6.2. The Futur Teachers Talk about Their Use of Catalan and Castilian.....	195
7. CONCLUSION.....	205
7.1. The Conflict between Change and Persistence in Everyday Communicative Behavior.....	205
7.2. Methodological remarks.....	211
Appendix One.....	215
Appendix Two.....	217
Bibliography.....	219

LANGUAGE, COMMUNITY, AND SCHOOL IN BARCELONA

Introduction

Language use in Catalonia has been at the forefront of the region's political and ideological struggles since the beginning of the century, and particularly since the 1960's. Two languages are spoken in the region, Catalan and Castilian Spanish. Since the distribution of their use is very complex, as will be discussed in chapter two, language choice and code-switching have also served as a symbolic markers of socio-cultural identity. Implicit and explicit norms about language use governing which language should or must be used in any given domain or situation, or to address a given person, have always been present in Catalan society. In the political and social transition following Franco's death, new laws have been enacted regulating language use and teaching in the school system.

The issue of language use in Catalonia appears throughout its history. In moments of national awakening, the flag of language has always been raised as a symbol of collective identity, and in periods of repression, one of the first measures adopted has been the prohibition of the public use of the Catalan language.

But to speak about languages is to speak about their users. And, if a language becomes a symbol of anything, it is because its users are making a symbol of it through their

everyday communicative behavior. In Catalonia, to categorize the speakers of each of the two languages is not an easy task. The use of one language or the other does not automatically match with class division or with geographical origin in a simplistic way. Although Catalan is the language of the region, some upper class people abandoned it and switched to Castilian as a way to show their agreement with the political and economic ruling classes of the central government. In the same manner, some immigrants have adopted Catalan to show their ideological compromise with a Catalan political party, or to show their cultural integration into their newly adopted community.

Neither Catalan nor Castilian is spoken only by a given social class. Although many times the simplistic equation "Castilian workers/Catalan middle class" has been made, the truth is that the picture is much more complex. Catalan speakers range from peasants to bankers, and Castilian speakers includes both blue-collar workers and businessmen. Traditionally, the Catalan language has been a symbol of ideological positions. During the Francoist regime, the simple fact of speaking the Catalan language in a public domain was a way of manifesting opposition to the political status-quo. But today the picture is more complicated. The central government is controlled by the Socialist Party (moderately leftist), whereas the leaders of the Catalan government are from a center-right party.

Catalanism is defended by moderately conservative nationalists as well as by socialists and communists. The former are speak of a liberal-bourgeois type of nationalism, the latter are trying to show if it is possible to build a leftist Catalanism. The question of immigration in the process of the "Catalan reconstruction" is the subject of heated debate, and the role of language as a means of integration plays a crucial role.

The instrumentality of learning Castilian is clear. There is a wide linguistic community (almost 400 million) that speaks Castilian, and it is possible to use it to communicate with everyone in Catalonia since all Catalan speakers are bilingual. Why, then, do Castilian speakers learn the Catalan language in a community where everybody shares the Castilian language? As has just been said, for some people (a minority) there are ideological or integrative reasons to do so. But, is there any instrumental reason to learn it?

After the recovery of the Catalan institutions, in the late 1970's, the Catalan administration had to fill a relatively high number of job vacancies, and, for most of them, the use of the Catalan language was required. Thus, for a while, to know Catalan was seen as an instrument to have access to certain jobs. Besides that, there is the no less important question of "prestige" (Woolard 1983). Catalan is a language spoken not only by workers and lower

class people but also by the Catalan upper and middle classes, by intellectuals, artists, scholars, etc. This fact also contributes to the idea that to know Catalan can serve to promote people socially, and explains why many immigrants want their children to learn Catalan, even if they themselves can not or do not want to speak it. In any case, since the Catalan language has not been necessary "to survive" in the Catalan society at large, its use has been highly symbolic.

That is one of the reasons why the school system is seen as one of the main instruments for "re-Catalanization" (see chapter three). That occurred during the 30's, when Catalonia had its first autonomous government, and it is also taking place today. However, the role of the school today is diminished by the immense power of the media, where the Castilian language is much more used than Catalan. Even today, when there are laws to promote the use of the Catalan language, every single child in Barcelona knows Castilian before attending the school, due to the influence of television and to the pervasive presence of Castilian throughout society.

The changing situation that Catalonia, and Spain, have been living during the last ten years, has affected people's lives deeply. Regarding language, some laws have been issued to regulate the use of Catalan and Castilian. The question is: To what extent do these changes in linguistic

policy really change actual communicative behavior? What is the role that the school system can play in the process of change?

This dissertation examines the effects that changes in policies regarding language use in Catalonia are having on the way people actually use Catalan and Castilian. The consequences of linguistic policies in the working of a key institution such as the school system are examined through the observation and analysis of how people use both languages to create activities, to construct social reality and to establish social relationships. Special attention is given to the change or/and persistence of the norms governing language use and choice.

The thesis of this study is that looking at the use of languages in everyday interactions within an educational setting is a particularly appropriate way to discover 1) the effects that changes in the legal system are having on actual communicative behavior, 2) the changes, if any, affecting communicative norms in language choice; 3) the symbolic use of language choice and code-switching and the meanings that they convey for social relationships.

We are dealing with one of the more common problems found in urban western societies, where people with different socio-cultural backgrounds live together in the same ecological environment, and where a growing number of

interpersonal interactions take place in the form of bureaucratic encounters. These kinds of encounters are both a consequence and a reflection of the power relations (including those along class, status, gender, and ethnic lines) and social stratification of any given society. Since these encounters take place mainly through oral communication, language plays a crucial role in their outcome.

Since the 1950's, language in a social context has been the object of many studies from diverse perspectives. Sociologists, educators, psychologists, anthropologists, and even politicians have given increasing weight to the role of language, particularly in urban societies where (almost without exception) more than one language or variety is spoken.

From an anthropological perspective, the tradition of the ethnography of communication (Gumperz 1964, Hymes 1962, 1964) offered the possibility of looking at the sociolinguistic phenomena in an integrative way. Studies on the acquisition and nature of the communicative competence have given important insights for the understanding of the cultural constraints of communication.

This perspective, which has become known today as interactional sociolinguistics, differs from others in several aspects. First, the data used for the analysis is

naturalistic, collected and recorded through direct and intensive observation. Second, the participants' point of view is strongly considered in the analysis of the data. Third, social and linguistic factors are studied within the same framework not as correlates but as integrate aspects of the same social reality.

The development of this perspective as well as the achievements of other disciplines such as conversational analysis, symbolic interactionism, pragmatics, cognitive science, and artificial intelligence have brought some scholars (Gumperz 1982a, b) to see situated discourse as the appropriate locus to study in order to discover how communicative strategies are used by participants in an encounter and how social reality is created and negotiated in everyday communicative interaction.

The study of communicative interactions through the analysis of conversational inference has already given new insights into the relationships between language use and social reality. Code-switching is one of the phenomena that can be analyzed from this perspective.

The study of code-switching (including language and style switching) and language choice has proven to be very fruitful in results. Previous studies of code-switching and language choice are based on the explanation of macrosocial processes and focussed on the distribution of linguistic

varieties in multilingual or multidialectal societies. Description and analysis of language policies in developing nations have also been object of study within these perspectives (see chapter 1).

Through conversational analysis, interactional sociolinguistics offers the possibility of discovering how these macro processes are generated and recreated in the course of everyday interaction. Studies of code-switching have shown the unconscious nature of some aspects of communicative behavior and how people make associations and evaluations that are evoked by language use and language choice.

The role that language plays in the working of the educational process has also been pointed out and analyzed from different perspectives. The study of language as a vehicle through which cultural transmission, cultural change, and social selection operates has been fruitful in showing that what happens in the classroom is not an isolated fact, but indeed a true reflection of what happens in the broader society.

The task of teaching must be considered as an interactional process in which one of the main tasks of the teacher is to elicit responses from the students, who are then evaluated in terms of the appropriateness or unappropriateness of their responses. When the "appropriate"

and "unappropriate" have different meanings for the people involved in the interactional process that is taking place in the classroom, miscommunication occurs, which can sometimes result in a negative evaluation of students' behavior.

In 1977 and 1978, Helena Calsamiglia and I collected ethnographic data through participant observation in a neighborhood of Barcelona. Naturalistic conversations among teenagers were recorded and analyzed, and long interviews with some of the participants were conducted. We studied the way people used both Catalan and Castilian Spanish, and the significance of their switching from one language to another. As a result, we discovered that language choice in Barcelona was governed by a set of implicit norms of communicative behavior. We found that Catalan speakers felt a kind of implicit obligation to shift to the Castilian language to address a Castilian speaker, and that Castilian speakers felt an implicit right of being addressed in Castilian. In fact, whenever the presence of speakers of both languages in an encounter could bring about some kind of conflict (no matter how "real" the possibility of conflict would be), the Castilian language was used, even if all Castilian speakers were passive bilinguals.

We also found, nevertheless, that political and ideological consciousness in a moment of rapid change (the creation of the Spanish Constitution, the return from exile

of the Catalan President, Josep Tarradellas, the establishment of the Catalan autonomous government, first Catalan elections), and during the flourishing of nationalist feelings in Catalonia, people made statements (spontaneous or elicited) that made us think that we were witnessing the beginning of a change in the sense that Catalan speakers began thinking that they had the right to speak, and to be understood, in their own language, and Castilian speakers started thinking that they had the obligation of at least understanding the Catalan language (Calsamiglia and Tuson 1980, 1984).

In 1979 and 1980, K. Woolard carried out fieldwork in the city of Barcelona. One of the aspects that she studied regarding language choice was the existence of what she calls the "accommodation norm" (Woolard 1983), similar to the kind of communicative norms we found. This norm governs language etiquette and language choice in the sense that Catalan speakers shift to Castilian (or even start speaking in Castilian) when addressing non-Catalan speakers.

At the time these studies were conducted, the existence of that norm could be explained as a persistence of the norm created under the Franco's regime.

Nowadays, there is a linguistic policy concerning rights and duties of language use in public settings as well as regarding language use and language teaching in the

school.

The new legislation explicitly states that all Catalan speakers have the right to use the Catalan language in any kind of situation, orally as well as in writing, within the Catalan territory. The Spanish Constitution already recognized this right for Castilian speakers throughout the Spanish territory.

Regarding educational matters (here I am only referring to elementary school), all the schools have the minimum obligation to teach the Catalan language in all grades and to teach at least one subject matter in Catalan (and at least one subject in Castilian) in the three grades that make up the "cicle superior", which includes children 11 to 14 years old. Besides these minimum obligations, any school can decide to use either Catalan or Castilian as the only language of instruction simply by communicating the decision to the Direcció General d'Ensenyament (the governmental office for educational matters). The only requirement is that they must attach to this communication documents certifying that the decision is accepted by the school teachers and the children's parents, that the teachers are prepared to teach in the chosen language, and also giving some information about the sociolinguistic situation of the children.

As a result of all these changes at the legislative

level (the actual changes in fact started before as will be shown in chapters two and three), one finds that the types of schools today in Catalonia range from the ones where practically every kind of activity is carried on in Catalan (except for the course on Castilian language) to the ones where practically every activity is carried on in Castilian (except for the course on Catalan language). Between these two extremes, one can find almost every kind of situation regarding language policy and language planning inside a school (see chapter three).

Since one of my interests is to discover if there is any change in the communicative norms that govern language choice under the new legal situation, I selected two educational settings that clearly favor the use of the Catalan language for all kind of communicative purposes.

First, I selected a "Catalan" school, that is a school where the language of instruction as well as the language used for announcements and meetings is the Catalan language. Second, I selected one of the three schools of education of Barcelona, the School of Education of the Universitat Autònoma, where Catalan is also the language used and proposed as the main language of communication and instruction. The reason for choosing a school of education is that the students of these schools are the future teachers of Catalonia and they will offer to their pupils adult role-models to follow; so it is interesting to know

which are their patterns of communicative behavior regarding language choice and code-switching when interacting with their peers and with their own teachers.

This work is organized into seven chapters. Chapter one offers the theoretical framework which serves as a background for the study. The different trends in sociolinguistics are presented and discussed, and I make some considerations of what it means to do participant observation in one's own society.

Chapter two gives a picture of the social significance of language use in Catalonia through its history; special attention is given to the demographic and social characteristics of Barcelona and its linguistic repertoire. Chapter three is a diachronic description of the school system in Catalonia analyzing the different linguistic policies issued and implemented regulating language use and teaching in the school.

In chapter four the data are presented through the description of the settings where the research was carried out; in this same chapter, the selection of certain fragments of data for in depth analysis is justified. In chapters five and six, the actual analysis of the data is carried out. Chapter five presents the analysis of some pieces of conversations recorded in the classrooms where direct, participant observation was done, and chapter six

presents the analysis of the reported data collected through questionnaires and interviews.

Finally, chapter seven offers some reflections about what this study shows regarding Barcelona and Catalonia in particular, and about the role of language use in general, as well as some methodological remarks about the appropriateness of interactional sociolinguistics to understand social phenomena.

Chapter 1
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Communicative Norms and Language Choice

To understand how language use relates to social life in an urban society, and how people use linguistic variation to convey social meaning, there are at least three levels one can look at. First, there is the legal order. At this level one can look at the laws regarding language use in a given society, the linguistic policies that regulate language use, and the ways in which these laws and policies are implemented. Such an approach would focus on issues of language and national development, ideology, and social structure, and data coming from large scale surveys and statistics would be relevant here to understand these macro-social processes.

The second level is that of the "public domain". At that level one would focus on all public forums where public is created through mass media and various public acts (meetings, electoral campaigns, etc.). In such forums, people who represent the different sections of society (political parties, unions, social classes, ethnic groups, etc.) explain and debate their ideas concerning what are considered to be the crucial problems of a given community. Data coming from the observation of the media (television, radio, newspapers, magazines) and from interviews with

leaders and representatives would be relevant here. At this level, analysis would focus on the different ways people express the opinions, beliefs and values which are the cultural components of a given community or of a group within a given community. The content of people's expressions is the target of the analysis at this second level.

A third level of interest has to do with the observation of people's actual communicative behavior. Looking at the way in which spontaneous speech occurs in socially relevant situations can offer an accurate picture of how people manage the construction of social reality through everyday communicative interactions. At this level, the data is naturalistic, coming from direct observation, and recorded for further analysis.

The first two levels represent a macrolevel of explanation of a given sociolinguistic situation, they are a framework or background; the third level represents the microlevel of explanation. The analysis of people's communicative behavior can give us a picture of the implicit assumptions that people have about their own culture and society, and of how these assumptions are manifested through the way people use their linguistic repertoire.

Changes at the first level can have, and probably will always have, more or less direct reflection at the second

level; social representatives of public institutions would talk about these changes, would contribute to create a public opinion, and would reflect and make explicit ideological and political positions, but this will not necessarily change people's actual communicative behavior and individual attitudes, at least in the short run (and viceversa, changes at the individual or behavioral level can not have an immediate reflection at the macrolevel).

So, to understand what is actually going on in a given society, one cannot restrict the study to the macrolevel because one cannot take for granted that general laws or policies, or even people's reports, are an exact reflection of people's behavior. Social reality is built through all different kinds of interactions that people maintain among themselves every day. From the intimate domains of the family to the bureaucratic domains of work and administration, passing through peer relationships at work, in pastime activities or in voluntary associations, all contribute to create, maintain, and/or change social life. In each interaction social roles and norms are being negotiated, and it is the weave created by all these interactions that constitutes social reality.

In the following pages I shall present a review of the main works that have accounted for the relationships between language and society, and more specially those that have dealt with the question of communicative norms regarding

language choice in multilingual Western societies.

Different Trends in Sociolinguistics

In the last two decades, sociolinguistic research has grown immensely. The quantity and diversity of studies is so great that it is not easy to make a systematic selection of the works that have been done. Without a time perspective, it is sometimes difficult to evaluate the analytical scope of a given concept or the value of a particular study. It is possible, nevertheless, to distinguish among the main sociolinguistic approaches: their theoretical frames, their methodologies, and some of their most important results. This is what I intend in the next sections of this chapter.

The Sociological Approach

One of the main issues studied from this macrosociolinguistic standpoint has been the problem of language in developing nations (Ferguson 1962; Fishman, Ferguson & Das Gupta 1968; Haugen 1966, 1968). Especially, the issue of language planning has been seen as the place of convergence of many other problems: the criteria for the choice of one language or variety for standardization and/or officialization; the elaboration and establishment of a linguistic norm, the regulation of linguistic policies, etc. (Haugen 1966, 1968, 1972 <1961>).

These activities are not politically or socially neutral; as Haugen points out "planning implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by planners." (Haugen 1972 <1961>: 133). The complexity of planning processes entails such questions as who are the planners, and what is their socio-cultural and political position in relation to or within the whole community in which the planning is taking place. Answering these questions implies investigating the role of language as a symbol of ethnicity, ideology, and political interests. Thus, questions of power and political hierarchy are involved.

Ferguson showed that there are some common characteristics in the different cases of language standardization in Europe that can be generalized. In every case, the linguistic variety chosen was one spoken by the urban middle class; this variety substituted the one that was used in writing before; there was an explicit reference to "autoritas" (known writers in that variety) to legitimate the choice, and language was used as a symbol of identity (Ferguson 1968). Ferguson saw the possibilities that the study of processes of standardization could offer to sociolinguists, and especially the role that language plays as symbol of national identity (Ferguson 1962) because it could be seen as reflecting the social and economical structure of a given society.

Fishman studied with special attention the problem of language and nationalism. He saw language as a "unifying symbol" of nationalist ideology. In this sense, language can be used to overcome ethnic or class differences in some cases (Fishman 1968b, 1975). Fishman has been interested in the study of large scale social processes, and the role of language in them. Regarding language choice, this author has been interested in describing what are the reasons which make people choose among the different linguistic varieties available to them (Fishman 1965). Rubin's studies of the sociolinguistic situation in Paraguay also have focused on the social distribution of Spanish and Guarani, and on bilingual's choice among these two languages (Rubin 1968).

The main problem with these studies is that they approach the issue of language choice as if it would always depend on the conscious decision of the speakers who, after analyzing what were the components of each communicative event (in terms of context, topic, speakers, time, etc.), would decide which language to use according to the norms governing language distribution in the broader society. We know now that the selection of code is many times made unconsciously and it is in itself a symbol which carries socio-cultural meaning.

The attention given to linguistic problems from this sociological perspective varies greatly, depending on the investigator. In general, however, this approach has been

criticized because the stress on large scale social processes is too great, and language is seen simply as one more variable (though doubtless an important one) that serves as an indicator for the explanation of social processes that are, in fact, the very object of study. What is generally studied within this frame are reported attitudes or opinions about language as such, or about its use, but never the role that language plays in the building of social reality.

The Variation Theory

Correlational analysis was first carried out by W. Labov during the sixties. Labov was Weinreich's student, he had done dialectological work, and he was also trained in structural linguistics. Influenced by Weinreich's theories about the linguistic consequences of language contact, and taking advantage of his training as dialectologist, Labov carried out research in New York correlating linguistic variables with context and with social variables (Labov 1969). The goal of this study was to show 1) that linguistic variation is not random but systematic, and that it is susceptible to being analyzed through quantitative techniques, and 2) that each code was as appropriate as any other to communicate within the community or group where it was used.

During the sixties there was a great deal of concern

in the U.S. about the high degree of school failure observed among minority and lower class children. Deficit theorists claimed that these children, and especially blacks, speak a "deprived" or "poor" form of English, and that this was the reason for their poor performance in school; Labov demonstrated the falsity of this theory in the study already mentioned and in the research he did concerning the English variety spoken by black Americans.

He showed that Black English Vernacular (BEV), as he called this variety, has its own structure which can be described systematically. He demonstrated for the first time that variation in BEV was not random and that it was possible to apply the general principles of language variation to the explanation of it (Labov 1972a). He also showed that Bernstein's claim about restricted and elaborated codes (Bernstein 1975 <1971>) was wrong and that each code has its own way of being communicatively effective (Labov 1972b <1970>). Bernstein had found that class division in Great Britain was reflected on the way people use English, and that this had an effect in children's school performance. Lower class children would use a "restricted code", learned in the family and different from what was used at school, whereas upper-middle class children use an "elaborated code" very similar to that used at the school. Thereby, lower class children had many more difficulties achieving school tasks than upper-middle class

children.

One of the characteristics of the correlational approach is the stress its practitioners place on methodology. They have developed sophisticated methods taken basically from statistics. The two main models used are variable rules methodology and implicational scales.

Variable rules methodology was first used by Labov in his study of copula deletion and contraction in English (Labov 1969). This first version of the method is called additive because in the algebraic formula only additions and subtractions are used to establish probabilities of variation occurrence. Cedergren and Sankoff (1974) criticized the additive model for not being appropriate to the study of probabilities. They proposed a multiplicative model that could account for independent constraint families. This model can have two possible formulations: the model of multiplicative application probabilities and the model of multiplicative non-application probabilities (ibid.). Years later, a new model, the logistic model, has been proposed by Rousseau and Sankoff (1978); it was created with the object of accounting for all kind of variations, and based on it a computer program has been created.

Several theoretical assumptions lie behind the use of the different variable rule models. In their 1974 article, Cedergren and Sankoff signalled that:

the key of the new paradigm lies in Labov's proposal to incorporate systematic variation into linguistic description and theory by extending the concept of a rule of grammar to that of variable rule, where the predicted relative frequency of a rule's operation is, in effect, an integral part of its structural description. This single idea, which is essentially a proposal about individual linguistic competence, also has wide ramifications for stylistics, sociolinguistics, dialectology and diachronic linguistics. This stems from the fact that, once accepted and incorporated into description, variability can be made a function not only of the presence or absence of linguistic elements, but also can be constrained by extralinguistic factors, all within the same notional and theoretical framework. (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974: 334)

In 1979, Kay and McDaniel published an exemplary article about the advantages and disadvantages of variable rule methodology. First of all, they make explicit their positive position with respect to variable rule methodology as a research strategy that has already demonstrated its analytical productivity. They then present the different models and criticize each of them by pointing out their "technical" deficiencies.

Kay's and McDaniel's criticism, moreover, goes beyond the technical aspects of the model to critique some theoretical or philosophical assumptions (such as the ones expressed in the Cedergren's and Sankoff's statement, quoted before). They criticize the idea of regarding variable rules as a community grammar, as something that is shared by all members of a speech community and that is independent of (although correlated with) social variables. Putting it in their words:

An assumption in each of the variable rule models so far proposed is that linguistic constraints and social constraints operate independently, that is, that there is not interaction between linguistic and social constraints. In fact, a very common pattern of observed language change, probably the characteristic pattern, involves such interaction. (op. cit.:27).

Also:

Unfortunately, this notion of community grammar is shown in many of Labov's data to be contradicted by observed synchronic facts. (ibidem: 28).

The other theoretical criticism they make concerns the belief that variable rules provide a way to "stretch" (using their words) the Chomskian notion of linguistic competence. For them the correlational approach differs from generative grammar in its theoretical assumptions about language. The variable rules approach shows the inability of generative grammar to consider patterns of variation as a part of people's linguistic ability, but they do not see the possibility of "completing" the generativist conception of linguistic competence by simply "adding" variable rules as a part of grammar.

Despite all these criticisms, Kay and McDaniel recognize the value of variable rule analysis because such analysis has shown that linguistic variation is patterned and quantifiable, and because it has illuminated the ways in which language change occurs as well as some of the relations between language and society.

The other methodology successfully used within the correlational frame is the implicational scale. This technique has been applied to the study of creole languages (Bickerton 1973; DeCamp 1969, 1971; DeCamp and Hancock 1974). Implicational scaling is a statistical procedure designed to account for variables which present a gradation within a continuum. For this reason its use has been illuminating in the case of pidgin and creole languages; it has permitted researchers to represent in a very clear way the existence of a linguistic continuum which ranges between the two poles represented by the more "creolized" linguistic varieties on the one hand, and the more "standardized" varieties spoken in a given speech community.

Theoretically, the use of an implicational scale methodology implies strong criticism toward Saussure's dichotomized approach to linguistic phenomena, and toward the Chomskian focus on the ideal speaker/hearer in a homogeneous linguistic community as the center of interest for linguists (Chomsky 1965). Linguistic heterogeneity is inherently characteristic of the data analyzed by means of implicational scales (Bickerton 1973).

Variation theory and implicational rules have contributed very importantly to the understanding that variation in language is rule governed and not a random phenomenon. Nevertheless, this approach still takes linguistic variation as a correlate to other variables,

without considering it as an integrative part of culture and society.

The Interactional Approach

Interactional sociolinguistics owes part of its theoretical and methodological framework to the anthropological tradition called ethnography of communication. Gumperz's fieldwork in India showed the importance of the observation of natural speech for the understanding of what language is and how it works (Gumperz and Naim 1960). A few years later, Gumperz and Hymes presented the basic formulations of this microsociolinguistic approach (Hymes 1962, 1964; Gumperz 1964). In these earlier articles, they recognize their theoretical and methodological links with people such as Boas, Sapir, Malinowski, Firth, and Jakobson, among others.

The very name "ethnography of communication" reveals the object of study and the method proposed. The object is communicative interaction and the method used is the method of ethnographic studies: participant observation. The focus of analysis is on actual speech in natural situations of communication. The unit of analysis is the speech event. "Speech event analysis focuses on the exchange between speakers, i.e., how a speaker by his choice of topic as his choice of linguistic

variables adapts to other participants or to his environment and how others in turn react to him." (Gumperz 1972: 17)

As was said before, the universe of analysis is the speech community. One of the main characteristics of the speech community is its linguistic diversity, which at the individual level is reflected in people's verbal repertoire (Gumperz 1964). The concept of 'communicative competence' involves the ability that people have to use their verbal repertoire in a socially and culturally appropriate way (Hymes 1967), or, as Gumperz points out: "the knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers must have to initiate and sustain conversational involvement" (Gumperz 1981a). The discovery of how communicative competence is achieved is one of the main concerns of the ethnography of communication.

One of the components of people's communicative ability is the set of rules that govern linguistic choice and code-switching. Gumperz's analysis of code-switching illustrate the theoretical and empirical scope of this notion. Through code-switching, cultural and social meaning is conveyed and certain communicative purposes are achieved. At the same time, an inappropriate use of this strategy can be a source of misunderstanding and communicative conflict (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1976a).

In the past few years, interactional sociolinguistics

has moved from an interest in the study and description of communicative competence (still the abstract abilities of speakers and hearers) towards the study of actual communicative behavior. This approach rests on the belief that communicative intent is negotiated in the very interactive situation itself and that cooperation is created through the production of contextualization cues that have to be appropriately interpreted through conversational inference.

Besides ethnography of communication, other traditions have contributed to the elaboration of what can be called, following Gumperz, "conversational inference theory". One of them is discourse analysis, which "deriving from speech act theory, frame semantics, and artificial intelligence, posits abstract semantic constructs, variously called scripts, schemata, or frames, by means of which participants apply their knowledge of the world to the interpretation of what goes on in an encounter." (Gumperz 1982a: 154). Ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967, 1972; Cicourel 1973, 1984, 1981), conversational analysis (Sacks 1972; Schegloff 1972; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), and some of the insights of symbolic interactionists (Goffman 1959, 1974, 1981) are the other approaches which, coming from a sociological perspective, have also contributed to the further development of interactional sociolinguistics.

Now the unit of analysis is conversation, considered

as a microcosm in which social and cultural constructs are created by means of communicative interaction. The analysis focuses on how conversational involvement (Goffman 1974; Gumperz 1982b, c) is created and maintained, how participants' intent is transmitted, how conversational inference works in the interpretation of the multiple signalling that is continuously produced; these signals are conversational cues that are largely of a linguistic nature, such as intonation, rhythm, chunking, syntactic and lexical choice, etc. All these complex processes presuppose that participants bring to the encounter an idea of what a conversation is, what the rules (or maxims) are for maintaining cooperation (Grice 1975; Gumperz 1981b), and how interpretation works. These "schemata" are culturally determined and people apply them in an unconscious way. Misunderstanding occurs when participants have different schemata.

Ethnomethodological studies of conversation have shown how a conversation is interactionally negotiated and sequentially organized, almost as a contingent logic; that means that what happens at any moment in a given conversation can be taken as a direct consequence of previous moves in the same conversation. Whereas the sequential organization as an abstract property of any conversation can be taken as an universal, the particular way in which this organization is built and negotiated in a

particular encounter is culturally determined; the importance of culture in the building of interactional encounters is one of the main contributions of the ethnography of communication to the most recent studies of interactional sociolinguistics.

In bilingual communities, one of the strategies used by people to sequentially organize a conversation is code-switching. This strategy is used as a particular way of moving from one topic to another, to signal the difference between new and old information, to change the tone of the conversation, etc. Heller (1982) shows the importance of code-switching as a symbolic device to negotiate social identity in Quebec today. She stresses the fact that shared cultural knowledge is needed to appropriately produce and interpret code-switching and, thereby, to be able to maintain conversational involvement.

Interactional sociolinguistics has been applied to the study of communicative encounters in urban Western societies where industrial development has created a bureaucratic component that acts as mediator and evaluator of people's social abilities for different kinds of performances (job, school, etc). These settings are also characterized by their social, cultural, and linguistic diversity. As a result, one finds everyday interactions among people with different cultural and social backgrounds. In these situations the ability to communicate effectively is of

crucial importance. Studies of interethnic communication have illuminated the hidden processes that underlie these kinds of interactions (Gumperz 1976b, 1978a, 1982).

Analyses of gatekeeping encounters (Erickson 1976; Erickson and Shultz 1981, 1982) show that in fact what is being evaluated is not people's actual ability to perform a given task (in a job, in an academic curriculum) but people's ability to communicate appropriately what their abilities are. Something similar has been discovered in the analysis of classroom interaction (Cook-Gumperz 1981; Erickson and Mohatt 1982; Green and Wallat 1981; Gumperz 1981b; Gumperz and Hernandez 1971, among others), where the fact that children have different backgrounds is reflected in their having different communicative strategies that lead to misunderstanding and negative evaluations.

The relevance of interactional sociolinguistics lies in the fact that it goes beyond the scope of other sociolinguistic studies by focusing on the very locus where social reality is created and reproduced: people's interactions in any kind of relevant situation; besides, interactional sociolinguistics looks at language use as an integral part of people's cultural and social life, and as a symbolic device which permits the researcher to discover the unconscious motivations and implicit rules that govern people's behaviors and attitudes.

The frame of my study is interactional sociolinguistics. By analyzing people's linguistic behavior in everyday communicative interaction in classroom activities, I intend to contribute to the understanding of the social processes occurring today in Catalonia, Spain.

1.2. The Educational Setting as an Appropriate Place to Look.

From an anthropological perspective, the study of education already has a long tradition, as an approach to understanding how culture is created and transmitted. Since the turn of the century, anthropologists have studied and observed educational processes. Anthropologists have always been interested in the question of how culture is transmitted, and they see the school not only as a vehicle for literacy and numeracy but also as a vehicle for the transmission of cultural values, beliefs and patterns of behavior.

At first, anthropologists were mainly interested in the folk systems used by the community under study for enculturation and socialization, that is, to ensure the persistence of the set of values, norms and beliefs which characterized its cultural world. Most of these folk systems worked through the interaction of children and adults within the family and/or the community, but there was not a specific institution to accomplish that goal in the

small-scale social worlds that early anthropologists observed.

During the 1960's and 1970's, when anthropologists started looking more carefully at the Western world, they started looking at formal education as an object of study. (Spindler 1974, 1982; Comitas and Dolgin 1978; Roberts and Akinsanya 1976; MacDermott 1974; Ogbu 1974, 1978; Cohen 1971, 1975; Gumperz 1981b; Green and Wallat 1981, etc.). Some sociologists (Baudelot and Establet 1971; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) have already shown the role of the school system in reproducing and maintaining the social status quo. School, as a part of the state bureaucracy, has the function of maintaining the existing social structure through the curriculum to which children must adapt to be successful. Thus, beneath the myth of the "unifying" school lies its true role: maintaining social division. As a result of this analysis, new pedagogical trends developed which put the stress on the possibility of using the school to promote social change. So, as Cook-Gumperz points out: "We look to schooling to ensure the continuance of a stable society or to bring about needed social changes" (Cook-Gumperz 1985:1). One of the characteristics of formal, institutional education is that it entails a conflict or disjuncture between home and school. Also, with the institutionalization of learning a new social group appears: children peer groups in the presence of adults, whose

interests may often be in conflict. The school thus comes to be seen as an arena of conflict, specially since children coming from different backgrounds may attend the same school.

At the turn of the century, E. L. Hewett wrote of the necessity of looking at education from a systematic and anthropological point of view (Hewett 1904, 1905). F. Boas revealed the importance of socialization (as well as hereditary conditions) in the development of thought processes (Boas 1911); he explained how different factors such as sex, ethnicity, and environmental conditions are crucially important in the way in which cultural transmission is articulated (Boas 1928). R. Redfield analyzed the specific problem created by the imposition of a foreign system of schooling (the Western model) in rural Guatemalan communities (Redfield 1943). He was also interested in how world view is culturally bounded and how its transmission through socialization processes varies from culture to culture (Redfield 1952). B. Malinowski also paid special attention to educational processes in different cultures. Among other topics, he studied the role of the family as an instrument of cultural transmission (Malinowski 1927, 1929). He was also concerned with the consequences of cultural contact in countries undergoing rapid processes of modernization (especially in Africa) and the specific problems created by the export of the European

school system to these countries. He was probably the first to talk about the necessity of planning education from a crosscultural perspective (Malinowski 1936, 1943, 1945). In sum, what anthropologists found from the first was that every single society has its own folk system for assuring the transmission of the set of norms, values and beliefs which constitutes its cultural world.

Anthropology has brought its theoretical and methodological apparatus to the field of formal, institutional education. From the theoretical point of view, the major contribution of anthropology has been the consideration of education as cultural transmission. As J. Singleton (1974) has pointed out, considering education as cultural transmission has several implications: First, anthropology assumes that all cultures are equally valuable as human constructs; this means that the concept of cultural deprivation is rejected. Second, the locus of the investigation of how cultural transmission works is neither the "heads" of the children nor is it the school taken in isolation; education is seen as a complex and multifaceted process, and formal education and the school system are particular forms of this. Third, the school is not a mere instrument for the transmission of knowledge but a social institution with multiple functions related to all other social institutions. Fourth, the school is a place where different social groups meet (parents, teachers, children,

administrator, etc.); as a result, the conflicts that occur in the broader society are also reflected in the structure of the school and found in its everyday life. Fifth, the subjects of analysis are considered to be not only the children but also the components of these other social groups that more or less directly are related to the educational phenomenon: parents, teachers, administrators, peer groups, etc.. Finally, the idea of considering school as one social institution among others implies taking into account the different relationships existing between those institutions and the school.

From the methodological point of view, the specificity of educational anthropology resides in the use of the ethnographic method for the understanding of educational processes. The use of this method also presupposes some theoretical assumptions. The most salient of these is the crucial importance placed on the actors' perceptions and interpretations of what they are doing, the "emic" point of view. This implies that the researcher has to live among the people under study, talking with them (knowing the people's language is of crucial importance), and learning to understand their cultural frames of reference (Bruyn 1976). As Green and Wallat put it:

When applied to the classroom or other educational settings, ethnography means that the researcher wants to understand what is occurring in the educational setting, how it is occurring, what definitions of the event the participants hold about these occurrences, and what it takes to participate as a member of the various groups within and across these occurrences (e.g. peer groups, friendship groups, adult-child groups). The ethnographer does not judge what occurs as good or bad, as effective or ineffective; rather the ethnographer describes what is occurring and after considering the recurring patterns of behavior in the environment, define rules and processes for participation and membership. (Green and Wallat 1981: XIII)

Thus, whereas other social sciences operate through the previous establishment of hypotheses and base their studies on surveys and other reported data to test the hypothesis, anthropology relies on ethnography to isolate the relevant issues later to be analyzed.

This is the common ground where all anthropological studies meet, and the characteristic that makes anthropology distinct from other approaches. Ethnographic studies, nevertheless, can differ depending on the scope of the study, the focus of attention, and the analytical framework in which they are found. Following F. Erickson and Mohatt (1982), one distinction that can be made is that between general or macro-ethnographies and micro-ethnographies. For them, these two types of ethnographies although differing in scope and in the analytical focus of investigation, both share an interest in discovering people's perceptions about what is going on in everyday life. Both approaches, Erickson and Mohatt claim, are necessary if one wants to

have a general, and at the same time deep, vision of the object studied.

1.3. The classroom as a microcosm where communicative behavior is learned and negotiated.

The defenders of doing microethnography in educational settings focus on face-to-face interaction as the way to understand what culture is and how it works through actual communicative behavior. As was said in the preceding section, this interactional model takes elements from structuralism, symbolism, ethnomethodology, and sociolinguistics. What microethnographers working in the school domain share is "the view that classroom events are the mutually accomplished, emergent productions of the inter-acting work of teachers and students who are constantly creating and judging behaviors as contexts for making sense of and to each other" (Campbell 1979: 9).

One of the aspects most carefully studied is communication in the classroom. The classroom is taken as a microcosm where aspects of the broader society are found and recreated through everyday interaction. Researchers within this framework (Erickson and Mohatt 1982; Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1982; Gumperz 1981b; Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1979; Gumperz and Hernandez 1971; McDermott 1974; Mehan 1974, 1977, 1979a, b) have studied the way in which social inequality is recreated and maintained through interactive

processes, as people bring different socio-cultural backgrounds (entailing different patterns of communicative behavior) into an interaction. Through communication, people evaluate each other; if they do not share a code (a set of interpretive strategies), miscommunication can occur and negative evaluations may be the result.

Children having a cultural or social background that is not the same as that of the majority group arrive at school with a set of communicative habits that, in many cases, are not those expected by the teacher. The fact that all these processes are, to a great degree, unconscious brings about difficult interactional situations based on mutual stereotyping.

1.4. General Considerations About the Approach Used and the Selected Setting.

The domain of the study is the school system in Catalonia today. It is a critical domain, given the importance that this social institution is felt by natives to have for bringing about desired changes for the whole society, particularly changes regarding language use and choice between Catalan and Castilian. Since the focus of attention in this study is on communicative behavior in everyday interactions, my main approach comes from microethnography, and more specifically, from interactional sociolinguistics. This does not mean that the description

and understanding of the broader society is forgotten. On the contrary, I have tried to bring a variety of historical and socioeconomical elements that can help in the understanding of the key situations selected for deep analysis. I collected this information from different sources: from the observation of everyday life in Barcelona, from interviewing key people in the Catalan government, in universities, schools, or in the "streets", from the reading of the literature on Catalan past and current situation, from the media, etc.

The reasons I have chosen a microethnographic approach should be clear from the preceding sections about the relevance of this type of study. If one wants to know what are the subtle mechanisms through which social reality is created and maintained in everyday activities, it is necessary to observe and understand the real locus where this is happening: everyday face to face interaction. The school offers a very appropriate scenario to observe the gaps which can exist between the changes at the macro-level (political, legal, etc.) and people's actual behavior, given that the two levels, the institutional and the level of people's beliefs and values meet in the school.

Linguistic policies and norms regarding language use try to regulate a domain of people's lives, by regulating their rights and obligations or duties. If any of these policies and norms are to have any effect, it can be only in

one of these two ways: either 1) they are integrate by people as their own norms, or b) they are imposed by force and sanctioned in some way.

Since the object of my study is to discover the effects that macrosocial changes have in people's behavior, it seems logical to look at the ways in which people behave in their everyday activities. I agree with Green and Wallat when they say that:

"Micro-ethnographies produce descriptions of what it means to participate in various social situations that occur within the whole culture."

and

"By observing patterns of participation and membership within and across contexts, the micro-ethnographer can describe rules for construction of contexts, rules of groups membership, as well as the goals of specific social interactions and the products of these social interactions (e.g. cognitive knowledge, social rule learning)." (Green and Wallat 1981:XII)

I also think that if one chooses a relevant object of study, the result of the analysis must be to gain a better understanding of the society as a whole. That is why both the object of study and the process of selecting the setting are important.

As mentioned before, the reason for choosing the educational setting lies in the importance that the school system has in urban Western societies had as a vehicle for the socialization processes through which children learn

cultural and social norms and rules of behavior (including linguistic behavior). In Catalonia the importance of the school in the whole process of catalanization is enormous. The school is seen as one of the more important means of widening the use of the Catalan language (see chapter three). This view raises a very important theoretical question: usually the school teaches norms and rules already existing in the broader society, helping in this way to transmit cultural values and beliefs and to maintain the established status quo. But what happens in Catalonia is different; what the Catalan school is asked to do, as a result of recent laws, is to teach norms regarding language use and language choice that are different to the ones existing in the broader society regarding language use and language choice. M. Mata, a socialist deputy and a well known specialist on educational matters, said in a discussion held in 1983:

[...] I would like to remind you all how difficult is the task that we are asking the school to undertake: that it contribute to offer a solution to a problem that is not yet solved. We are asking it to contribute to what the Statute says, to contribute to the knowledge of the Catalan language, to the normalization of its use, through its teaching, and through the teaching in the [Catalan] language, that is, the normal use of the Catalan language in the school. (Aracil, Mata, Moll 1984: 33).

For some people this contribution would be one of the few hopes for avoiding the death of the Catalan language and culture. During the same discussion, A. Moll, the General

Director of Linguistic Policy of the Catalan government, said:

The Statute establishes that it will be required the teaching of Catalan and Castilian to all children, so that all of them will master both languages at the end of obligatory school, and that seems perfect to me. When we will have a generation that had followed this education, it will be the moment to proclaim the obligation of all citizens of knowing it [the Catalan language] (and if someone had not wanted to learn it, it will be his problem...) (ibidem: 49).

In this way, the school is expected to contribute in an important way in changing the existing linguistic norms in Catalonia. By choosing an elementary school and a school of education I expect to shed some light on the actual communicative behavior of the children (subjects of this intended change) and the future teachers (the agents of the intended change).

Studies of classroom interaction made from the perspective of interactional sociolinguistics have already yielded some insights on how the socialization process works through everyday communicative interaction. Children learn cognitive strategies through the acquisition of communicative skills, and these communicative skills are applied and negotiated in the various communicative situations found in the school -within the classroom as well as on the playground.

1.5. Doing Ethnography in One's Own Society

I would like to make some remarks about my experience doing ethnographic research in Barcelona. There are two levels in which I consider this to be of some interest; first, I would like to explain in what way the fact that I was a native could affect my study; second, I would like to explore what it means to do microethnography in a Western urban setting like Barcelona. I could have considered a third level, that of being a woman, but since in the setting where I was doing research, education, is a setting where many women work, I do not think that the fact that I am a woman affected in any significant way my access to the data.

Let us start with the first level. In what way could being a native have affected my study? First of all, it is necessary to explain that I am a special type of "native". On the one hand, I am myself an immigrant person. I was born in Valencia, a city 370 km south of Barcelona. Although Valencia is part of the Catalan linguistic domain, and my father was a Catalan speaker, I was raised to speak Castilian. When I came to Barcelona to study in 1969, although I could understand Catalan perfectly, I spoke Castilian, and I did not start speaking Catalan until several years later. The language of my family was Castilian because my mother's first language was Castilian, and my father also shifted to Castilian because in Valencia speaking Castilian was a symbol of prestige (the relations

between language and society in Valencia are quite different of these of Catalonia; Valencian-Catalan, for economic and political reasons remained as a rural language, while Castilian was a symbol of urban life; most of the Valencian upper and middle class shifted to Castilian). All my father's family had emigrated from a village to the city and, although they maintained Valencian-Catalan among themselves, they started using Castilian with other people and with their children. Thus, my three older brothers and myself learned Castilian as a mother tongue, and we attended school in Castilian. Nevertheless, we felt the presence of Catalan because we listened to it in familiar gatherings or when my father spontaneously manifested humor or anger.

In the 60's a protest song movement, el moviment de la nova cançó (the new song movement) appeared, for the most part in Valencia and in Catalonia. The singers of this movement sang in Catalan. Their songs were prohibited both for the political content of the lyrics and for being written in Catalan. For the first time I was witnessing the symbolic meaning of Catalan in expressing democratic positions, and many people of my age started singing (although not speaking yet) in Catalan. In 1969 I went to Barcelona to study, and there I found that many people in the city and in the university were speaking Catalan. Thus, Catalan was not only a language spoken by the old generation coming from rural areas, but also an urban language spoken

by educated people: a language of prestige the use of which also could convey political and ideological meanings.

My integration into the social life of Barcelona took a while, but soon I was feeling that I was a member of the city community and participating in this new life. I understood Catalan but I did not use it because everybody addressed me in Castilian. In 1974 I started teaching at the school of education of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, created a year before (see chapter 4 for more details about this school). There, for the first time, I found some people who would always speak to me in Catalan, switching almost never to Castilian. They were teachers of Catalan and for them this attitude was part of their profession. Little by little, I started speaking Catalan, and after the summer of 1975, I made my first public speech in Catalan in front of all my colleagues in a school meeting. Nowadays, I speak almost to everybody in Catalan (except a few people who are Castilian speakers or who, like myself, teach Castilian), although at times, even now, some of the people who have known me from the beginning address me in Castilian.

The circle is closed. Two of my brothers (the oldest went to Madrid when he was very young, then to France, Cuenca, and again to Madrid, where he now lives) and I live in Catalonia and speak Catalan as our main language of relationship. There are several reasons for this: a) the

symbolic meaning that the use of Catalan has had in our lives with reference to ideological and political positions; b) the fact that Catalan is a language of prestige, and by using it we were achieving this prestige too; c) the desire of integrating into the new life that Barcelona offered us (and to use the language is like the last step in integration), and d) the recovery, at the same time, of our identities as members of a cultural group speaking a language different from Castilian.

On the other hand, I can not be considered a common type of immigrant, neither by my geographical origin nor by my professional status. The majority of the immigrant population comes from Andalusia (most of them from rural areas) and occupy the lower status in the labor hierarchy, while I came from the city of Valencia, was a student, and soon after finishing my studies started teaching at the University. I also started using Catalan regularly, so, I can be seen as an almost "one of them" by Catalan people. At the same time, I still have some traits that can make immigrant people see me as different in some ways from the "Catalan-Catalan" people (about the folk names for talking about ethnicity in Catalonia see Woolard 1983, ch. III), as some phonetic traits or idiomatic expressions typical from Valencia.

This complexity, or ambiguity in my own identity is not something negative, I believe; instead, I think it

helped me to see the Catalan situation in all its complexity and never as one where simple generalizations could be made.

Another aspect to take into account is that, when I started carrying out my research, I was just back in Barcelona after two years of being abroad working in my Ph. D. at Berkeley. This specific situation enabled me to assume a naive and unfeigned attitude in asking questions about the changes that had occurred during my absence, even though I had at the time a good emic knowledge of the culture.

Thus, I can say that I was at home in Barcelona, and also "at home" in the two settings where I chose to focus the analysis. The elementary school I selected is in the neighborhood where I live, and the school of education I observed is the one where I work. Consequently, I already had a social network formed by kins, friends, and colleagues, did not have adjustment problems, nor did I have to explain who I was and what I was doing in those settings, since everybody could identify me easily both as a member of the community and as a member of academia; I knew the two languages spoken in the community, and I did not have any bureaucratic problem that either made difficult or prevented me from doing research; finally, given my ambiguous yet recognized position in the community, both native and immigrant people could look at me with a certain amount of sympathy.

Yet, although there were advantages in doing ethnography in my own society, there were also disadvantages. The first difficulty I found was in trying to keep distance most of the time, in order to "observe". I could make Altorki's words mine when she says that "I became what may be best described as an observant participant. My primary duty was to participate; to observe became an incidental privilege." (Altorki 1982: 169). A week after I arrived I started working at the school of education in my old position as a member of the department of Philologies, where I taught Spanish language and linguistics.

After two years of being away, my first goal was to regain an understanding of what was happening in my department, in the school of education, and in the whole society. For a while, I was observing and asking questions of anybody about everything, in order to readjust as soon as possible. However, after two years of studying anthropology, this process of readjustment was not innocent: I took advantage of it to learn about Barcelona and Catalonia as the "half outsider" I had become. It was very interesting to see how I had started looking at everything from an anthropological perspective: everything was of interest. I observed people, read newspapers, watch television from this new point of view: I learned very much during that period.

At the same time, doing ethnography in a big city like Barcelona always leave one, in a way, as a kind of outsider. Apart from the closer networks of kins and friends, one can remain a foreigner among most other people. Visits and interviews had to be made by appointment, and first contacts through telephone calls in which I gave references of some shared acquaintances and/or a summary of the research in progress. I had the advantage, nevertheless, of having a good network of references among sociolinguists and educators, and that fact gave me easy access to the people in charge of the linguistic and educational policies at several administrative offices. During the time I started my fieldwork, the general atmosphere at the intellectual and political levels very much favored the kind of research I was doing; as a result, everybody with whom I talked received me with warmth and enthusiasm.

Minor problems appeared later, because at times it was not easy to keep a balance in the "duality" of being both a participant and an observer. Most of the time these difficulties turned into funny situations, with a friend or colleague saying something like: "Watch out! Amparo is analyzing us again!" or "Come on, Amparo! relax a little, give up observing and analyzing everything all the time!". Other times, I have to confess that I felt tired of discovering myself observing and analyzing people's behaviors and attitudes through their speech instead of

simply having a light conversation without second thoughts.

However, looking back now to the fieldwork process, I can feel almost in a material way how the anthropological and sociolinguistic perspective have helped me in having a broader and deeper understanding of my own society. In a way, I feel that I never will be able to give up observing and analyzing the crucial role that language use plays in any situation as a key marker of a person's identity, intents, and goals.

Doing fieldwork in my own society has made me become, I believe, a more competent member of the community to which I belong, and, at the same time, has given me the possibility of putting social reality into perspective and being able to look at it from a relativistic point of view, without ethnocentrism and provincialism.

("for number sequence only")

Chapter 2

LANGUAGE IN CATALONIA

2.1. Catalonia and the Catalan Language. A Note on History.

Catalonia is a region of Spain located in the north eastern part of the country, bounded by the Mediterranean sea on the East, France on the North, Aragon on the West and Valencia on the South. Its population is about 6,000,000 inhabitants, 50% of whom live in the city of Barcelona and its industrial belt. Around 60% of the total population of Catalonia speak the Catalan language.

The Catalan language is not only spoken in Catalonia, it is also spoken in Valencia, the Balearic Islands, southern France, the Principality of Andorra (a small country to the north of Catalonia, the only place where Catalan has been always the official language, along with French), and in a town in Corsica called l' Alguer. This linguistic domain has its roots in the Middle Ages, when Catalonia was an independent kingdom, along with Aragon, a situation which lasted until the 15th century.

During the 11th century the Romance speech spoken in the area crystallized as a language different from other romance languages such as Castilian, French, etc. There has been early literature written in Catalan since the second

half of the 13th century in different fields like fiction, philosophy, history, and so on (Azevedo 1984).

During the 15th century the Catalan crown passed into the hands of a Castilian dynasty, but still Catalonia maintained its own laws. During this century there was a flourishing of Catalan literature. An interesting fact is that in this century the printing press was introduced in the Iberian Peninsula, and the first book printed was one in Catalan (Vallverdú 1984, 1985).

Little by little the political and administrative influence of the Castilian monarchs grew in Catalonia, and finally, in 1714, after a War of Succession, Catalonia lost all legal autonomy and rights and become subject to the laws and administration of Castile. All public institutions had to use Castilian since then, except for some recent periods, as we shall see (Woolard 1983).

In the second half of the 19th century compulsory education was declared by law, and this as to be the beginning of a very efficient means of Castilianization. But, at the same time, it began a powerful process of development of a Catalan nationalistic identity headed by the bourgeoisie that felt that they could not get political power from the central government (Vilar 1962). There was also a rebirth of Catalan literature (Badia 1964). All this resulted in the configuration of a Catalan autonomous

government from 1914 until 1925 (stopped by the military dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera) and continued with greater support and power in the 1930's, during the time of the Spanish Republic when Catalonia obtained a relatively autonomous regional government (see section 3.2.). This period was again cut off by another military uprising (that of General Franco) that resulted in a Civil War -from 1936 to 1939.

The fascist forces headed by Franco won the war and a period of dictatorship started which lasted until 1975, when Franco died. This was a period without freedom and human rights, strongly centralist. All Catalan institutions vanished, and the public use of Catalan was prohibited and punished.

The impoverishment of the Southern regions of Spain, and the relative industrial developmet of Catalonia and other peripheral zones of northen Spain, like the Basque Country, resulted in a migratory movement from the former zones to the latter. So, Catalonia received big waves of immigration of Spanish speakers during the 1950's and the 1960's, and for the first time in Catalonia, immigrants were forced to live in newly built neighborhoods that eventually became ghetto-like. Mones states very clearly the problems created by the massive arrival of immigrants to Catalonia:

[...] the immigratory avalanche of that years
[50's and 60's] and the resultant social,

economic, and cultural discrimination against the newcomers, would bring about, and does still, serious socio-cultural and sociolinguistic problems, more serious even as a result of a policy that only favored speculation and did not try to satisfy the minimal needs for socio-cultural equipments [...] the socio-territorial marginalization prevented immigrants from integrating into the catalan community. (Monés 1980: 90-91)

In this period another important event took place: the introduction and development of TV that used only Castilian in its broadcasting.

During the 60's, a political and cultural movement for freedom and democracy started in Spain. All the Western world was witnessing a period of resurgence of ethnonationalism (Esman 1977), and for Catalonia this was the beginning of a period of recovery of Catalan identity; some publishing houses started to publish books in Catalan, some private schools and institutions started to teach Catalan, and the supporters of this were mainly middle class people who were clearly in opposition to Franco's regime and joined with the working class to fight dictatorship.

By the early seventies opposition against Franco's regime was very strong and the governmental power became weaker and weaker. From the sociolinguistic point of view the consequences of this period (40 years, almost two generations) were that speech norms appeared that clearly favored the use of Castilian, since Castilian was the only language permitted for public purposes. Speech norms,

implicit and explicit, appeared that favored the use of Castilian leaving Catalan as a language used for only in-group interactions.

2.2 Legal changes regarding language use since 1975.

Up to Franco's death in 1975, the linguistic situation in Catalonia has to be understood as one in which Castilian Spanish had a social dominance. In public domains, the space it occupied was overwhelming. All native Catalan speakers (the majority of the population of Catalonia) were bilingual and had to use Castilian Spanish for any public purpose. The non-natives were mostly monolingual Castilian speakers, although some were passive bilinguals and a small percentage were active bilingual. It can be said that by that time one could live (and survive) using only Castilian, but not using only Catalan.

But, at the same time, there was a strong and long history of struggle for linguistic rights that favored the Catalan language. It had become a popular symbol of resistance against Franco's regime; it was also felt as a language of prestige maintained by the bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, the Church, and also by wide ranges of middle and lower middle class Catalan people. The power and pressure of all these different groups was what would give grounds to the recovery of Catalan language as soon as the political conditions changed.

During the dictatorship, the consideration of Spanish Castilian as the only language in the country was a matter of fact. Since the beginning of Franco's regime, languages other than Castilian were forbidden in any public area (schools, bureaucracy, media,...). This was based on the ideology that Spain had to be united, so the existence of autonomous regions and different languages was viewed as an attack or a threat to one of the basic assumptions of the regime. For that reason too, opposition to Franco in Catalonia included the demands of a statute of Autonomy and the free use of the Catalan language.

After Franco's death, the Catalan people shared with all Spaniards the huge task of creating a democratic form of government. One of the first outcomes was the Spanish Constitution. After the first democratic general elections in Spain (1977), all political parties in parliament discussed and elaborated the Constitution, which was presented to the people and approved in 1978. In one of its articles, Spanish Castilian language was confirmed as the official language in Spain, and other languages were also accepted as official in the territories of the autonomous regions where they were spoken, and under the local laws.

The Constitution, the legal framework for the whole country, allowed the Catalan Statute of Autonomy to be formulated. It was issued and approved by referendum in 1979. This Statute has several articles concerning

language: First, Catalan is declared to be the own language of Catalonia; second, the Catalan language is the official language of Catalonia along with Castilian Spanish, the official language of Spain, and third, the government of Catalonia will guarantee the use of both languages and will create the conditions that will permit an equal treatment for both languages as well as the same rights and duties for all citizens.

In other articles, the wording takes into account the linguistic rights of the people in the north of Catalonia who speak Aranese, a different language related to the Gasconian language.

If we analyze the formulae applied to Catalan language they are rather ambiguous, while, in contrast, all is clear about the status of Spanish Castilian. The only move forward in the Spanish Constitution is the recognition of other languages as also having official status.

After the first Catalan elections, held in 1980, the political parties faced the task of working out a Linguistic Act that had to elaborate the articles concerning language in the Catalan Statute. A committee was formed of members of all political parties to build up what was called the law of linguistic normalization. The work of the committee began in July 1980 and the discussion took three years. The law was finally enacted in 1983.

The point of departure for the law was the "Carte de la Langue Francaise", approved by the national assembly of Quebec in 1977. In this "Carte" the French language was confirmed as the only official language of the Quebecquois territory, taking into account the respect of personal rights of people speaking other languages than French.

Through the discussions held by the members of the committee, it eventually became clear that the pressure of the institutional presence of Castilian Spanish as the official language in Catalonia as well as the respect for the rights of Castilian speakers living in Catalonia were conditioning the elaboration of the proposition. As a result, the law neither stresses nor confirms the Catalan language as the first language of the territory. Instead, Catalan and Castilian Spanish are considered legally at the same level, as coofficial languages of the autonomous region.

The law favors the use of Catalan in 1) place names; 2) public signs; 3) schools and education, and 4) the media which are controlled by the Autonomous government; but it does not make any decision about the use of Catalan in public services, the administration of the Spanish state in Catalonia, work relationships, private companies, public entities and associations, and most of the media, which are not controlled by the Catalan government. All these domains are not regulated by the law and so it is up to

personal decision whether to use Castilian or Catalan.

In conclusion, it can be said that the law shows a moderate beginning of favoring the use of Catalan that has been accepted as such by all political parties, and this is positively evaluated by most people. Nevertheless, some sectors of the more radical nationalism are pessimistic. They think that today any legislation which favors bilingualism is in fact favoring the use of Castilian, given the recent history, the importance of Castilian in the media, and the high percentage of Castilian speaking immigrants in Catalonia. For radical nationalists, the Catalan language is in danger of "death". It will only survive if it is declared the first language of Catalonia (an interesting example of this debate can be found in Quaderns d'Alliberament 8/9).

Other policies have been implemented mainly in the educational domain. There has been a process of introducing the teaching of the Catalan language, which began in the last decade of Franco's regime, when Catalan began to be an optional subject in some private schools. In 1978 (before the first Catalan elections took place) a law was issued that stated that Catalan had to be an obligatory subject in all schools of Catalonia. Later on, once the Catalan parliament was constituted, the possibility of giving instruction in Catalan was considered, and 20% of schools asked to do so.

Since 1983, the Catalan government has total responsibility for education (elementary, middle and high schools, not in the universities), and an act was issued to guarantee not only that the Catalan language had to be an obligatory subject but also that at least one more subject, other than language, had to be taught in Catalan in middle schools. There was also a "recommendation" of using Catalan as an all-purpose means of communication inside the school and in all relationships of the school with other social institutions: municipalities, parents' associations, neighborhood associations, etc. (More about language and school will be said in next chapter).

In the last few years there has been an improvement regarding the use of the Catalan language in the media. There are three public and one private radio stations which broadcast only in Catalan (Catalunya Ràdio, Ràdio Associació de Catalunya, Ràdio 4, and Cadena 13), and many others have some programs broadcasted in Catalan (Gifreu 1983, 1985). The situation in T.V. is as follows: there is one channel (TV3) controlled by the Catalan government (in Spain all TV is public) which broadcasts only in Catalan (50 hours per week); the other two channels (TV1 and TV2) have some programs in Catalan for a total of 20 hours per week. The percentage of people who watch TV3 has been increasing little by little, and the last data shows that it is higher than the percentage of TV2 watchers (Vallverdú 1985; Guasch

and Luna 1985).

Since 1976 there is a Catalan newspaper (Avui) which covers all Catalonia, and since 1979 there is another (Punt diari) which covers the province of Girona. There is also a weekly magazine (El món), a number of specialized publications (humor, science, urban planning, history, politics, juvenile, etc.), and a number of local newspapers and magazines. Gifreu (1983) reports as thirty nine the number of periodicals which come out once or twice per week and have a relatively important diffusion.

2.3. Socio-political changes affecting language in the last few years.

Before the Socialist Party (PSOE) won the general elections in october 1982, the picture regarding the languages and varieties used, and the users of these languages and varieties was as follows:

Until 1979 (when the Spanish Constitution was approved) Castilian Spanish was the only official language for all the Spanish territory, the language used at school, in the media, etc.

In Catalonia, Spanish was also the language of the non-Catalan speaking immigrant population (around 40% of the total population). Most of the immigrants occupied lower positions in the occupational structure, whereas another

part of the non-native population were civil servants for the central government as well as the police, the army, etc.

It has to be said, nevertheless, that the Castilian spoken by most of the working class immigrant population is a southern variety of Castilian (mainly Andalusian) that differs from the central variety, the standard one, used at that time by rulers. Moreover, this southern variety was stigmatized by the speakers of the standard variety. So, the working class immigrants in Catalonia could not identify themselves with the Central government either ideologically or linguistically. That is something that has to be taken into account when trying to explain the massive participation that the working class had in the nationalist struggle. Also we have to take into account that this nationalist struggle was a part of the general struggle for basic freedom and human rights; the slogan more used at that time was Llibertat, Amnistia, Estatut d' Autonomia (Freedom, Amnesty, and Statute of Autonomy).

In 1980 the first elections for a Catalan parliament took place. The winner was the coalition called "Convergència i Unió" (Convergence and Union) formed by two nationalist parties of a moderately rightist ideology. They did not reach the absolute majority of votes, so they had to take into account the political views of other leftist parties such as socialists and communists as well as other parties more on the right in order to govern Catalonia.

A General Office for Linguistic Policy ("Direccio General de Politica Linguistica") was created, and some changes began to be noticed. But, at the same time, something very interesting began to happen: the Catalan language was also a language of power, the language spoken by the leading political (and also economic) classes in Catalonia. And the working class (mainly Andalusian-Castilian speaking) began to have mixed feelings.

On the one hand, their political project (this of the leftist parties) was not the one of the ruling classes now holding the political power. Immigrants could identify any linguistic policy for the recovery of Catalan language as discriminatory. But, at the same time, the Catalan language appears to be not only a prestigious language (it always was seen in this way) but also a language that can be useful for social mobility given that with the restoration of the Catalan government, there was a rapid growth of all kind of positions in the different departments of the local administration. So, using Lambert's words (Lambert 1972), the Catalan language started to be looked at with an instrumental attitude, and sometimes this instrumental attitude could be in conflict with the lack of an integrative attitude. Although many times both instrumental and integrative attitudes are found together.

At the same time the more radical nationalists feel that the Catalan government is making only timid efforts

toward nationalist goals and linguistic policy regarding the Catalan language.

Two manifestos written by intellectuals were published during that period of time. One, published in 1979 with the title of "Una nació sense estat, un poble sense llengua?" (A nation without state, a people without language?) stated that the situation regarding the use of the Catalan language was then (1979) worse than ever, and that this language would perish if a strong and aggressive linguistic policy was not implemented (Argente et al. 1979).

The authors of the other manifesto, published in 1981, stated that in Catalonia the Castilian language was oppressed, and that the Catalan people and government were acting in an imperialistic way (as the Central government formerly did towards Catalan) towards Spanish speakers.

Both manifestos had a broad public effect, and in a way they served to make concrete what during the prior period were general and abstract statements about language and linguistic policies.

In 1982 new general elections took place, and the Socialist party, headed by Felipe Gonzalez won. A new young team of politicians took the leadership of the country. For the first time in history (with the exception of a short period of time during the Civil War) a leftist government was ruling the country.

Here, it is interesting to note that an important number of the new team, and in fact the President, Felipe Gonzalez, and the Vice President, are from Andalusia, so, they speak the Southern variety of Spanish (although highly standardized, they maintain the basic distinctive linguistic features).

On the one hand, the southern variety, that in Catalonia was the variety spoken by the working class immigrant population, is now used by the leaders of the Central government, belonging to the Socialist party - a leftist (moderately leftist) party. On the other hand, the Catalan language, which was one of the key markers of the opposition to Franco's dictatorship, is now the language of the Catalan political power, held by a moderately rightist and nationalist coalition.

It would seem that some people could associate nationalism with rightist ideological or political positions, and that all this could reinforce the political positions of many people who are against the Catalan government. But, in fact, the picture is now even more puzzling. In the last Catalan elections, that took place last April, C i U, the nationalist coalition, was again the winner, but this time they won the absolute majority. This result was in part due to the high level of absenteeism of the hypothetical leftist voters.

Political analyses of these last elections state that an important number of immigrants voted C i U as a way to manifest their desire for integration, of being ruled by an autochthonous party; other analyses state that immigrants thought that the people who have the economic power could solve the problems generated by the economic crisis, while the socialists in the Central government are having many problems solving it.

It has also being observed that the Central government still shows a lack of understanding toward internal nationalisms (apart from its ideological positions); they promote a Spanish nationalist ideology that tends to minimize and even deprecate other internal nationalisms such as the Basque or the Catalan.

Catalan speakers continue to feel their language is threatened (although less that before) given that the actual situation is that Castilian Spanish is still much more widely used (and felt by many to be more useful) than Catalan.

2.4. Barcelona and Its Linguistic Repertoire.

In the following pages I intend to show the complexity of the urban setting of Barcelona and its metropolitan area, the frame of the microanalysis presented in chapters four, five and six. In section 2.4.1. demographic data are presented. In section 2.4.2. the different linguistic varieties spoken in Barcelona are discussed in an intent to depict the city's linguistic repertoire. Demography, urban planning and language are crucial aspects to understanding social life in an urban setting.

2.4.1. The City and Its Metropolitan Area

To talk about Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia and one of the two most important cities in Spain (the other being Madrid), presents, first, the problem of its geographical and demographic delimitation.

Like many industrial cities in Europe, Barcelona has suffered many changes since the industrial revolution. As a result of the migration from rural areas to urban settings, many European cities had to extend beyond their medieval limits and create new urbanized zones in order to incorporate the new immigrant populations.

During the 1950's and the 1960's of the twentieth century, urban growth was due to new waves of immigration towards industrial cities, and new peripheral zones

appeared. As Borja et al. (1985, note 3) put it, "the underequipped, marginal peripheries were the sad expression of development". Some cities, like Madrid, annexed part of their recently urbanized surroundings, enlarging their municipalities. Others, like Barcelona, did not annex their periphery but created a supermunicipal institution to take care of the services common to the different municipalities immediately surrounding the city and the city itself (Borja et al. 1985, note 1).

Thus, in talking about Barcelona, it is necessary to take into account the metropolitan area of Barcelona as well as the city itself; otherwise, as we shall see, we could not account for many of the most important demographic and structural changes occurring in the last thirty years. In the following pages both domains are explored, comparing the latest demographic data available when this study was carried out.

Alemany et al. (1985), after discussing the different territorial divisions of the metropolitan area of Barcelona since the 1930's, choose the area of the Metropolitan Corporation of Barcelona because of its administrative consolidation. The Metropolitan Corporation of Barcelona is an institution created in 1974 "for the promotion, coordination, management, monitoring, and execution of urban planning, and the rendering of relevant services for the whole of the metropolitan area." (Corporació Metropolitana

de Barcelona, 1984: 20). The metropolitan area (MAB) is composed of 27 municipalities, including Barcelona (see map 1), it has a surface of 478 km², and 3,097,000 inhabitants (in 1981). Some of the "relevant services" that the Metropolitan Corporation renders to the municipalities under its care include urban planning, energy and water supply, transport, housing, fire brigade, etc..

As was said before, the usefulness of all this information is its relevance to understanding the demographic changes that have affected the city of Barcelona and its surroundings. If one takes into account only the city of Barcelona, one can observe that the population increase since 1950 until 1981 has been very little: 1.1% (see table 1); yet, taking into account the rest of the metropolitan area, one sees that the increase has been 5.5%, and 2.4% for the whole MAB. Also, if we compare the growth of Madrid with that of Barcelona, the terms for the comparison have to be the municipality of Madrid (607 km², 3,188,000 inhabitants in 1981) with the MA of Barcelona (478 km², 3,097,000 inhabitants in the same year) (Borja et al. 1985, note 1) for the reasons stated above regarding the different administrative solutions selected by the two cities.

Table 1
EVOLUTION OF THE POPULATION

	50-60	60-70	70-75	75-81	TOTAL	
	%	%	%	%	Absolute*	%
Munic. of Barcelona	1.8	1.3	0.1	0.02	476	1.1
Rest MAB	5.6	8.1	5.0	1.8	1,086	5.7
Total MAB	2.8	3.4	2.4	1.1	2,216	2.6
Total Catalonia	1.9	2.7	2.1	1.0	2,716	2.1

* In thousands of inhabitants.

(Source: Borja et al. 1985, and personal elaboration)

The MAB is organized in municipalities. Table 2 shows some of the relevant data regarding the demographic and social structure of each municipality, and the totals for the metropolitan area as a whole. As can be observed, more than half of the total population of the MAB lives in the city. Regarding the place of birth, it is interesting to note that in some municipalities (seven in total) more than 50% of the population is from outside Catalonia, and in the city the percentage of immigrants is 41.1%. The employment structure of the MAB is clearly that of an industrial urban setting: with some exceptions, the occupations which predominate in the whole area are those belonging to the secondary-industrial sector and to the tertiary sector. As could be expected, the tertiary sector has more presence in the city than in other municipalities, given that it concentrates the administration and other services.

	Population 1981	Rom outside Catalonia	Primary Sector	Secondary-Industry	Secondary-Building	Tertiary Sector	Illiterate less than 10 years old	middle or higher certificates.
Badalona	229,780	44.6	0.6	47.0	6.9	45.5	10.6	5.4
Castelldefels.....	24,697	53.2	1.3	29.7	10.2	58.8	14.2	10.9
Cerdanyola.....	50,885	46.8	0.4	44.3	6.9	48.4	9.2	7.9
Cornella.....	91,563	55.4	0.3	49.4	7.1	43.2	11.6	3.1
Esplugues.....	46,079	49.4	0.4	48.9	6.2	44.5	9.8	8.0
Gava.....	33,624	47.4	2.6	47.8	6.1	41.5	11.5	5.4
L'Hospitalet.....	295,074	50.4	0.4	45.9	5.9	47.8	11.7	4.5
Molins.....	18,308	35.2	1.9	47.8	5.9	44.4	8.0	7.1
Montcada.....	25,625	46.1	0.8	56.3	5.7	37.2	10.0	6.5
Montgat.....	6,944	38.4	2.3	43.3	6.6	47.8	9.4	9.9
Palleja.....	5,728	45.0	1.0	56.6	7.4	35.0	12.1	7.4
El Papiol.....	3,187	40.3	6.1	47.4	11.8	34.7	7.4	5.5
El Prat.....	60,419	50.6	2.8	45.7	6.3	45.2	13.4	2.9
Ripollet.....	26,133	51.6	0.4	53.8	8.9	36.9	11.3	4.8
St. Adria.....	36,397	46.8	1.1	41.4	6.1	51.4	14.6	2.9
St. Boi.....	72,926	49.2	1.9	49.8	7.5	40.8	19.9	3.1
St. Climent.....	2,083	28.2	29.1	36.0	9.6	25.3	7.5	3.9
St. Cugat.....	30,633	34.9	1.6	33.5	7.8	57.1	6.6	19.9
St. Feliu.....	38,044	48.3	1.1	53.5	6.6	38.8	7.7	3.5
St. Joan.....	25,309	53.1	1.5	56.0	7.2	35.3	10.5	4.7
St. Just.....	11,022	35.6	1.2	41.0	5.7	52.1	5.0	17.5
St. Vicenc.....	20,182	46.6	3.0	47.8	8.4	40.8	16.1	4.4
Sta. Coloma C.....	2,520	26.3	6.0	42.3	4.1	46.9	9.8	7.0
Sta. Coloma G.....	140,613	53.9	0.3	46.2	9.2	44.3	12.2	2.8
Tiana.....	3,028	24.8	9.3	37.1	6.5	47.1	5.8	12.3
Viladecans.....	43,358	52.0	2.4	50.7	8.2	38.7	9.6	2.6
Total other MAB....	1,344,121	48.8	1.0	46.9	7.0	45.1	11.6	5.1
Barcelona.....	1,752,627	35.6	0.4	34.6	2.9	62.1	5.5	14.8
Total MAB.....	3,096,748	41.1	0.6	39.5	4.5	55.4	8.1	11.0

Table 2: The Metropolitan Area of Barcelona

(Source: Borja et al. 1985, note 2)

The educational level of the MAB still shows a number of illiterate people, much higher in the municipalities surrounding the city than in the city itself. During the big waves of immigration of the 60's some of the people who came to the MAB were illiterate, and some children still of elementary school age could not attend school because in the places where they went to live there was no school until five or more years later, and, by that time, some of them were already working.

Yet, the importance given to the metropolitan area does not have to overshadow the socio-cultural and historical personality of the city. The municipality of Barcelona covers an area of 100 sq km between two rivers (El Besòs and El Llobregat), the Tibidabo hills, and the Mediterranean sea. Its geographical location on the North-East of the Iberian Peninsula has made this city through the centuries a kind of bridge between Northern and Southern Europe and within the Mediterranean world (Borja et al. 1985, note 2). In fact, Barcelona, and through it Catalonia, has always looked more "in front of it", towards the Mediterranean and towards Central and Northern Europe than "back" towards the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. This fact has had its reflection on the Catalan cultural manifestations through history; regarding literature, e.g., Catalan medieval productions were much closer to the French or Occitane trends (troubadours, etc.) than to the epic

styles dominant in Castilian literature and its subjects regarding honour, purity of blood, or religion.

For many people, who come to visit the city from abroad, Barcelona is seen as a very sophisticated, cosmopolitan European city, attractive in many different ways: cultural activities, architecture, art museums, etc., besides its geographical location and its Mediterranean weather. Names such as Josep Carreras, Montserrat Caballe, Picasso, Dali, Miro, Gaudi, etc, can be associated with the city (all these considerations are probably in the minds of the people responsible for deciding whether or not Barcelona will be the Olympic City for the 1992 Games).

Barcelona city is organized basically in two different ways: districts and neighborhoods (barris). The districts are larger, including several neighborhoods, and they have a clearer administrative and bureaucratic existence (they have representatives in the City Hall, are the basic divisions for local elections, etc.). The neighborhoods are smaller, and closer to the population (people talk about living in, or being from, such or such neighborhood, but never about living in a district), and they have voluntary associations (neighbors' associations), many of which have played an important role in the last decades in the defense of people's quality of life, and in organizing part of the democratic struggle against the Franco regime.

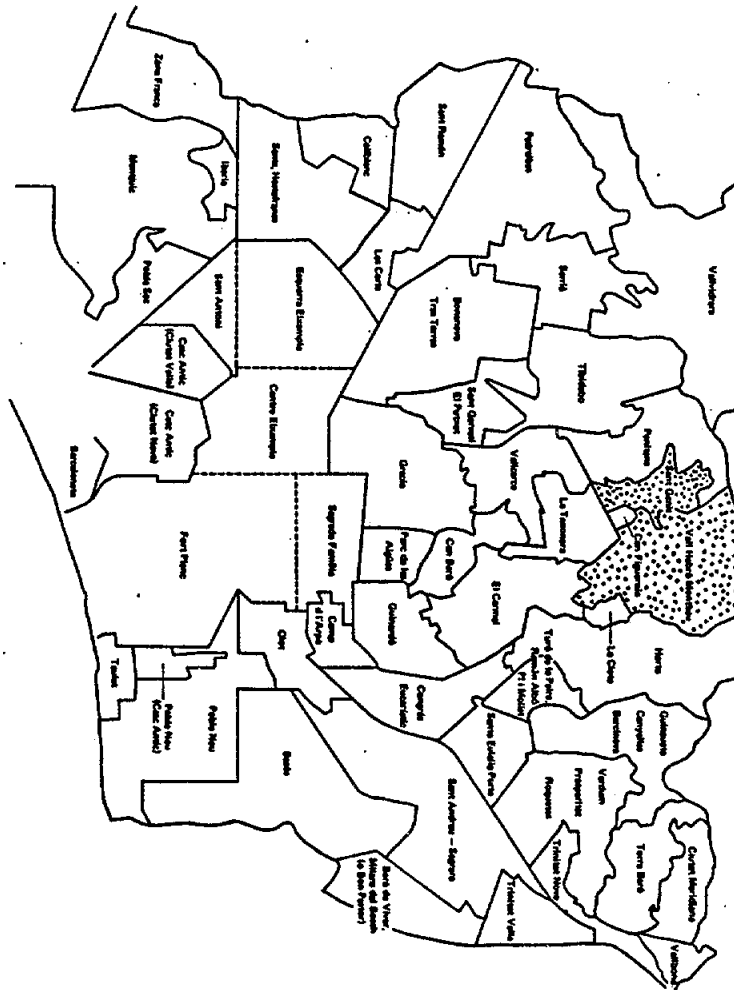
In their study of urban land and social classes, Bonal and Costa (1978) start with the city division into 53 "urban units" which basically coincide with the neighborhoods (see map 2). Since they are interested in showing the relation between these units and the socio-economic distribution of the population, they apply seven variables to the urban units (urban structure, topography, urban infrastructure, communication by public transport, housing typology, and price of the land). They come out with 17 typologies after correlating all seven variables. Table 3 shows some of the data that can help us to understand the structural and urban organization of Barcelona city.

This table offers a view of the different types of neighborhoods that integrate the city taking into account several variables such as the geographic origin of the population, its economic level and the index of fertility. There are neighborhoods that present a high concentration of immigrants (like those in typologies 1, 2 and 15), that at the same time have a high index of fecundity, and where more than 50% of the families live from a low salary. In contrast, there are neighborhoods (like 11 and 13) with a lower presence of people from outside Catalonia, with a lower index of fecundity and with a higher economic level. Finally, there is a range of intermediate neighborhoods.

The stated above corresponds with the picture of a modern European city with a) a center and some suburbs where

Map 2

THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF BARCELONA



(Source: Bonal and Costa 1978)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
13	232.3	76.7	44.1	13.6	16.1	19.8	9.2	33.8	16
11	272.2	148	54.8	19.1	11	9.6	6.1	39.8	21.5
16	272.9	85.5	51.9	19.7	12.1	7.2	1.4	29.4	36.1
9	308.8	79.4	48.8	24.2	14.5	9.5	3.1	36	44.7
3	326.9	90.6	60.9	24.4	19.8	7.6	1.4	37.3	41.6
17	231.4	85.4	46.3	17.4	13.1	9.4	5.5	32.5	22.7
10	303.6	84.5	49.2	16.8	18.6	9.8	3.3	28.3	20.9
8	209.9	68.8	41.3	21.3	11.9	6.5	2.2	31.3	43.6
12	265	93	62.6	28.9	15.8	6.6	0.7	26.4	46.8
7	311.5	89.7	67.3	33.4	18	4.3	0.4	18.5	49
4	342.7	103.1	81	32	22	3.2	0.4	22.3	50.4
14	261.3	103.5	71.3	26.7	11.9	5.7	0.7	19.6	52.8
5	280	118.1	90.9	40.5	16.4	2.4	0.3	20	55.6
2	335.6	136.5	110.1	44.6	22.2	3.2	0.3	15.2	58.3
6	263.8	75.2	63.5	44.6	9.5	3.5	0.2	12	57.8
15	329.9	165.7	126.5	52.5	19.4	2	0.3	20.9	61.3
1	326.6	152.6	117.2	46.6	23.6	2.7	0.5	12.6	62.7
BARCELONA	295.7	110.1	74.9	31.8	17.4	5.9	1.6	23.3	44.7

Table 3

Types of neighborhoods in Barcelona

(Source: Bonal and Costa 1978)

KEY FOR TABLE 3

I. Socio-Economic Variables:

- A: Index of fertility.
- B: Number of people arrived in Barcelona, per hundred Barcelonans.
- C: Non-Catalan population, per hundred Catalans.
- D: Andalusian population, per total of non-Barcelonan population.
- E: Percentage of immigrants who arrived in Barcelona between 1960 and 1965, per total non-Barcelonans.
- F: Percentage of families living with a high level salary (managers and the like).
- G: Percentage of families living with a professional salary.
- H: Percentage of families living with a middle category salary.
- I: Percentage of families living with a lower salary.

II. Neighborhoods under each type.

- 1: Vallbona, Torre Baro, La Clota, La Teixonera, Sant Genís dels Agudells, Els Penitents, and Vallvidrera.
- 2: Can Bar, Montjuich, Iberia, Trinitat Vella, Les roquetes-Verdum, and El Carmel.
- 3: Vallcarca.
- 4: Ciutat Meridiana, Baró de Viver-Milans del Mosch, La Guinegueta-Canyelles, Barcinova, Vall Hebró-Montbau, and Can figueroa.
- 5: El Besòs, Trinitat Nova, Turó de la Peira-Ramon Albó-Pi i Molist, Congrés Eucarístic, and Zona Franca.
- 6: La Barceloneta.
- 7: El Teulat and Horta.
- 8: Poble Nou (Casco Antic), el Clot, and Sarrià.
- 9: Sant Andreu-La Sagrera, El Camp de l'Arpa, Gràcia, Sant Gervasi-El Putxet, Collblanch, and Sants-Hostafrancs.
- 10: Les Corts.
- 11: Tibidabo, Pedralbes, and Sant Ramon.
- 12: Santa Eulàlia-Can Porta, El Guniardó, Parc de les Aigües, and Poble Sec.
- 13: Bonanova-Tres Torres.
- 14: Casco Antic (Ciutat Vella and Ciutat Nova).
- 15: El Poble Nou.
- 16: Sant Antoni, Sagrada Família, and Fort Pienc.
- 17: El Centre and L'Esquerra de l'Eixample.

native concentrate; b) some peripheral neighborhoods where immigrants concentrate, and c) a series of neighborhoods in between the center and the periphery which have mixed characteristics.

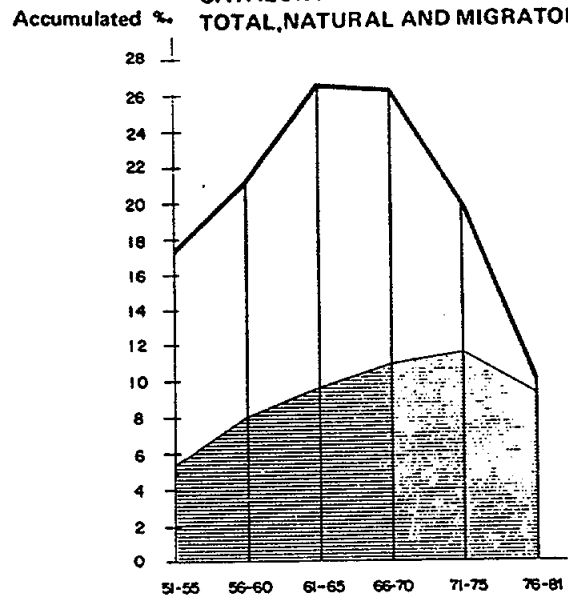
The neighborhoods where I have lived and done research belong to typologies 1, Sant Genis, and 4, Vall d'Hebro-Montbau (more information about those neighborhoods is given in section 4.2.).

Another aspect worthy of note is the high percentage of Andalusian among the total of non-Catalans in the city. We will return to this point later.

Increase and origin of the population

The biggest increase of the population since 1950 in Catalonia took place in the decade from 1960 to 1970 (table 1), and the places most affected for it were the municipalities surrounding Barcelona city. The index of growth of the MAB (the city excluded) during the 1960's was that of 8.1%. Of course, part of this was due to natural growth, but the most important cause of the increase of the population was immigration (see graph 1 for natural and migratory growth in Catalonia). Migratory movements were due basically to a) the impoverishment in the rural zones of Spain; b) the policy of development (el desarrollismo) implemented by the Spanish government during the 1960's which favored industrial development in the already

CATALUNYA
TOTAL, NATURAL AND MIGRATORY POPULATION GROWTH



— TOTAL % inh. per annum (5 yearly average)
 □ Migratory Growth
 ▨ Natural Growth

Graph 1

(Source: Corporacio Metropolitana de Barcelona 1984)

industrialized zones of the country (like the Basque Country and Catalonia), and c) the beginning of the tourist flow to some regions of Spain (the Catalan coast among them) where hotels, apartment buildings, houses, bars, etc must to be built to receive the visitors from abroad, creating a new job market.

Table 4
IMMIGRANTS' ORIGIN
(Province of Barcelona)

	1962-1965	1970
Andalusia	49.2	48.3
Castile and Leon	16.5	14.0
Extremadura	11.0	11.2
Catalonia (w/o the prov. of Barcelona)	6.0	9.6
Aragon	5.1	5.0
Galicia	4.1	3.7
Murcia	4.2	2.8
Valencian Country	2.3	2.8
Basque Country and Navarra	0.8	1.3
Asturias	0.5	0.5
Balearic Islands	0.2	0.3
Canarias	0.1	0.3

(Source: Termes 1984: 191)

The origin of the immigrant population is shown in table 4, where the high percentage of immigrants coming from Andalusia, the southern region of Spain can be observed. Regarding the linguistic variety that they speak, people coming from Andalusian, Extremadura and Murcia can be grouped as speakers of the same Southern variety of Spanish-Castilian (although with internal dialectal differences), and they are 62.3% of the total of immigrants in the province of Barcelona. That explains, as will be

discussed in next section, that one of the Castilian varieties more spoken in Barcelona is the Southern variety.

The urban consequence of that sudden growth was the rapid creation of underequipped, ghetto-like neighborhoods occupied almost solely by immigrants who would have little contact with the autochthonous population and serious difficulties for cultural and linguistic integration (an informant 22 years old, who was born and lived in one of the industrial municipalities surrounding Barcelona, told me that he did not remember having heard anyone speak Catalan until he was 17).

Nevertheless, the political and economic situation during the late 1960's the 1970's favored people's participation through unions and leftist political parties in the struggle for democracy and for the amelioration of conditions of work and life. The incorporation of the immigrant population (mainly workers) into the anti-Franco struggle during this period was decisive for the success of union and democratic movements.

Regarding people's place of birth in 1981 (see table 5), the percentage of people born outside Catalonia for the MAB (excluding the city) was of 49.3%, and 35.7% for the municipality of Barcelona. The rate of immigration is lower in the city because most of the immigrants work in the industrial sector, and most of the factories are located

outside the city. Many of the outsiders who live in Barcelona city are functionaries of the central administration, people who came to the city for business, or to attend the universities. If we take into account second generation immigrants, these figures would certainly go up, and the immigrant children are of crucial importance for the sociolinguistic explanations that we will make in coming chapters.

Table 5
PLACE OF BIRTH
1981

Place of birth	Barcelona %	Rest of MAB %	TOTAL MAB Inhabitants	%
Present municipality of residence	54.9	36.5	1,453,151	46.9
Rest of Catalonia	9.4	14.2	355,027	11.5
Total Catalonia	64.3	50.7	1,808,178	58.4
Rest of Spain	33.3	47.9	1,227,766	39.6
Abroad	2.4	1.4	60,804	2.0
Total outside Catalonia	35.7	49.3	1,288,570	41.6
Total			3,096,748	

(Source: Corporació Metropolitana de Barcelona, 1984)

The changes that we have been commenting on have affected in a crucial way the employment structure (including rates of unemployment) of the MAB (table 6) as well as its age structure (graph 2). Table 6 shows the high level of unemployment of the MAB. If we add the percentages

of the people previously employed and now unemployed to the youths who still are awaiting their first job, the rate of unemployment that results is 19.5%, one of the highest of Spain. That explains why immigration stopped several years ago, and why some immigrants are already going back to their places of origin. Given the international crisis, economic investments which could create new job opportunities are very low. Taking this into account, and looking at the age structure of the MAB (graph 2), we can see that most probably the rate of unemployment will increase in the coming years given the quantity of youths between the ages of 5 and 15. If a solution is not found, all the problems stated above could result in an increase in conflict in Barcelona and its metropolitan area, which today is not yet very high.

Table 6
EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE
1981

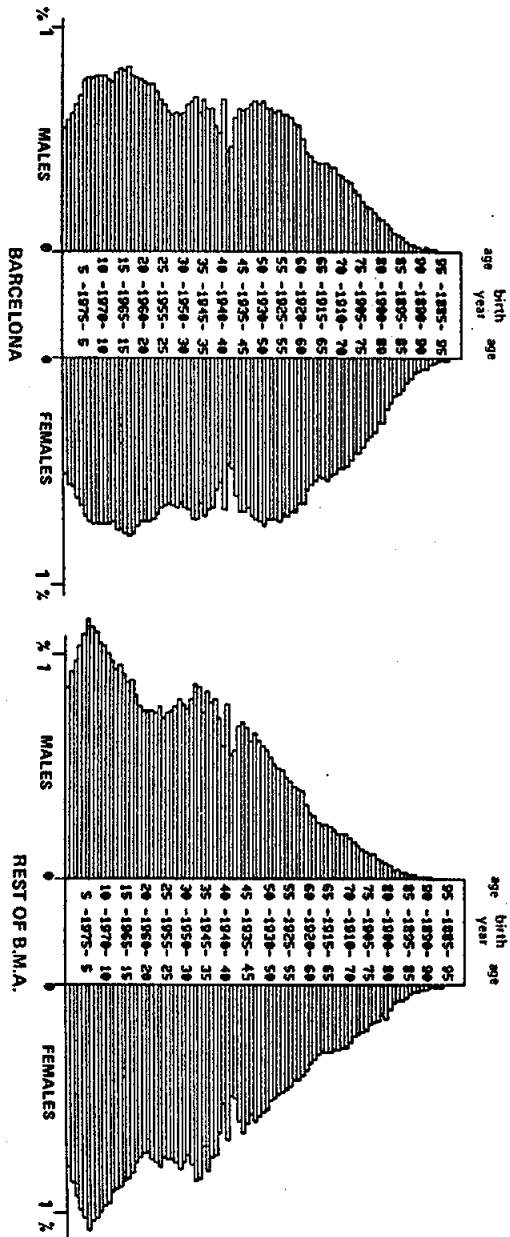
	Total active populat.	%	Total active populat.	%	Total active populat.	%
Active population	670,912	100.	491,550	100	1,162,462	100
Unemployed previously employed	76,035	11.4	76,185	15.5	152,220	13.1
Awaiting 1st job	32,866	4.9	41,127	8.4	73,993	6.4
Employed	562,011	83.7	374,238	76.1	936,249	80.5

(Source: Corporació Metropolitana de Barcelona, 1984:10)

POPULATION: AGE/SEX STRUCTURE

Graph 2

(Source: Corporacio Metropolitana de Barcelona 1984)



2.4.2. The Linguistic Repertoire of Barcelona.

In the preceding pages I have tried to outline historical elements, as well as the socio-cultural and economic components of the current situation, in order to give a complete picture of the complexity of social life in Barcelona today. Now, it is time to take a careful look at the linguistic situation itself. I shall do that by describing the linguistic repertoire of the community that lives in Barcelona. But first, I will make some theoretical and methodological observations.

The notion of linguistic repertoire was introduced to account for the fact that most modern communities are either multidialectal, multilingual or both. So, speakers not simply speak a single language --they choose among a range of options within the repertoire. The term 'linguistic repertoire' can apply either to individuals or to communities. When referring to individuals, by linguistic repertoire we understand the assemblage of all the linguistic varieties (languages, dialects, registers) that a given individual is capable of using, particularly in an active way, although it is interesting to report also the passive use (the capacity to understand, but not speak, the language) in order to have a more complete picture of his/her linguistic abilities. To account for what happens in everyday verbal communication it is not enough to make a simple list with the varieties that a given individual can

use, but it is necessary to give a qualitative description saying when and why this person would use any one of the varieties that compose his/her linguistic repertoire (this implies indicating contexts, themes, situations, participants, intents, and other factors which condition or even determine the choice of one variety or another).

Following the same line of thought, we can say that to know the linguistic repertoire (RL) of a given community is to know which linguistic varieties its members speak. Thus, as J.J.Gumperz says (1964), "the totality of linguistic resources (i.e. including both invariant forms and variables) available to members of particular communities conform the linguistic repertoire of this community".

Just as with individuals, it is not enough to make a simple list of varieties, when one begins to draw the LR of a community, besides describing each variety internally, the elements for an external description must also be given. That is, one must specify who speaks each variety, when and why, and in which way the speakers themselves evaluate the different varieties. Hence, one must be able to explain how the speakers use the different varieties in relation to social domains, the switching of language, dialect or register, and the meanings that these choices convey.

This becomes considerably more complicated if the community whose LR one wants to describe is a large

community where more than one language is spoken, as it is the case of many big cities in the Western world, and, particularly, of the city that we are studying: Barcelona.

Traditional studies of dialectology, which analyzed the historical development of particular dialects, never regarded the city as a possible universe of study because cities were in continuous change. Since dialectologists were interested in finding "pure" varieties, without any kind of "contamination", their "ideal" informant was, as Chambers and Trudgill (1980) said, a male, old, rural, and socially non-mobile person. A type of informant that, as the same authors point out, does not represent the majority of the Western population who are young, socially mobile women living in urban settings.

Sociolinguistics has been the discipline that has called attention to the need for studying linguistic variation in all its internal and external complexity in modern urban settings, given that the cities are like concentrates where all the fundamental problems of the Western world can be found, and where linguistic diversity is often used as a key marker of socio-cultural identities or as a symbol of ideological and political attitudes.

The problem of establishing the LR in a big city has been only partially faced; yet, some studies as Labov's (1972), Gumperz's (1958), Ferguson's and Gumperz's (1960),

Fishman's (1968) or Gal's (1978, 1979) can be of great assistance for our purposes.

One of the more important characteristics that differentiates sociolinguistic studies from dialectological studies is the fact that the goal is to study the social meaning, import of variation, not change or variation for its own sake. The starting point is no longer language itself with the objective of finding some external limits or the establishment of isoglosses, that is, geographical boundaries. Now, the starting point is either a social problem seen as highly relevant (as in the case of Labov's studies, which sought to explain educators' findings about black children's failure in school, or Gumperz's studies on interethnic communication) or a social unit (Fishman's barrio, Ferguson's and Gumperz's Indian and Norwegian villages, Gal's Austrian village, or Gumperz's, Erickson's and Mehan's classrooms) to discover the effect that the use of the different linguistic varieties have on people's ability to communicate in a given situation or environment.

The interest and importance of knowing the linguistic repertoire of plurilingual societies have already been demonstrated by different scholars, as we just saw. Gal (1979) states it in probably the most explicit way:

"In bilingual, unlike monolingual communities, speakers can choose not only among the languages available to them but also among styles of each language. Marked and unmarked choices are

possible with styles as well as with languages. This is because, contrary to the tacit assumption of internal linguistic homogeneity that has guided most studies on bilingualism, the languages themselves are often internally heterogeneous and include styles or dialects demarcated by covariation rules(...)" (11)

Usual studies of bilingual communities tended to treat the languages within the bilingual repertoire as internally homogeneous units. This can be partially understandable given the fact that description focussed on large scale social processes (demographic studies with percentages of speakers of one language and another, language distribution and social domains, etc.) or on a socio-political discourse about the importance of languages as political or ideological symbols (e. g. studies on language and nationalism, language and politics, etc.). I said that this tendency of only discussing the two languages was understandable because it could be said (and not only by social scientists and linguists, but also by the speakers themselves) that the main division lies between the two languages, each of them taken as a whole.

In the spirit of Gal's remarks quoted above, I would like to make some reflections in order to show that this argument can be, if not false, at least dangerous, since to simplify in this manner the intrinsic complexity and diversity of the linguistic phenomenon can prevent one from seeing, and therefore analyzing, socio-cultural phenomena that can seem subtle but which are, in fact, extremely

important.

Let us consider for a moment the consequences that to speak of languages as something internally homogeneous, without taking into account their social and geographical varieties (which are precisely what the children speak when they enter the school), can have for the learning of writing and reading. The danger in this approach is that teachers may be led to underestimate the difficulties that children face in switching from informal, home and peer group speech to the expository prose they are expected to learn in school along with writing. As the studies of Bernstein (1973) and Labov (1972) show, many of the mistakes that have taken place at the school under the word "correction" are due to this reductionism.

Another question that can help us to understand why the study of the LR of a major city has not yet been undertaken, are the actual and objective difficulties in establishing the LR of a complex, demographically very large community. These are not only material problems such as the physical delimitation of the universe of study (either the strict city or the metropolitan area); the necessity of working in a team (funding, training), etc., but also theoretical and methodological problems. It is necessary to decide what method to use to be able to list all the spoken varieties while at the same time analyzing the dimensions of their use, the socio-cultural meanings that they convey, and

the attitudes and evaluations that they evoke in the speakers. Let us explore now some of these methodological problems.

When one thinks of a large and plural community, it seems that the first thing to do is to establish a sample, representative of the whole unit, composed of those who will be the informants or subjects of the study; a second step would be, usually, to elaborate a questionnaire adjusted to the objectives sought. But, how to select a sample that is both one that be truly representative and manageable? And what type of questionnaire will assure that the reported data are reliable?

The point is that the sample selection cannot be approached, as is usually done in sociological studies, from a quantitative perspective only (for a population numbering X , we need a sample of Y number of people), selecting people randomly from the census taking into account variables such as age, sex, profession, etc. previously established. The variables proposed for the selection of the sample have to be carefully chosen to assure that they are not biases of the researcher; they must represent the basic elements which integrate and shape the constellations that define the actual set of values for the people under study. If this step, or steps, is seriously planned previous to the final selection of the sample, it will be possible to see that the sample needed may not have to be as large as one had thought

before, given that the quality can very well counterbalance quantity. These previous steps are precisely the base for the establishment, necessarily provisional, of the LR of Barcelona presented here, and later we will talk about them with some more detail.

The selection of the linguistic data also implies some technical problems. The traditional questionnaires used in dialectology are filled out in the course of interview situations which are, by definition, artificial and do not necessarily provide valid information about the linguistic changes that occur in other communicative situations either more or less formal than interviews. The presence of an interviewer, most of the times a stranger to the interviewee, the relationship created on the basis of a question-answer exchange no doubt affects the way in which people speak, precisely in the sense that the interviewee selects among his or her linguistic repertoire the variety closer to the standard (which many times is the variety spoken by the interviewer).

Thus, other methods and techniques must be used. More and more, social and linguistic researchers tend to create situations which permit them to collect "naturalistic" data; that is, situations with a minimum of elements that could distort the informants' natural way of speaking. It is important that whoever collects the data be a person familiar to the informant, and to tape long conversations

among the informant and other people in different communicative situations in which the topics are sometimes mundane or subjective, to favor natural and affective expressions. This kind of data can be compared later on with data collected through more formal interviews or even with other reported data to discover what the informants say they think about the different varieties spoken in their community, and the differences between how they say they speak and how they really speak in informal conversations. To carry out research using these techniques the researcher has to be what in anthropology is known as a participant observer.

In fact, to establish the LR of a large and complex community it is necessary to use a multidimensional approach to combine qualitative and quantitative methods and techniques in order to correct and validate the results.

In the following pages I will present, first, a basic, comparative description of Catalan and Castilian, using for comparison the standard varieties of both languages; second, I will present the varieties of each language that are spoken today in Barcelona (Tuson 1985).

The two languages: Catalan and Castilian.

Both Catalan and Castilian are Romance languages born from Latin as a result of the expansion of the Roman Empire. Originally, Castilian was the Latin dialect spoken in the

north-central region of the Iberian Peninsula. During the Middle Ages the people from this region undertook the reconquest of the southern regions which were under arab rules. Along with their political dominance, the use of their linguistic variety also expanded. There is literature written in Castilian since the 11th century, and since then Castilian has been considered a language separate from Latin.

Catalan was originally the Latin dialect spoken in the northeastern region of the Iberian Peninsula. Like Castilian, it is considered to have been a separate language from Latin since the 11th century (Woolard 1983 presents a very good comparison of the two languages).

At the phonemic level the two languages differ in their vocalic as well as in their consonantic systems. Regarding the vocalic systems, the Castilian language has three degrees of openness, and the same vocalic phonemes appear both in stressed and in unstressed positions. The Catalan language has four degrees of openness and two different subsystems depending on the position (stressed or unstressed) in which the vocalic phoneme appears.

Regarding the consonants, the main difference rests in several phonemes which the two languages do not have in common. In Catalan /θ/ and /x/ do not exist, whereas there do exist /z/, /s/, /z/ and /dz/, which do not exist in

Castilian. Moreover, although for many scholars the /l/ and the /ts/ are the same for both languages, we have to say that they present important differences that are very noticeable in speech. In Catalan, the /ts/ is more clearly affricate than in Castilian where it almost sounds like a simple stop: the /l/ is clearly alveolar in Castilian whereas in Catalan is either palatal (or at least palato-alveolar) or velar (occurring at the end of the syllable).

The structure of vowel combination also presents important differences in the two languages. While Castilian exhibits a strong tendency to diphthongization, Catalan does not. At the consonantic level, in Catalan it is possible to find up to three consonants together in the same syllable (temps 'time' or 'whether'), something that never occurs in Castilian. Castilian has a tendency to delete consonants at the end of the word, between vowels, or in the so-called "culte" (from Latin) groups (-gn-> -n-, -kt-> -t-, ps-> s-, -bs-> -s-, etc.), whereas Catalan is a much more "consonantic" language (specially the southern variety). In general, consonant distribution is also different (e.g. Catalan has words ending in /λ/ or /p/, and Castilian does not). This has important consequences for being a source of phonetic interferences when Catalan speakers speak Castilian, as we will see later.

At the morphosyntactic level there are also important

differences. Here we will only present some of the more salient. The Catalan pronoun system has two forms that do not have equivalents in Castilian: these are the so-called 'weak' (feble) pronouns en and hi, used in the same way as the French en and y. Demonstrative pronouns and locative adverbs have only two terms in the Catalan variety spoken in Barcelona (aquest, 'this'/aquell, 'that'; aquí, 'here'/allà, 'there') where Castilian presents three (este, ese, aquel; aquí, ahí, allí/a). Catalan presents the use of the partitive de (similar to the French partitive), and Castilian does not. Negation in Catalan, like in French, can be expressed by no ... pas, a possibility that does not exist in Castilian. The word order is slightly more fixed in Catalan; this is clearest for the adjective position: after the noun in Catalan, either before or after (although with some constraints) in Castilian.

There are also many differences in semantic structure; these differences can also become sources of interference and can produce misunderstandings. One of the clearest examples is that of the Catalan verbs anar and venir in relation with the Castilian ir and venir. Catalan anar means 'to go from the place where the first grammatical person is to the place where neither the first nor the second grammatical persons are'; Catalan venir means 'either to go from the place where the first grammatical person is to the place where the second grammatical person is or to come from the place where

the third or second grammatical persons are where the first is'. In contrast, Castilian ir means 'to go from the place where the speaker is to another place', and venir means 'to come from any place to the place where the first grammatical person is'. Usually Catalan speakers speaking Castilian would use venir covering the Catalan semantic field, and this can bring about some misunderstandings if they do not use other locatives to determine which places they are describing.

Catalan and Castilian Varieties spoken in Barcelona.

To establish which are the linguistic varieties spoken in Barcelona I used three sources.

1) First, of course, I consulted the existing literature on this topic. Although the studies are partial and, in many cases, they can hardly be applied to the current situation of Barcelona, they provide some useful elements. I am referring to Veny's studies on Catalan dialectology (Veny 1984 a, b); Zamora Vicente's (1970) and Lapesa's (1942) studies on Castilian dialectology; Badia i Margarit's on the language of Barcelonans (1969) and on the Castilian spoken in Catalonia (1981), among others.

2) A second source comes from my teaching experience at the School of Education of the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona. This experience has brought to me two kinds of data. First, I have been able to observe the linguistic

varieties spoken by my students, both Catalan and Castilian (most of the Castilian speakers are today children of immigrants). On the other hand, I listened to around two hundred tapes (a part of a term assignment on dialectology) recording different varieties of the Castilian language spoken in Barcelona and its industrial belt. At my suggestion, most of the time the students recorded people they know well (neighbors, relatives) and asked them to speak about their youth or childhood, or to explain a typical dish from their region of origin, etc. The recording materials are, thus, narratives with some parts of dialogue, made in a quiet and relaxed atmosphere which favors natural speech (even if the presence of the tape-recorder could have a small effect at the beginning).

3) Finally, I carried out a series of interviews with several people (some of them were dedicated to the study of language, and others were not; some of them were Catalan speakers, and others were Castilian speakers) with the purpose of discovering which are the basic criteria, the emic categories, that speakers use to classify the linguistic varieties spoken in Barcelona. These interviews, approximately one half hour, consisted of slightly formal conversations on the topic of the ways in which people speak in Barcelona. This topic, as any other regarding sociolinguistic themes, is a part of what people can talk about in more or less casual conversations, and I have to

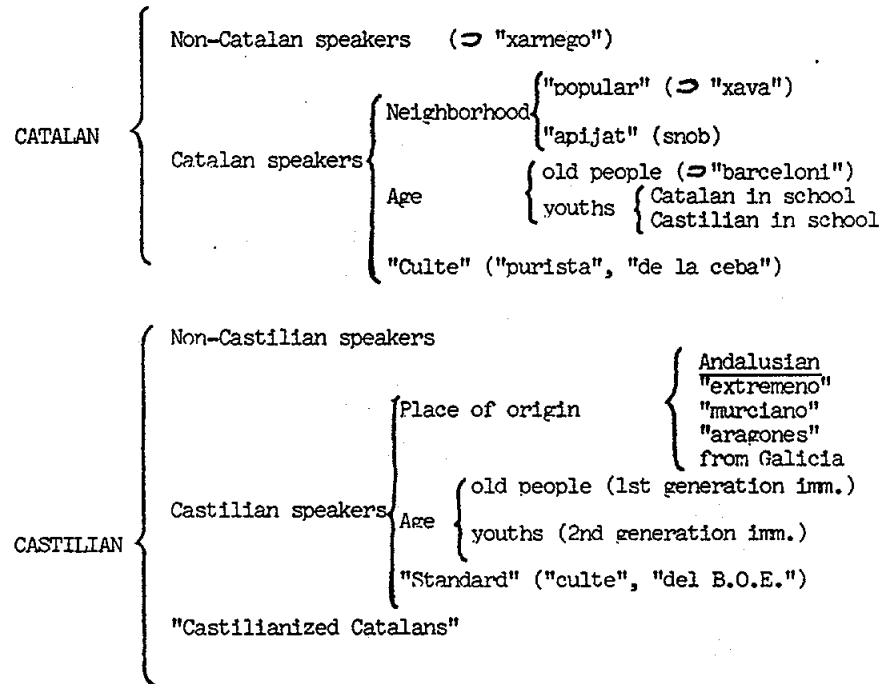
say that none of my informants seemed surprised when I asked them about the "different ways" (the initial question was openly asked) of speaking Catalan and Castilian in Barcelona. An interesting question is that all the informants included within the concept of 'Barcelona' the municipalities of its industrial belt, since all of them would explicitly name them at some point during the interview. Thus, they were talking about the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona.

The first criterion used to speak about the varieties of each language (Catalan as well as Castilian) is the speakers's first language. Thus, the first division in the case of Catalan language would be: the Catalan spoken by the Catalan speakers and the Catalan spoken by the non-Catalan speakers (see table 7).

Taking first into account the Catalan spoken by Catalan speakers, the clearest criterion used to distinguish among varieties is that of neighborhood (or place of residence), which is related to social class (Bonal and Costa 1978). My informants distinguished between a more popular Catalan spoken in ancient neighborhoods where the majority of the population is from a Catalan origin and from a middle-lower class (Sants, Barceloneta, Gracia, La Ribera, etc.), and a Catalan spoken in more modern neighborhoods, occupied by the Catalan upper bourgeoisie (Bonanova, Pedralbes, etc.); this latter variety is called by some

Table 7

THE LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE OF BARCELONA



people apijat, meaning 'snob'. The variety called popular goes from what dialectologists call Barceloni or Barcelonina, a speech placed within the variety known as Central Catalan, to what people call xava, a popular speech with interferences from the Castilian spoken by the immigrants who came from the Southern parts of Spain. The most salient linguistic traits of this variety are, at the phonetic level, the co-variation in vowel openness between e/ɛ and between o/ɔ; the voiced palatal affricate [dʒ] becomes voiceless [ts], and the fricative [ʒ] tends to become affricate [ts]. At the syntactic and lexical levels the occurrence of Castilian structures and words is typical.

Regarding the variety that we called apijat (snob) the more evident phonetic traits are the absence of the neutral [ə] which is pronounced either [e] or [a], following the Castilian system; the absence of velarization in the articulation of the lateral voiced which is always pronounced like the Castilian [l]. The Castilian variety which interferes with this Catalan variety is the Northern variety which is spoken in Catalonia basically by central government functionaries, businessmen, and other middle-upper class people.

It is important to say that the speakers of each one of these varieties have a negative attitude towards the speakers of the others (manifested many times through the ridiculization of the other's way of speaking); Generally

speaking, however, the barceloni is socially more positively evaluated, especially when it is used without Castilianisms.

Another classificatory criterion used was age, narrowly related to 1) schooling in one language or the other; 2) to the consumption of mass media (especially television which began broadcasting in Spain during the 1950's and widely spread out during the 1960's), and 3) the the kind and intensity of the relationships that Catalan people have established with the immigrant population.

According to that criterion, there are: a) old people who were taught in Catalan and whose personal relationships where mostly with other Catalans; 2) people who went to school during the Francoist period, and were taught in Castilian, as was the case with almost two generations of people who have experienced the big waves of immigration and the spreading out of the media in Castilian, and c) a part of the youngest generation, who are being taught in Catalan and have the possibility of listening to the radio and watching television in Catalan. The first group would partially coincide with the speakers of Barceloni; the components of the second group speak a highly castilianized variety (either 'popular' or 'apijat'), and the components of the third group speak what we could call a new Catalan or the Catalan of the future, somehow different from the varieties described until now, given the different circumstances under which they are learning the language.

Another variety that almost all the interviewees mentioned was the one used by people who speak a "culte", "purist" (these were the informants' words) or "de la ceba" (this is a folk expression, literally translated as "of the onion", meaning very traditionally Catalan) Catalan. This variety is basically spoken by middle and lower middle class professional people concerned about the "correct" use of their language, who try to avoid any kind of Castilianism, be it phonetic, morphosyntactic or lexical.

The Catalan spoken by those who have Castilian as a mother tongue is a Catalan marked by varying degrees of interference depending on: a) the speaker's place of origin; b) the speaker's social networks, and c) the speaker's attitudes towards Catalonia and the Catalan language. It is important to remember that only some of the non-Catalan speakers are bilingual, and the number goes down if one talks about active bilingual). The more general traits of the Catalan spoken by non-Catalan speakers are: the neutralization of the phonemic opposition between s/z, using only the voiceless /s/; the absence of the neutral vowel [ə]; the non-velarization of [ʃ], and the simplification or elision of consonantic groups or of some consonants, like [ɫ] in word end position, following the phonemic rules of Castilian. Morphosyntactic interferences of the prepositional system, adjective position (the adjective in Catalan is almost always situated after the

noun, while in Castilian it can be either before or after), and, of course, many other cases of interferences at the syntactic as well as at the lexical level. Sometimes this variety is called xarnego, an adjective that originally designated the children of mixed couples (one spouse Catalan, the other non-Catalan), and has pejorative connotations.

Regarding Castilian varieties, the first division is, as was the case for Catalan, between those who speak Castilian as their mother tongue, the Castilian speakers, and those who have Castilian as a second language, the non-Castilian speakers; this second group coincides with the Catalan speakers, since all of them are active bilingual, given the history of the country, and a small group formed by Galician speakers.

The clearest criterion used to talk about the varieties spoken by Castilian speakers has to do with the immigrants' region of origin, which more or less coincides with the traditionally established Castilian dialects spoken in Spain: Andalusian, Extremeno, Murciano, Aragones, etc. Here, however, we would have to add the variety spoken by Galician people -- a variety which has its own interferences from Galician language. These varieties are spoken by the immigrant population, understanding by that the low or unskilled workers arrived to Catalonia looking for a job and for bettering their lives. The variety recognized by all my

informants as the most spoken in Catalonia is Andalusian; in fact the biggest part of the immigrant population comes from that region. All these varieties are more or less maintained as they were before migration depending on a) the year of arrival to Catalonia; b) the place of residence, and c) the social networks that the speakers established in Catalonia.

The Andalusian variety presents some traits that make it sound quite different from standard Castilian. Since it is the Castilian variety most used in Catalonia among Castilian speakers, it merits some discussion. The Andalusian vowel system has five degrees of openness, and the oppositions open/closed for i, u, e, o, and middle/velarized for a are used as a number mark (singular-closed/plural-open) instead of the standard opposition singular-θ/plural-s. Thus instead libro/libros (book/books), Andalusian presents libro/libro. These oppositions serve also to distinguish person in verb forms: third singular-closed/second singular-open; the standard [tú bés/él bé] (you see/he sees) becomes [tú bε/el be]. In both cases the vowel openness replaces the -s deletion, changing, thereby, the morphemic system for both nouns and verbs.

Other salient traits are: 1) the aspiration of what was the Latin initial [f] e.g. fame>hambre (hunger), of the implosive -s, e.g. [éhte] (this) and of the velar fricative [x], e.g. [muhér] (woman); 2) Ceceo or seseo, that is,

either [s] or [θ] disappear and the other occupies all positions; 3) Yeísmo, that is, there is no [λ] and its place is occupied by [j] (or [ɟ]); 4) deletion of consonants (-s, -d, -r, ...) in end word position as well as within a word.

This variety is widely spread in Southern Spain, and it has been one of the most important components in the formation of American Spanish, which has strong similarities to it (seseo, yeísmo, consonant deletion, etc.). But, in spite of its wide use, it has been highly undervalued by Northern Spaniards, and even by the "Real Academia Española de la Lengua", either explicitly, describing it as a "degenerated" Castilian (or Spanish), or implicitly, talking of it as "funny" or "colorful". These are stereotypes which are in the minds of many people, Andalusian included, who think that this variety is "incorrect", "not serious".

Another group of varieties would be composed by what people call "standard", "culte", or "de Boletín Oficial del Estado" (this is the name of the central government official publication written with a clearly bureaucratic style), spoken by most of the central government functionaries, by some professionals from other Spanish regions, and used in the communication media; this is also the variety that is intended by the authorities to be taught at school.

The other criterion used has to do with speakers' age; this criterion is related to the place of birth. Given that

a majority of Castilian speaking youngsters are born in Barcelona, they are the immigrants' children (or second generation immigrants). Although they can keep some of the traits of the variety spoken by their parents, this depends very much on the school they attend, the neighborhood where they live, and their social networks which, often, go far beyond their family's. This is the variety spoken by my Castilian speaking students in its most standardized version. It has some Catalan interferences (basically lexical), it is poor at the colloquial level, given they move away from the familiar speech and, at the same time, they do not incorporate the more colloquial levels of the territorial language: Catalan (many of them do not learn Catalan at all).

The Castilian spoken by a group of the Catalan upper bourgeoisie deserves special mention. Its speakers adopted this language during Franco's regime because of ideological and political reasons, given their affinities with the Francoist regime (or because they were frightened). It is basically the northern variety of Spanish spoken with greater or fewer Catalan interferences.

2.5. Catalan Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistic research in Catalonia since the 1960's has been very fruitful. The importance of the studies has been pointed out by Vallverdú (1980), a sociolinguist

himself. After giving the figure of 400 as the number of titles published in Catalonia between 1960 and 1978 having to do with sociolinguistic topics, he says:

I do not believe there are many countries with the demographic dimensions of ours which can exhibit such a long list of works ranging from more or less rigorous research to the usually brief popularized works, on through historic, psychological, demographic, and other works which have addressed some of the sociocultural topics of interest for sociolinguists.(7-8)

The introduction of sociolinguistics to Catalonia was not surprising because since the 1930's, a deep concern about language prepared the grounds for the flourishing of the new discipline. Studies on language and education (Galí 1931), on standardization (Fabra, Corominas), on language history (Sanchis Guarner 1980), on dialectology (Moll 1964; Veny 1965, 1984a). were a very good "preface" for the expansion of sociolinguistics. In fact, most of the scholars that in the early 1970's specialized in theoretical linguistics, are today also interested in text grammar (Rigau 1981), sociolinguistics (Argente 1978), history of language (Nadal and Prats 1982), culture and communication (Serrano 1980), conversational analysis (Blecua 1982), all of which are topics related to the questions of language use and situated discourse.

The two main traditions that influenced the first sociolinguistic studies in Catalonia were the tradition of the sociology of language (above all, the works of Fishman)

introduced by Aracil (1966, 1982) and institutional sociolinguistics (after the works of Firth and Halliday) introduced by Vallverdú (1973).

During the 1960's and the 1970's the main concern in Catalan sociolinguistics was theoretical. Scholars worked in adapting the theoretical frameworks of the new discipline to the explanation of the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia. Studies were done using the concept of diglossia to Catalonia (Vallverdú 1970) and Valencia (Aracil 1968, Ninyoles 1969), trying to explain the situation of the linguistic domain of Catalan with the theoretical tools that sociolinguistics offered. Conflict was the label used to talk about that situation (Aracil 1966, Vallverdú 1981) to explain the tension between the institutional distribution of uses of Catalan and Castilian, on the one hand, and the individual attitudes and uses depending on people's political awarenesses and ideological positions, on the other.

But also during the 1960's a first survey on the use of languages and people's attitudes toward them in Barcelona was carried out (Badia 1969). The results of that survey, which has been taken as a point of departure for many subsequent studies, indicated that natives positively evaluated their language and that immigrants had a tendency to integrate into Catalan society through the similarly positive evaluation of the Catalan language. In the early

1970's Reixach (1975) carried out a research project on the same topic in a Catalan region, the comarca d'Osona ("comarca" is a land division roughly equivalent to U. S. "county"), through a sophisticated questionnaire with a combination of multiple choice questions and open questions.

The questions of bilingualism and immigration in relation to language use have been also addressed from a psychological perspective (Siguan 1979) and from an anthropological perspective (Esteva 1973, 1976, 1977; Pí-Sunyer 1977, 1980).

In the last years there has been a flourishing of sociolinguistic studies in response to the changes that occurred in Catalonia and stimulated by the help given by the Catalan government and other Catalan public and private institutions to studies in the field. There are already some bibliographic overviews of great interest for the researcher (Badia 1976; Vallverdú 1980a). Some of the studies are theoretical approaches to the changing situation of Catalonia (Aracil 1982, Vallverdú 1980b); others are evaluations of demographic data (Torres 1980; Strubell 1981), surveys made through questionnaires (Bastardas 1985) or through a combination of questionnaires and interviews (Solé 1982).

A very small number of studies has been done using qualitative methods. Among them it is worthy to note

Woolard's study on the relations between language and ethnicity in Barcelona (Woolard 1983) using ethnographic and psychological methodologies; Turell's work on the use of language in a factory applying some of the methods of the ethnography of communication (Turell 1984), and the study on use of languages and code-switching in a neighborhood of Barcelona made by Calsamiglia and myself (Calsamiglia and Tuson 1980, 1984).

In 1979-80, the Grup Català de Sociolingüística (Catalan Group of Sociolinguistics) was legally formed. It is made up of most of the people working in sociolinguistics in Catalonia (I am myself a member), and it publishes a specialized journal Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana. In 1981, the Institut Català de Sociolingüística (Catalan Institute of Sociolinguistics) was created under the auspices of the Catalan government. Last year, a special number of the International Journal of the Sociology of language on "Catalan Sociolinguistics" was issued (Ros and Strubell, eds., 1984), and a local magazine published a special number on the question of language (Quaderns d'Alliberament 1984).

As can be seen, the concern for sociolinguistic matters is high, resulting in a favorable climate for sociolinguistic research. Nevertheless, the stress until now has been put either on the general theoretical or ideological discourse to explain the situation at the

macrosociological level, or on the quantitative analysis of reported data. It is urgent to promote studies which analyze directly observed data, to know in which way language use in everyday communicative encounters contributes to the construction of social relationships, and in which way the changes at the political level are affecting lives, values, and attitudes.

Chapter 3

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN CATALONIA

In this section I intend to present a brief history of formal education in Catalonia in relation to other social processes and ideological or political attitudes which have combined with education in the building of the Catalan social reality.

Since the 1970's there is a considerable amount of literature on the subject. A group of Catalan scholars linked to movements of school transformation have studied that topic thoroughly (Fontquerni and Ribalta 1982; Masjoan 1974; Masjoan et al. 1979; Monés 1977, 1981a, 1981b, 1984, among others). This fact shows very well how formal education is considered one of the most important social institutions in Catalan culture. The school is seen as a social domain related to all other social institutions, which is an exponent of socio-political, economic, ideological and cultural conflicts and changes (as we said before, in the process of Catalanization, the school is considered to be one of the main agents for the change in the existing norms regarding language use).

A first consideration to take into account before starting to look at the history of Catalan education has to do with its actual significance in the past in terms of the numbers of the population affected by the school system.

During the 1950's, the number of children aged 6 to 11 (the ages of compulsory education at that time) who attended school did not reach 70% of the total, and the illiteracy rates (and in those days, for statistical purposes, a person who was able to sign his/her name was considered literate) was 14.24% (Monés 1981a). During the 18th century, after the victory of the Bourbon troops and the defeat of Barcelona, the first Castilianizing measures were issued; but, at that time, only an elitist minority attended school, and, as Mones points out, "... more than 90%, for many and different reasons, only knew the Catalan language, and the small number of individuals from the popular classes who learned to read and write did that in our language [Catalan]" (35).

A second consideration has to do with the inefficacy of the different Spanish governments regarding educational matters. One can say with Monés (1984) that in fact until the 1950's they "have been unable to organize an educational system minimally efficient" (39). That explains why the different centralistic governments never succeeded in their goals of building a school ideologically and linguistically homogeneous and monolithic, as was the case of centralistic France, for instance (for the relations between ideology and school in Spain, see Linares 1966).

3.1. Language and School before 1931.

As we just have said, the first regulations regarding the use of the Castilian language in the school and in other public domains within Catalan territory came with the access of the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish throne. The goal of linguistic unification was one aspect of the whole unificatory and centralizing tendency culminating in the triumph of the Jacobins in the French Revolution (Jacob 1978), implemented since then by all French governments, and exported to other countries as a part of the ideology of the Enlightenment. That is one of the reasons why the Spanish government ruled against the use of other languages than Castilian. It also explains the existence of a Castilianizing tendency among the leading classes in Catalonia who adopted Castilian in order to differentiate themselves from the lower class people, who spoke Catalan (Monés 1984). Thus, the Castilian language was little by little reemplacing Latin in formal education.

During the 19th century the social and cultural importance of the school increased. In 1857 the Moyano's Law was issued; this law established compulsory education for the first time (for children 6 to 9 years old), and, although its actual implementation was very far away, it signaled the beginning of the modern Western view of formal education as a democratic right of all the population. Although the diffusion of schools carried castilianization

along with it, the quantitative effect was only moderately important since by the end of the 19th century no more than 50% of the Catalan population was literate (Monés 1984). The important point is, in any case, that literacy at that time was synonymous with Castilianization, since the Catalan people who attended the school learned to write and read in Castilian and not in their language, Catalan.

Nevertheless, it was during the second half of the 19th century that the first projects of Catalanization were drafted and the school was for the first time seen as an instrument for the recatalanization of the whole society. The movement called the Renaixença ("Renaissance") represents at the cultural level a new atmosphere of consciousness about Catalan identity; also during these years the first bases for the so called "political Catalanism" were created (Comes et al. 1980).

In 1887 the "Patronat de l'Ensenyanca Catalana" (Association of Catalan Schooling) is created; one year before, Flos i Calcat received an award for his book Las escuelas catalanas where he presented a program for the Catalanization of the schools. His ideas can be seen as a precedent for the current conception about what a Catalan school must be: "[...] By Catalan schools it should be understood that besides having officially adopted the Catalan language, their program should be an instrument for the advance of our letters and the spirit of our land"

(Citat a Monés 1984: 89). In 1888 the first public claim for Catalanization in the school was made; the occasion was the visit of the Queen mother Maria Cristina to Barcelona.

The majority position was, however, not radical; most of the people who advocated the incorporation of the Catalan language were thinking of a bilingual solution: teaching some subject matters (or for some days or hours) in Catalan and teaching other subjects (days or hours) in Castilian.

The Catholic Church (always very important regarding educational matters for a great part of the school has been in its hands) was divided on the matter. Some orders and regular priests were for castilianization of the school; and others, these closer to the popular classes and to the movement of the "Renaixença", were for Catalanization. Probably the latter saw it as a way of recovering the people that with industrialization and with the new revolutionary tendencies were getting away from them (Monés 1984). This division inside the Church regarding Catalanism has been maintained through the years, and reflects political and ideological positions. The part which is politically, economically, and ideologically linked to the sector of the upper classes allied with the central government and ruling classes has tended to favor castilianization; the part working with the people in rural areas or in popular neighborhoods in the cities has been closer to anti-central government positions and for Catalanization of the schools.

Towards the end of the century, only one fifth of the population of Barcelona was from outside Catalonia, and part of them was from other Catalan speaking territories like Valencia or the Balearic Islands. As a consequence, most of the Catalan population still spoke Catalan.

Most of the Catalan educational system, on the contrary, was operating in Castilian. All the public schools taught in Castilian as well as most of the private schools that were mainly religious or the so called "escoles de pis" (literally, "flat schools" for they were settled in apartment buildings), a new modality of schools which appeared then with a very low level of quality. Given the incapacity of the public network for taking care of the needs of the growing urban concentrations, these "escoles de pis" were a solution, a bad solution, for the working families who could not afford a "regular" private school and did not find a place for their children in a public school. The owners of these school were clearly looking after economic rewards and were far from having pedagogical concerns.

Even some of the more advanced schools, like the ones promoted by Ferrer Guardia (a salient Catalan pedagogue of that times), used Castilian as a language of instruction in the name of rationalism and internationalism (Monés 1984).

It was during this time that the first Catalan school,

in the modern sense of the term, was created: the "Sant Jordi" school, named after the patron saint of Catalonia. In the first years of the twentieth century other Catalan schools opened their doors, and groups of scholars and intellectuals made claims for autonomy of the university of Barcelona and for it to use Catalan as the language of instruction (Domenech i Muntaner, I Congrés Universitari Català, 1903 and I Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana, 1906).

The period of the "Mancomunitat", 1914-1923 (see chapter two), saw an important move forward regarding Catalanization in general, and in the school in particular. During these years, spread the belief that through the school the recatalanization of the whole society could be achieved:

"[...] if in every neighborhood a Catalan school could be established, we would believe in the liberation of Catalonia and in the future grandeur of our country, even if we were to lose all the elections," (Butlletí de la Nostra Parla. Secció Catalana 3, quoted by Monés 1984: 134).

At that time the Catalan language achieved standardization through the works of Pompeu Fabra and the "Institut d'Estudis Catalans" (the Institute of Catalan Studies). Although Catalan schools were very few, they were qualitatively important: they were seen as advanced since they incorporated the newest trends in modern pedagogy.

In 1923, the rightist coup d'etat of General Primo de

Rivera broke up all these advances. The use of Catalan was prohibited, and many teachers suffered persecution as "antipatriots". As a result Catalanism moved to the left, and many teachers went to private institutions (as the Mútua Escolar Blanquerna, a cooperative created in 1924) where they could, in some way, carry on their professional activities.

In spite of repression, at the end of this period, around 10,000 children were learning to write and read in Catalan, in other words, 10% of the private schools and 7% of the public schools (Monés 1984).

3.2. The years of the Republic and the Civil War.

If, as we said before, the period of the Mancomunitat was an important step regarding Catalanization in the school, the period of the Republic (1931-1939) was crucial. Less than two weeks after the Republic was proclaimed, a "Decret de Bilingüisme" (Decret of Bilingualism) was issued by the Catalan regional government; it declared both Catalan and Castilian to be legally equal in elementary schools. Between 1931 and 1933, several institutions were created to promote the use of the Catalan language in public life (Dpt. of Culture, Comit  de la Llengua, Consells Regionals de 1a i 2a Ensenyança).

Still, there were serious problems which made the new linguistic and educational policies difficult. The lack of

material means, qualified personnel, and political calm were some of the most important along with the lightness of the measures adopted (e.g. although the in-service training courses of Catalan were free, they were not obligatory, Monés 1984).

In spite of these problems some important changes were made. The "Patronat" (see 3.1.) implemented the Decree of Bilingualism, and incorporated the Catalan language in its schools. The "Institut Escola" (public high school) was created, and in 1933 the very well known "Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona" opened its doors. Many private and public entities had an attitude actively promoting Catalanization in public life, and little by little, the Catalan language was increasingly used for public purposes.

The General elections of February 1936 gave the power to the left (Frente Popular government), and in July of the same year the insurrection led by General Franco took place. On July 29, The Consell de l'Escola Nova Unificada, CENU (Council for the New Unified School), was created in Catalonia. This organism operated following the philosophical and pedagogical principles of the European "New School". According to that current of thought in education, the school must be free, unified, compulsory laical, and must be based on principles of work and fraternity. These principles had been incorporated in the 1931 Constitution and in the 1933 Catalan Internal Statute

(Fontquerni and Ribalta 1982).

After 1931, the public school in Catalonia had two different networks: one, the nation-wide public school; the other, the regional, autonomous, Catalan school. The CENU, logically, only operated at the regional level along with the Patronat Escolar (The Barcelonian City Hall School Patronate).

The number of pupils who attended the Catalan public network of schools in Barcelona was around 69,000, that is 39% of the total of children who attended school (the proportion in all Catalonia was a 23%) (Monés 1984). But even in these schools Catalanization was not by all means universal. According to Monés (1984) three types of schools in terms of language policies could be found: first, schools where Catalan was the primary language used and Castilian was treated as a second language; second, schools which followed the Decree of Bilingualism, trying to treat equally both Catalan and Castilian, and, third, schools where Catalan was only taught as a subject matter.

Even given the limitations mentioned, it was during this period that the Catalan language was more present in the school, as it was in other public domains. The triumph of Franco's troops in 1939 put a violent end to all the progress. As Comes et al. (1978) point out, "the Generalitat [the regional government's name] was for

Catalonia like a promise that did not have the time to become fulfilled" (77).

3.3. Language and School from 1939 to 1970.

As was explained in chapter two, all Catalan institutions vanished and a strong repression followed the end of the Civil War. Many Catalan teachers were put in jail, or they went into exile, or simply were prevented from teaching. Castilian language was declared the only language to be used in the school, as in every other public domain. At that time, the school became highly ideologized around three basic principles: "Fatherland (meaning Spain), Religion, and Family" (Monés 1981a).

Although in 1945 an Elementary Education law declared that education was compulsory for children between 6 and 12 years old, that was far from real. In 1950, the illiteracy rate in Spain was 14.24% (9.86% among men and 18.30% among women), and less than 70% of children between 6 and 12 attended school (Monés 1981a).

Little by little the repression was decreasing. This was reflected also in what was happening in the school system. During the 1960's compulsory education was extended for children until 14 years old, and the gestation of the "Active School" movement started (Monés 1981a) Some private schools introduced modern techniques and methods in their classrooms, tried new patterns of democratic management, and

also introduced the teaching of the Catalan language, all in a more or less underground way. One of the main principles of the active school was the belief that the school, and its curriculum, has to be rooted into the environment. As a result, in these schools the Catalan language began to be taught, and some elements of the Catalan culture were incorporated into the curriculum (Catalan Geography, History, Literature, Folklore, etc.).

In 1965 the pedagogical institution "Rosa Sensat" was created by a number of people directly or indirectly linked with the Catalan school of the 30's. The main goal of this institution was to offer courses and workshops for teachers in service in order to fill the gaps existing in the schools of education of the time.

Between 1965 and 1970 other organizations, like Coordinació Escolar (School Coordination, later annexed to "Rosa Sensat") collaborated in the creation of what has been known as the Moviment de Renovació Escolar (Movement of School Renovation) that expanded greatly in the following decade, incorporating within it many teachers with pedagogical and democratic concerns.

3.4. The General Law of Education and Its Consequences.

The General Law of Education was issued on August 4 of 1970. It was important because it tried to produce a change in educational matters and because it was followed by a wide

socio-political debate in those years when all Spanish society was highly politicized and conflictive.

Neither the rightists nor the leftists were happy with the law. For the former it was too progressive and advanced, and for the latter it was too conservative and classist. The debate was indeed a very important one and lasted for several years (Casas and Udina 1975; Subirats 1975, 1976). It served not only to discuss the law but also to discuss and elaborate on the different educational projects that had been generated during the previous decade.

The law stated for the first time that formal education was a basic public service, although in fact it respected and favored private schools through the establishment of a subvention system to help them survive. Regarding language, the law recognized the existence of the so called "vernacular languages" in the Spanish State, and it opened a small door to their teaching. In fact, some schools, depending on the attitude and permissiveness of the inspector charged with the supervision of the school, started teaching the Catalan language more freely, and even to teach some subjects matter in Catalan (Monés 1981a).

The implementation of the General Law of Education was very problematic and it was never totally done: political, economic, and other social problems interfered (Subirats 1975, 1976) such as the baby boom and the migratory

movements from rural to urban areas and from South to North during the 1960's, as well as the incapacity of the regime to act with political strength within an everyday greater loss of credibility (Monés 1981a).

Besides the introduction of the Catalan language in some schools, as was just mentioned, there were other important consequences of the promulgation of this law. First, the creation, between 1972 and 1974 of the Escola Universitària de Formació del Professorat d' Ensenyament General Bàsic (The school of education where part of the research reported here was conducted, and where I have been working since 1974) under the auspices of the Institute of the Educational Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (for more information about this school see chapter four). Second, the beginning and the promotion of studies on bilingualism;. Third, the organization, in 1976, in Barcelona of the I Jornades Pedagògiques de Planificació Lingüística a L'Estat Espanyol (the First Meetings on Linguistic Planning in the Spanish State, which I attended as a member of the school of education which actively participated in its organization). Fourth, training courses of Catalan languages for teachers in service (Monés 1981a).

After Franco's death in November of 1975 a period of great hope opened. All the rapid changes of the previous years (see section 2 in chapter two) have had, obviously their effects on the school system at the institutional

level as well as at the pedagogical level.

3.5. The Current Situation.

The Elementary School System in Catalonia (and in the rest of the Spanish State) is organized in three different levels: 1) the Cicle Inicial (Initial Cycle) which includes first and second grades (children 6 and 7 years old); 2) the Cicle Mitjà (Middle Cycle) which includes third, fourth and fifth grades (children from 8 to 10 years old), and 3) the Cicle Superior (Superior Cycle) which includes sixth, seventh and eighth grades (children from 11 to 13 years old).

The Catalan autonomous government has had total jurisdiction regarding educational matters, although there are general laws (like the LODE) approved by the National Assembly that affect the whole Spanish state, and the autonomous laws have to be approved by the central government.

After the approval of the Spanish Constitution in 1978, the two main legal events that have affected the school regarding linguistic matters have been the Decree of Bilingualism, issued in 1978 also, and the Law of Linguistic Normalization, approved by the Catalan Parliament in 1983.

Concerning the teaching and learning of Catalan and Castilian languages, all schools in Catalonia have to

fulfill at least some requirements which currently are as follows:

In the Initial Cycle , schools must teach four hours per week of Catalan language; In the Middle Cycle it is required to teach three hours per week of Catalan language plus two hours per week of "common structures" and one "area of knowledge" (Social Sciences or Natural Sciences) in Catalan language, and in the Superior Cycle it is required to teach three hours per week of Catalan language plus two hours per week of "common structures", the Social Sciences area and the Natural Sciences area in Catalan.

All the teachers are required to know both languages to be able to teach in Catalonia. The new teachers have to pass, besides other exams, a specific language exam; if they do not pass it, they are temporarily incorporated into service and have three more years to pass it (Guasch and Luna 1985). For the teachers already in service when the law was issued there are several programs they have to follow to learn Catalan language and "culture" (geography, literature, history, etc.). More than 50% have already attended these programs. (in 1983-84 15,223 teachers out of a total of 29,113 were taking these courses according to the Department of Education of the Generalitat of Catalonia).

The latest data regarding elementary school teachers' proficiency in Catalan language are as follows:

	Total	Public Sch.	Private Sch.
Use Catalan almost exclusively.....	67.7%	60%	76.9%
Understand Catalan but do not speak it.	24.8%	29%	19.6%
Do not understand Catalan.....	7.4%	10.8%	3.4%

Besides the fulfillment of the minimal requirements stated above, a school can ask permission to use Catalan as a primary language in the school. This petition is easily approved if the school has the consent of the children's parents and show it has a qualified staff to achieve its goal. These schools have been called popularly "Catalan schools", a name that is under debate because for some people it implies that the others are not "Catalan". In these schools the Castilian language is taught following the same criteria that were stated before for Catalan.

3. 6. Types of Schools in Catalonia Today.

The first big division among schools has to do with school ownership. In Catalonia, as in most Spanish cities, the private school network has had a great importance. In the academic year 1977-78 the percentages of public and private schools in all Catalonia were:

Public	Private	
	Religious	Laic
34.3 %	25.9 %	39.8 %

(Source: Monés 1981a)

The last available data for Barcelona and its metropolitan area are from 1981-1982. Some of them are as follows:

	Barcelona	Rest of MAB	Total MAB
Public	21.1 %	45.6 %	31.5 %
Private	77.8 %	54.3 %	68.4 %

(CMB 1984 and personal elaboration)

The percentages of students attending each type of schools are:

	Barcelona	Rest of MAB	Total MAB
Public	30.3 %	54.6 %	42.2 %
Private	69.6 %	45.3 %	57.7 %

(CMB 1984 and personal elaboration).

Within the private network, there are very different types of schools depending on: 1) if they are religious or laic; 2) if they are schools for children of an upper class origin or for a middle lower class children; 3) if they are pedagogically "active" or "traditional" (authoritarian, directive, non-scientific, etc).

Special types of schools that are private but will soon become public are the schools which integrate the Col.lectiu d'Escoles per l'Escola Pública Catalana, CEPEPC (Collective of Schools for a Catalan Public Schools). Most of these schools initiated the pedagogical and managerial transformations in the 60's; many of them function as cooperatives, and are linked to "Rosa Sensat" and/or to the general movement of pedagogical renovation. They have already become "Catalan schools" and many of them are located in popular neighborhoods (the elementary school where I carried out participant observation is one of them).

Types of Schools In Terms of Language.

From the point of view of language, two different aspects have to be taken into account: first, the language of the students, and second, the language treatment of the school itself.

With regard to the mother tongue of students, five different types of schools may be characterized (Guasch and Luna 1985): A) those with more than 90% Catalan speakers;

B) those with between 60% and 90% Catalan speakers; C) those with between 40% and 60% Catalan speakers; D) those with between 10% and 40% Catalan speakers, and E) those with less than 10% Catalan speakers. The percentage representation of each one of these types in 1977 is as follows:

	A	B	C	D	E
Catalonia					
w/o Barna...	8.3%	24.2%	19.2%	31.3%	17%
Barcelona...	8.4%	23.1%	23.6%	31.8%	13.1%
Barna.					
Conurbation.	----	10.5%	21.0%	37.8%	30.7%

(Guasch and Luna 1985 and personal elaboration)

Regarding language planning, three different types of schools can be found today in Catalonia (Guasch and Luna 1985). First are the schools that only have Catalan as a subject matter. They represent the 3/4 parts of the total of public schools and 1/2 of the private schools. Second are the schools which try to balance the weight of the two languages (the so called "bilingual schools"). The last category encompasses the schools where Catalan is the language of instruction.

During the academic year 1983-1984, the number of schools of this last type included 131 public schools

(8.06%) and 172 private schools (9.69%). There are also a number of schools which have started a project of "Catalanization": 439 public schools (26.60%) and 162 private schools (9.4%). Thus, in 1983-84, 26.8% of the schools in Catalonia were either already Catalan schools or were in the process of becoming such (these data were provided to me by the Department of Education of the Generalitat of Catalonia), and forecast for 1984-85 was to reach between 40 and 45%.

According to the available data the knowledge of Catalan among elementary school students is as follows:

	Public S.	Private S.	Total
Use more			
Catalan.....	24.8 %	42.9 %	33.7 %
Use both in			
the family.....	9.8 %	15.5 %	12.6 %
Use more			
Castilian.....	12.5 %	13.8 %	13.7 %
Use Cast,			
Understand Cat..	30.4 %	19.0 %	24.8 %
Use Cast.			
Don't und. Cat..	22.3 %	8.5 %	15.6 %

(Source: Guasch and Luna 1985)

As it can be observed the number of Castilian speakers is higher in the public schools than in the private schools where the number of Catalan speakers is greater. In their study, Guasch and Luna compare these figures with those of the teachers' knowledge of Catalan and they note that:

From the superposition of the figures referent to teachers and pupils a serious fact is clear, from the point of view of Catalan linguistic normalization and of the implementation on the legislation on which we just commented. The zones in which the students who do not know Catalan are concentrated are those where the teachers who do not know that language either are also concentrated. The Catalanization of the school becomes, thus, more difficult. (15)

According to the Department of Education, during 1983-84 the

percentage of Catalan speaking students was 59.52%, and only 15.60% did not understand the Catalan language. Of teachers, 67.73% were Catalan speakers, and only 7.44% did not understand Catalan. Although these percentages are very optimistic, they should not make us forget that understanding Catalan is not equivalent to speaking it, as we will show in the following chapters through the analysis of the data presented.

In 1983, The Generalitat of Catalonia published a study analyzing the progress reached after four years of teaching Catalan in all schools (Alsina et al. 1983). The study was carried out in 1981-82 and focussed on a sample composed of 54 schools in all Catalonia.

They found that in all cases the results favored the learning of the Castilian language. As they put it, giving the example of the oral expression test:

The results of the test on oral expression are highly conclusive in this sense, given that while more than 90% of the Catalan speaking students have good oral expression in Castilian, less than 30% of the Castilian speaking students have good communicative skills in Catalan." (129)

Commenting on this study, Guasch and Luna (1985) note that the environmental presence of Castilian is so strong that all Catalan speakers learn that language in spite of what is taught in the school, whereas the learning of Catalan takes place only at home or at the school. We will go back to this point in the last chapter of this study. By

now, what is important to note is that the improvement in the presence of Catalan in the schools has been very large, but still the results are moderate, and some problems have emerged, such as the concentration of Catalan speaking teachers and pupils in a same zone, which have a difficult solution.

Chapter 4

THE PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

4.1. Introduction.

In this chapter the settings where participant observation was carried out will be presented, as well as the data collected and the reasons for selecting the data analyzed in the next chapter.

Two school settings have been the object of my research: a fifth grade classroom of an elementary school, which I will call Bamby, and two classrooms in one of the schools of education of Barcelona. In these two settings I studied actual language use in classroom interaction in order to know what the new policies regarding language use in Catalonia have meant for everyday speech and in order to understand the extent to which they have been accepted at least in the domain studied: the school.

As I pointed out in the introduction, the reason for choosing these two schools is because in them the use of Catalan is highly favored and positively evaluated. Both Bamby and the school of education use Catalan as a language of instruction and of general communication,. Thus these are places where we can expect to find changes in communicative norms regarding language choice, if there are any.

4. 2. The Elementary School.

During six months (from January to June, 1983) I did participant observation in a fifth grade classroom, and in June 1985, I returned several times. Since the school is in the neighborhood where I have been living, I have often met children, parents or teachers, in stores, bars or in the streets.

From January to June, 1983 I went to the school at least once per week, from nine in the morning until one in the afternoon. I observed and participated in everyday activities helping the teacher and the children whenever necessary, inside the classroom, on the playground or in other activities (for instance, in a play that they prepared). Through my observations, I wanted to get a sense of what children did in the classroom and in other activities. I did informal observation of spontaneous linguistic behavior in order to discover how these activities were constituted through language use.

Finally, I tape recorded ten hours of actual language use in the classroom. I recorded the main activity types at different hours, so to have a representative sample of classroom activities for further in-depth analysis of language use. This analysis is the basis of my study and has to be understood in terms of the background of my general observations and my knowledge of the historical and

political factors which are the framework of the study.

The Neighborhood

The elementary school that I call "Bamby" is located in Montbau, one of the medium sized neighborhoods of the zone called La Vall d'Hebron (Huertas 1976) on the hillside of the city; the other neighborhoods that Huertas considers within the same zone are Sant Genís, where I was living, El Parc de la Vall d'Hebron, and La Teixonera (see map 2 in chapter two). Between Sant Genís and Montbau is one of the biggest and most important public hospitals of Barcelona (La Residència de la Vall d'Hebron), and between these two zones and the other two there is a bigger division created by the segon cinturó de ronda (the second belt of round), an important road which cuts across Barcelona from South to North. Montbau and Sant Genís are part of the western limits of the city. Behind them are the Tibidabo hills which separate Barcelona from the municipalities of El Vallés (Sant Cugat, Cerdanyola, Bellaterra, Terrassa, Sabadell, etc.). Most of the pupils who attend Bamby live in these two neighborhoods.

What is today Montbau was built in three different stages beginning in 1956; thus, it is a very new neighborhood. The initial project was intended to be a model of urban planning, but the actual realization did not succeed since at that time land speculation was a current

practice.

The largest part of the neighborhood is composed of apartment buildings, and a small part, on the upper zone of the neighborhood, built in the late 60's, consists of nice single-family houses. The apartment buildings were built to be occupied by public functionaries (some military among them), most of them of immigrant origin. The houses, in contrast, were built by a cooperative and were occupied by young, professional couples (lawyers, doctors, professors, etc), of a lower-middle social class. Most of them are Catalan and some of them participated in the creation of Bamby.

Connected to Montbau through a recently paved street that goes behind the hospital La Residència, Sant Genís presents a slightly different aspect. First of all, there is a little Roman Church, built in the 11th century, in the middle part of the hills, and around it a number of simple single-family houses, most of them built by their inhabitants. These are workers who arrived in the neighborhood before 1960; some of them are Catalan, but most of them are immigrants. Then, there are two sets of apartment building both of them built without any kind of consideration towards nature, thereby destroying the landscape and some very ancient and beautiful farm houses (Huertas 1976). One group of apartment buildings was constructed at the beginning of the 1960's and is occupied

by workers; the other, built a little later, is occupied mainly by technicians and professionals. Among these inhabitants, a number of them live there on a temporary basis, such as people who come from other regions of Spain to work in the Residencia and later move to a better neighborhood.

Sant Genis and Montbau both lack public transport systems, and for this reason among others they are considered as popular neighborhoods with insufficient public services in general (Bonafant and Costa 1978). Nevertheless, there are some aspects that make these neighborhoods different and better than others with which they share such characteristics as origin of the population, occupational level, public transportation, etc. Their location on the hillside of the city and the presence of two hospitals (La Residencia and the hospital of San Rafael in Sant Genis) that prevent toxic industries from moving there make this zone one of the less contaminated of Barcelona (comparable in this to the upper upper class neighborhoods), and residents are very proud of the healthy air that they have. In addition, the presence of the two hospitals is also very convenient for neighborhood residents who report feeling safe for this reason. Finally, in these two neighborhoods there are more schools than in any other neighborhood with the same socio-economic characteristics, so the population's educational needs are covered. Besides, in the last few

years (coinciding with the democratic ruling of the city) the neighborhood has improved: more trees, one more bus, more asphalted streets. And, as it becomes older, the neighborhood becomes socially more alive.

The language that clearly dominates in the streets in general terms is Castilian. Nevertheless, there are some bars and small stores whose owners are Catalans, and there you can hear the Catalan language spoken between owners and customers and among customers. But if there is any Castilian speaker present, the automatic reaction is to speak in Castilian.

The School

The school is a "Catalan school", which means that Catalan is the language of instruction as well as the language used for general communication. The Castilian language is taught as a subject. Among the children who attend the school there are both Catalan speakers and Castilian speakers. The school is in a neighborhood inhabited by a high percentage of immigrants, although there are also Catalan people living there. There are several schools in the neighborhood, public and private, so parents can choose among the possibilities according to their economic incomes and their opinions regarding education.

The school was started in 1966 as a cooperative between parents and teachers, and, like some others during

the same period and later, its goal was to offer an alternative model to the traditional, authoritarian and obsolete school imposed after the Civil War. The school has participated in all the movements of pedagogical transformation towards a scientific, democratic and Catalan school that have developed in Catalonia during the last twenty years. Currently, this school participates in CEPEPC -- Col.lectiu d'Escoles per l' Escola Pública Catalana (Collective of Schools for the Catalan Public School), one of the school movements referred to in the preceding chapter that has been most active in seeking to carry out pedagogic transformations and improvements in school management in Catalonia. CEPEPC has criticized the Catalan government for favoring elitist, private schools or religious schools instead of giving CEPEPC schools public status, which would offer the population a Catalan, public school of quality. Many CEPEPC schools are found in popular neighborhoods and municipalities where public schools are still needed (finally, in the summer of 1985, a decree has been issued to regulate the process by which these schools will become public).

The Classroom

The fifth grade classroom is composed of 29 students. All but two were born in 1972, and were eleven years old at the time the observations were carried out. One of the other two was born in 1971, the other in 1970, and both of

them were having problems in school performance (both had Catalan as their mother tongue).

a) The Parents

Information regarding pupils' parents' place of birth, is shown in the table (no information is given about 6 children because they left the school at the end of the academic year, and their files were not longer in the archives when I consulted them):

<u>Parents' Place of Birth</u>			
	Barcelona	Catalonia(-Barna)	Outside Cat.
Father...	13	2	8
Mother...	15	-----	8

The situation of the couples regarding the place of birth of the spouses is:

<u>Spouses' Place of Birth</u>			
	Father	Mother	
Catalonia	Catalonia	11
Outside	Outside	4
Catalonia	Outside	4
Outside	Catalonia	4

Total.....			23

The language used by the children's parents at home is as follows: 1) the "Catalan-Catalan" couple use Catalan; 2) the "Outside-Outside" couples use Castilian; 3) two of the "Catalonia-Outside" couples use Castilian, one uses Catalan, and in the other, each parent (they are separated) uses his or her mother tongue; 4) two of the "Outside-Catalan" couples use Catalan, and the two other use Castilian.

The above data show that it is a complex matter to predict what language a couple consisting of speakers of different languages will use for personal communication. It not only depends on personal decisions, on language background, or on which language is spoken more in the place where they live. Aspects such as social networks (family, work, friends, voluntary association, etc.) and future expectations, among others can condition, and even determine the family's language.

Regarding parents' occupation, the situation is as follows: all fathers and sixteen mothers work; seven mothers do not work outside their homes. The occupational level of parents' jobs are:

	Fathers	Mothers
Unskilled workers	0	0
Skilled workers	7	7
Technicians	10	7
Professionals and artists	6	2
Managers and the like	0	0

b) The Children

Regarding the children's first language, there are 10 children (34.48%) who have Castilian as a mother tongue and 19 (65.51%) who have Catalan as a mother tongue. All of them can speak both languages. In a conversation that I held with the teacher about the children's actual use of language, she came out with three different categories for the Catalan speaking children and four different categories for the Castilian speaking children.

Among Catalan speakers, she first distinguished the "Catalans de la ceba", using this folk expression describing a general category that means strongly Catalan, sometimes interchangeable with "Català, Català" (Catalan, Catalan) (Woolard 1983). They use Castilian very little, and are the ones who even speak Catalan when playing. In this category she included six children divided into two groups of three

each. One group would have the traits indicated before more intensely and the other less intensely.

Second, she talked about a group of two children who speak Castilian very easily but who make linguistic interferences. Third, she defined a group composed of ten children who speak Castilian very easily and fluently.

	number of students	% of CTs	% of total students
group 1....	6	31.57	20.68
group 2....	2	10.58	6.89
group 3....	10	52.63	34.48

Among the children who have Castilian as a mother tongue, she distinguished (A) "Castilian very dominant"; (B) "Castilian very dominant but less than (A)"; (C) Those who speak Catalan more and more, and (D) those who can be called "bilingual" children.

	Number of students	% of CSs	% of total students
group (A)...	2	20.00	6.89
group (B)...	2	20.00	6.89
group (C)...	4	40.00	13.79
group (D)...	2	20.00	6.89

Note that the criteria for classifying the Castilian speaking children differs from the criteria used to classify the Catalan speaking Children. For the former, the teacher only uses the criterion of actual use while in the latter she uses both actual use and proficiency. That shows that all the Catalan speaking children must be using Castilian from an early age although they make grammatical errors, whereas the Castilian speakers must be learning Catalan at the school, and their use of that language is the primary matter of concern.

The children's expectations concerning further education correspond to their social origin. After compulsory education some of them will attend a high school and some of them will attend a technical school; probably a few will later attend a university.

c) The Teacher

The teacher was a young woman in her late twenties. She was very active and very concerned about educational problems in general and about her pupils' success in particular. Her college major was Mathematics, and she had taken many different courses of different subjects and workshops since college in order to remain up to date. At the time this research was carried out, she was attending the program promoted by the Generalitat to earn the title of "Catalan teacher". Her mother tongue was Catalan. She

always spoke Catalan, except when teaching Castilian; thus she had quite a strong Catalan accent. If a child addressed her in Castilian, which happened some times, she would say "What?" using the same intonation as if she had not heard well what the child had said, and this was enough to make the child shift into Catalan.

In talking about the children's play activities, she told me that the children's mother tongue does not determine the formation of groups among them; there are other factors, such as gender, that account for children's choices of friends. Similarly, I found no evidence that first language affected children's choices. It was very clear during playtime how they grouped: boys with boys, and girls with girls.

d) The Organization of the Classroom

The classroom was very well illuminated with natural light which entered through four big windows. The students sat in groups of three to five around five sets of two tables put together. Hanging on the walls there were all types of drawings and other works made by the children. There were two bookshelves and two closets to keep the material needed for the class.

The teacher's style was informal; she created the atmosphere of an open classroom, trying to make the children participate all the time. Usually the children were talking

with each other, to the teacher or to myself, so the atmosphere was very alive, and sometimes very noisy.

The main criterion for putting four or five children together at one table was so that they could get along well. Usually the teacher put boys and girls together, and combined different levels in school performance. In all cases she included both Catalan and Castilian speaking children at the same table. The composition of the tables changed every two or three months.

Regarding children's school performance, I observed that to have Catalan or Castilian as a mother tongue was not a conditioning element. I commented on this to the teacher and she agreed with me. In fact among the four best children there were two Catalan speakers and two Castilian speakers. Curiously, though, the children with more problems were all Catalan speakers. I think that this was due to the fact that in a neighborhood like Montbau or Sant Genis, it means a lot for the Castilian speaking population that they can send their children to Bamby as a way of amelioration and integration. Therefore, the Castilian speaking children tend to be more motivated than the Catalan speaking children, to whom this school can be one of the best of the neighborhood, but not the best of the city, by any means.

The Material Selected

Among the material recorded, I selected two kinds of activities that were among the most recurrent in the way teaching and learning were carried out every day. The first was small group discussions: the students were generally encouraged to work together, and for this end they were seated in groups of five or six around tables, so they could communicate, help each other and share their opinions about the work they had to do.

Second, I taped recorded what I called telling news. This was the first activity of every day (with very few exceptions). After the students sat down, the teacher asked for silence, sometimes would make a statement about something of general interest, and then she would ask if anybody has some news to tell to the class. The children who had something to say would raise their hands, the teacher would select one of them, and he or she would stand up and start telling the story to the class. The children usually followed this activity with most interest; they would ask questions or make comments on the news told, and also the teacher would ask questions or make clarifying comments on the content as well as on the vocabulary used, etc. The stories told referred usually to some family affair or to some actual news that they watched on TV the night before.

4. 3. The School of Education

In the second school I observed two classes during the fall of 1983 and during the 1984-1985 academic year. These students are being trained to become school teachers specializing in Language (Catalan, Castilian, and either French or English) and Literature (Catalan and Castilian). Although they are specifically trained to teach children in the "superior cycle" (about school system organization see chapter 3), children from 12 to 14 years old, they can, and in fact many of them do, teach younger children.

I selected these two classes because the students have the best conditions favoring the use of Catalan language. For three years they have been taught in Catalan, they have studied Catalan language and linguistics, and they are supposed to be in the near future the agents of Catalanization in the schools. I wanted to discover what they thought about language use in schools as well as what their spontaneous linguistic behavior was.

I observed them and took notes both inside the classroom and outside; I tape recorded five small group discussions, some of them followed by class discussions. I had long interviews with three students who have Castilian as a mother tongue, but who differ in their linguistic use and attitudes, in order to have a picture of their life stories. Finally, I tape recorded a conversation carried

out at a party at my apartment (after the course had already finished); the conversation took place after dinner, and after we had listened to pieces of the recording that I had from them. Although the topic of the conversation was already decided, the atmosphere was very light and casual.

The School of Education was created in the early 1970's when a group of Catalan educators took advantage of the possibilities opened by the General Law of Education issued in 1970. First as a section of the School of Education of Girona, in 1972-73, and later on as a school of its own, from 1973-74 on, this school came to cover several needs manifested in Catalan society. On the one hand there was a demographic need, since growth suffered during the 1960's was already starting to affect the university population, and the only school of Education in Barcelona was overloaded. On the other hand, there was a pedagogical need. The transformations observed in the school since the 1960's were overcoming the possibilities offered by private institutions, like "Rosa Sensat", and the necessity of a public institution for the training of the future teachers was considered urgent by almost all the people involved in school transformation. Some of the most prominent Catalan pedagogues participated in the organization of the new School of Education (Maria Rubies, Marta Mata, Josep Pallach, Francesc Noi, etc.).

This school had very clear objectives from the very

beginning. It was conceived to create a new model of teacher based on the model offered by the "Normal" of 1931. Its main objectives, or principles, were four:

"... to achieve a democratic organization in the management, to root the contents of the instruction, and the institution itself, into the Catalan society; to assure a true university level, and to link itself with the educational world, in order to guarantee the link between theory and practice." (Villanueva 1983: 9).

The task of teaching has always been viewed as the result of a community effort among teachers and between teachers and students, and team work has always been promoted, as well as the participation of all faculty, students, and administrative staff in the general management of the institution.

The School of Education has always been very active in participating in and promoting the transformation and renovation of the school system into a democratic, scientific, and culturally rooted system. From beginning the question of language has been a crucial one, since it was an essential part of the defining principle of training teachers for Catalonia.

I started teaching at this school in 1974, one year after it was legally created. From the beginning, most of the subjects have been taught in Catalan, except those dealing with Castilian language and literature, foreign languages, and some others which the teacher could not teach

in Catalan (these have been very few). There has always been a special concern regarding the non-Catalan speaking students.

As a teacher of Castilian language and linguistics, I remember how in the 1970's some Castilian speaking students came to me at the beginning of the academic year to tell me their concern, because they could not follow the lectures given in Catalan. I tried to give them confidence. I told them that everybody would help them, that they would have specially designed Catalan courses. I also said that if, after two months, they still had problems, they should tell me, so that I could help them. None of them ever came back, and I noticed that they were doing well.

At the time this research was carried out, the linguistic planning of the school was as follows. When the students first entered the school, they answered a very simple questionnaire. Those who reported to be Castilian speakers took a proficiency test (written and oral) to determine their level of knowledge of the Catalan language. From the results, they were classified into three groups: A, B, and C. Students in group A were considered to possess enough knowledge of the language to follow the regular course work in Catalan; students in groups B and C, during the first year, had to take a special course in Catalan, and during the second year, followed the regular course, but could attend a "reinforcement" course. During the third

year, which is the last, all students followed the same course in Catalan and were supposed to have reached a minimum level of proficiency to be able to teach in Catalan.

As has been said, the studies to become a teacher take three years. During the first year, all students have the same curriculum; during the second and the third year they chose a specialization that is related either to the level at which they want to teach ("Pre-school", "Initial and Middle Cycle") or to one of the areas specialties of "Superior Cycle" (Sciences, Social Sciences, or Philology).

The two classrooms where I carried out observation were in the two groups of third course of Philologies, third A and third B. On the first day I told the students about my research, I gave them a questionnaire asking for basic personal information, such as place and date of birth, place of residence, first language, etc. There was also an open question asking about when, where, and how they learned their second language (see 6.2.).

In group A, 41 answered the questionnaire. Of those 31 (75.6%) were born in Catalonia; 1 (2.43%) was born in Menorca (one of the Balearic Islands which also belongs to the linguistic domain of Catalan), and seven (17.07%) were born in Spain outside Catalonia (2 did not answer this question). Most of them were born between 1962 and 1964, which make them around twenty years old. Regarding their

mother tongue, 17 (41.46%) reported that Catalan was their first language; 21 (51.21%) reported Castilian; 1 (2.43%) reported both, and 2 (4.87%) said that their first language was Gallego (another Romance language spoken in Galicia, in the Northwestern part of Spain).

In group B, 34 students answered the questionnaire. 27 (79.41%) were born in Catalonia; 4 (11.76%) were born in Spain outside Catalonia; 1 was born in Germany (from Spanish parents) and 2 did not answer this question. Most of them were born between 1963 and 1964. 14 (41.17%) reported Catalan as their first language, and 20 (58%) Castilian.

As can be observed, both groups were very similar with regard to their demographic composition. In both of them a slight majority of Castilian speakers was found, most of them immigrants' children born in Catalonia. Very few reported themselves as having Catalan as well as Castilian as their first languages.

In both classrooms the students sat around big tables. This tended to favor communication and small group activity.

All the subjects are taught in Catalan except Castilian language, Castilian literature, French and English. In the third course, the only subject that does not have to do with either language or literature is Pedagogy. I chose to observe this class, because in it the

use of language was not determined by the content of the subject matter.

All students knew each other quite well, because they had spent at least a year together (some of them were also in the same class during their first year at the school), and there were small groups of closer friends. Before starting the classes and between them, many of the students go out of the classroom into the hall or to the cafeteria. There, they chatted in small groups.

All of them used the Catalan language for public academic purposes: to address the teacher, to make a presentation in front of the class, etc. But, when they were working in small groups or talking informally between classes, the Castilian language was also used a lot.

Among the tapes recorded within the two classrooms, I selected, for illustration and analysis in next chapter, a piece of one of them, in which a small group activity is recorded. I selected this piece of data because what happened in it recurrently happened in the others.

Interpretation of the selected pieces of data

For the interpretation of the selected pieces of data I proceeded from a qualitative perspective. I listened the the tapes repeatedly, looking for passages where a) both languages were used, and b) where it was enough internal

evidence of what the episode was about. This was necessary in order to evaluate what was happening in a particular passage in relation to the whole episode. Once these passages detected, I selected some of them for in depth analysis. Then, I transcribed the fragment selected and listened to it again and again as I looked for cues and clues for interpretation. I not only payed attention to the referential content of the passage but also, and very closely, looked for inferences, for signals of shared cultural knowledge given through linguistic cues at both the segmental and suprasegmental levels. One of the first signals that was revealed to be of great interest involved what was conveyed through the linguistic choice between the two languages: Catalan and Castilian.

Subsequently, I also looked for people's interpretations of their own linguistic behavior. To have these interpretations, I played back some pieces of data to the same speakers in order to have their comments on them.

The Reported Data

Besides naturalistic, directly observed data, I also collected some reported data through interviews and questionnaires. I do not believe that reported data by itself can be a substitute for directly observed data since what people say they do is not always exactly what they

really do. This contradiction between what we say we do and what we actually do is not a question of lack of honesty; probably when we are asked about our behavior either we select some bits of memories or we overgeneralize, depending on what our feelings are about what the question is about, or about what we think is important for the answer. Thus, reported data can be misleading if it is the only source of information; nevertheless, taken as a support and/or contrast of the naturalistic data it can be of great help.

In the school of education I gave the students two questionnaires. The first I gave at the beginning of my observation, after I had presented myself as a researcher in a short speech. Since they knew me as a teacher of Castilian and a Catalan speaker, I consciously spoke constantly switching from one language to the other. In this first questionnaire, which was written in Castilian on one side of the sheet and in Catalan on the other, I asked basic information (age, place of birth, first and second language, place of residence, etc.). I also asked the students to write a little about their own sociolinguistic history: when and how they learned their second language, and so on. The other I gave the second questionnaire to the students after they had spent two months practicing in a elementary school. In this second questionnaire, I asked them questions about their experience in the elementary school where they worked as a student teachers. The

questions regarded sociolinguistic matters (see appendix two).

In the elementary school, I gave one questionnaire to the students at the time when I returned to play back their tapes. The questions were about their use of the two languages both inside and outside of the school (see appendix one). Also, in the elementary school I was allowed to look into the children's files; in this way, I was able to obtain some information about the socio-cultural origin of the students, by looking at data about their parents (place of birth, occupation, language, etc.).

On the whole, I found that at times the reported data confirmed the observed behaviors, while at times they contradicted them. Combined, they contributed information that was very useful for the analysis.

Chapter 5LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR IN EVERYDAY
CLASSROOM INTERACTION5.1. Introduction.

With the data presented here I intend to show first, the changes that have taken place in some schools in Barcelona where Catalan is the institutional language. In these schools, Catalan is the language used for any public purposes, and this affects people's linguistic behavior. Second, I will show that while some of the previous norms persist, others are changing. As was said in the introduction, in 1978 my own research showed the existence of an implicit norm governing people's choice of language, that is, that "Castilian must be used if there is any Castilian speaker present in the interaction" (Calsamiglia and Tuson 1980). In the present study I set out to discover the existence, if any, of concrete evidence of significant changes in language usage as compared to my previous findings. Third, I will draw some conclusions about the relationships between what occurs within the school and what happens in the broader society.

The evidence I present consists of analyses of some classroom incidents which are typical of others I observed, as well as questionnaires and other self reported data. In analyzing the classroom talk, I will try to show how

language is used to create a social situation or to describe an activity. Through language use, social characteristics and personal traits are evoked, often through the selection of a particular linguistic variety (be it a language or a dialect) and/or code-switching between varieties. In these cases, code-switching is used as a symbolic device, through which social and cultural meaning is conveyed. I assume that to accomplish this, people rely on shared cultural knowledge and on agreed-upon interpretations of social norms. So, by looking at code-switching, we can make inferences of what these norms are (Gumperz 1982; Woolard 1983).

As the examples presented will show, interpretations of code-switching vary depending on the situation and on the goals of the actors. Thus, while some instances of code-switching are seen by participants as inappropriate, at other times, similar types of shiftings are seen not only as perfectly appropriate but as necessary in order to construct a given social situation or to achieve an intended effect. Code-switching, in other words, functions in a way similar to color in a painting. In a painting, color or other elements of form can not be considered in isolation; they are judged in relation to the other elements that make up the whole, and the effects of a particular element would change when the artist draws a different composition. The different elements of a communicative interaction have to be

understood within the particular situation where they occur.

In the analysis of the examples presented here, I will take into account:

- 1) The socio-cultural definition of the situation.
- 2) The nature of the activity that is involved (narrative, dialogue, etc.)
- 3) The actors and the goals they intend to achieve.
- 4) The linguistic variety or varieties used in the interaction.

The focus will be on the particular varieties used and on the meanings that the switch from one to another carries. Making these meanings explicit, the aim is to discover (1) the influence that the stated or explicit norms of language use have on actual interpersonal linguistic behavior; (2) what are the implicit norms that govern communicative interactions regarding language use and choice, and (3) the relationship between explicit and implicit norms. I want to show how through their linguistic behavior people build social reality, and how, through the observation of communicative interactions one can discover how culture works in a given society.

5.2. The elementary school classroom: "Telling news" 1.

The purpose of the activity that I called "telling

news" is to make the children talk in front of the class and, at the same time, to get them involved with what happens in the classroom, since they are responsible for the first activity of the day.

It is ten past nine in the morning. Finally the children are sitting and the class starts. The teacher begins an explanation about why the door could not be fixed the day before and gives some instructions for its use. Then, she signals with words the end of her explanation but a student still asks a question about the matter. She answers, and after a pause, asks if anybody has some news to tell. Vicens, a Castilian speaker (CSs) raises his hand, and the teacher, Tina, asks him to start telling the news.

Vicens stands up and begins a narrative in Catalan. He says his house will probably be demolished to make room for a new road. The teacher asks him two questions, which he answers. Following that, another student, Marc, a Catalan speaker (CTs), interjects to ask him why, if the house is his, it can be demolished. Marc formulates his question in Castilian. Vicens stares at Marc with a look of surprise. He starts an answer in Catalan, hesitates, stops, and then, goes on with his answer to the teacher, but he speaks in a way that gives the impression that he also incorporates Marc's question in his answer. In the following transcription English translation is given between curly brackets after each turn. The underlined segments are

the ones said in the Castilian language.

(1) Tina: (...) Hi ha alguna noticia? (pause) Au, Vicens,

(2) quina noticia tens?

{Is there any news? O.K., Vicens, What news do you have?}

(3) Vicens (standing up): Que la meva casa (noises) del

(4) terreny que esta al al pis de deball aball casi segur

(5) que el tiraran.

{That my house (noises) of the land that is in in the floor below below it's almost sure that they will tear it down}

(6) Tina: A terra?

{All the way?}

(7) Vicens: Sí.

{Yes.}

(8) Tina: Per què?

{Why?}

(9) Vicens: Perquè, perquè va passar, passarà una carretera.

{Because, because it will pass, a road will pass}

(10) Marc: Pero, Vicens, ¿Si esos terrenos son tuyos por

(11) qué lo han de tirar?

{But, Vicens, if that land is yours why do they have to tear it down?}

(12) Vicens: Perquè... Però després ens pagaran tot el que

(13) ens hem gastat.

{Because... But then they will pay us all all that
we have spent}

(14) Tina: Us indemnitzaran.

{They will indemnify you}

(15) Vicens: Sí.

{Yes}

(...)

Vicens, the Castilian speaker who starts telling the story in Catalan, is very fluent in his second language, although some traits in his speech show that he is a Castilian speaker, as in the hesitation between va: pasar, a Castilian future form, and passarà, the Catalan form (line 9). Besides, like many young people of similar background, his Castilian is marked by Catalan phonetics and by certain Catalan lexical forms. At a point in his narrative, a Catalan speaking classmate, Marc, asks him a question in Castilian (lines 10 and 11).

In using Castilian in his question, Marc is probably relying on the fact that this is the language that the two use for personal communication, so that the question can be interpreted as a personal query rather than a formal one. The fact that the query is prefaced by Vicens' name supports

that. I assume that by means of the shift, Marc is making an attempt to strike a personal note to indicate that he is concerned about his friend's problem. Since Castilian is their language of intimacy, he uses it. However, Vicens, who is the principal actor, sees the activity as an academic discussion, and knowing the school rules, which specify Catalan for such discussions, refuses to comply, continuing in Catalan.

Vicens does not answer Marc's question directly, but by his look and by hesitating, he shows that perhaps he feels Marc's question is inappropriate. Yet, at the same time he probably wants to answer his friend's question. So, after a moment's pause, he finds the way, incorporating Marc's concerns into his answer to Tina's question, and goes on to answer both of them in Catalan.

What is important to notice here is how the shift to Castilian at this point serves to mark a message as personal communication, while the use of Catalan serves to build up a formal communicative situation. Thus, while Marc is trying to get Vicens's attention by speaking to him in the language used in more informal situations, Vicens refuses to answer Marc's question because to do that may destroy the rhetorical effect he wants to create.

Although the above interpretation is my own, I played the passage to the teacher and other colleagues who know the

school situation well, and all agreed with my interpretation of Marc's question as a personalized interjection.

5.3. "Telling news" 2

Some time later, in the "telling news" session, the teacher calls on another child who has raised his hand. Pere (a CTs) stands up and starts telling a story about some Andalusian fishermen who, while fishing in Portuguese waters, were shot at by a Portuguese Army boat. In the beginning of the story some confusion about the geographical origin of the fishermen: he is not sure if they were from Morocco or from Seville; it even seems that he may think of both places as being a part of the same country. At one point, he remarks on the language that the protagonists of his story speak, as a way of characterizing their origin, saying that they speak "Sevillian-Spanish, that one hardly can understand". This remark reflects a particular attitude (or stereotype) towards Andalusian; later, in another story, he will rely on this stereotype to describe one of the characters of his story.

The teacher takes the floor to make some clarifying comments on Pere's story, and draws a map of the Iberian Peninsula and Northern Africa to show the actual location of the different places Pere was talking about.

Once this story ends, Pere starts telling another one about something that happened to him the day before, when he

was going home from school. He explains that he found the passage to enter the building where he lives blocked by two parked cars; he was trying to get through by climbing over the cars, when his building's doorkeeper told him not to touch one of them; he did his best and got by, but by then some other older people were having problems also in getting by, so his mother called the tow truck, which still had not come the morning after all this happened. The teacher asks him something about the tow truck, and after answering, he goes on to give some additional details about his story which he had not explained before, as if the teacher's question reminds him about it.

He says that after his mother called the tow truck, the owner of the car which was illegally parked arrived, and his mother threw some water over the car. The woman, who was already inside the car, came out and asked what were they doing. Then, all the neighbors came out, yelling, and his mother menaced the woman threatening to throw a flowerpot at her, the woman shouted back at her, but the mother did not hear her, and finally the woman with the car left.

The episode is given in its entirety in order to give the reader its flavor. English translation is given under each line; the fragments underlined are those in which Castilian is used. Arrows at the right margin signal relevant incidents of code-switching to be discussed.

- (1) Teacher: (...) Va, tu després, val. El Pere.
{O.K., you right after. O.K., Pere}
- (2) Pere: Que vull dir una cosa, que al Marroc, e:h?
{That I want to say something, that in Morocco, eh?}
- (3) eren uns... pescadors marroquí:s, crec que eren,
{they were some Moroccan fishermen, I think they were,}
- (4) o no sé de quin (noises) però parlaven espanyol, no?
{or I don't know, but they spoke Spanish, O.K.?}
- (5) parlaven espanyol-sevillano, que casi no se'ls enten.
{they spoke Sevillian-Spanish, which means you almost can't understand them}
- (6) Em sembla que eren sevillanos, i llavons anaven
{I think they were Sevillian, and they were going}
- (7) a pescar i va vindre un vaixell i no sé què ells
{to fish and a boat came and I don't know what they}
- (8) pensaven que era la policia, llavons els van fer
{thought it was the police, so they made them}
- (9) parar i no sé què va passar que van discutir-hi
{to stop and I don't know what happened that they argued}
- (10) o no sé, sembla que eren eren atracadors o una cosa
{or I don't know, it looks like they were robbers or something}
- (11) per l'estil i: i: van anar al barco, el van enfonçar
{of the like and, and they went to the boat, and they sank it}

- (12) i van tirar un tiro amb un noi i el van matar.
{and they shot at a boy and they killed him}
- (13) Teacher: El: S'ha mort aquest pescador? o està
{The: Has that fisherman died? or is he}
- (14) simplement ferit?
{simply injured?}
- (15) Pere: No sé.
{I don't know}
- (16) Teacher: Els pescadors aquests que tu dius, Pere,
{That fishermen that you're talking about, Pere,}
- (17) son andalusos. Aleshores, eeh, si recordeu el mapa
{are Andalusian. Then, eeh, if you remember the map}
- (18) d'Espanya (she draws it on the black board) Andalusia
{of Spain, Andalusia}
- (19) queda aquí: eh? Baix, i això és Portugal, no?
{is here, eh? Below, and this is Portugal, O.K.?}
- (20) Aleshores, aquests pescadors devien ser, no sé si
{Then, these fishermen must be, I don't know if}
- (21) eren de... Huelva o de ... de una de les províncies
{they were from Huelva or from from one of the
provinces}
- (22) que toquen amb el amb Portugal, estaven pescant diuen
{boarding on the on Portugal, they were fishing, they
say,}
- (23) en aig-en aigues portugueses, no? Aleshores un un

- {on wat on Portuguese waters, O.K.? Then, a a}
- (24) vaixell de la Comandància de Marina portuguesa
{boat from the Portuguese Marine}
- (25) va ser el que va disparar els trets contra
{was who shot at}
- (26) els pescadors aquests. Però no són marroquís, eh?
{these fishermen. But they are not Moroccan, O.K.?}
- (27) El Marroc està aquí, a l'Àfrica.
{Morocco is here, in Africa}
- (28) Pere: També els hi van (noise) el barco.
{They also (noise) them the boat}
- (29) Teacher: Eh?
{Eh?}
- (30) Pere: També els hi van enfonçar el barco.
{They also sank the boat on them}
- (31) Teacher: Ah, això no ho sé.
{Oh, I don't know about that}
- (32) Pere: Ah, i una altra cosa, que ahir quan anava cap a
{Ah, and another thing, that yesterday, when I was going}
- (33) casa meva jo, a l'entrada havia un cotxe...encaixolat
{home, I, in the entrance there was a car boxed in}
- (34) i no es podia entrar; llavors hi va haver unes
{and one couldn't enter; then, there were some}

- (35) discussions i: i si no volia donar tota la volta,
 {arguments and and if I didn't want to go all around}
- (36) anar fins a Major de Gràcia i entrar, tampoc es podia
 {to go to Major de Gracia and enter, you couldn't
 even}
- (36) entrar gairebé, jo volia entrar lo més a prop posible
 {enter, I wanted to enter as near as possible}
- (37) i i havia un cotxe aquí i no podies passar si eres
 {and there was a car here and you couldn't pass if
 you were}
- (38) bastant grasò, no? Llavors lo que va, bueno lo que
 a little fat, O.K.? So what, well what}
- (39) var fer molta gent era ve: va passar sobre el cotxe,
 {many people did was they climbed over the car,}
- (40) no? i anava a passar sobre: els... entre mig dels dos
 {right? and I was going to pass on the... in between
 the two}
- (41) cotxes, el de darrera i el de davant i era
 {cars, the one behind and the one in front, and it was}
- (42) un Seat Panda i un Reanult Vuit espaxurrat. Llavors,
 {a Seat Panda and a smashed up Renault Eight. Then,}
- (42) eh... quan entrava em va dir el porter: "No, no, el ←
 {eh... when I was entering the doorkeeper told me:
 "Don't, don't,}
- (43) Seat Panda no lo toques". Llavors, bueno, vaig passar ←
 {don't touch the Seat Panda". Then, well, I climbed up}
- (44) per sobre allà el motor de: del Reanult Vuit i

- {over the engine of: of the Renault Eight and}
- (45) em diu el porter: "Métele un puntapié" i jo... ←
 {the doorkeeper tells me: "Give it a kick" and I...}
- (46) no sabia que fer i hi vaig passar. Llavors la meva
 {didn't know what to do and I went on over. The my}
- (47) mare va trucar a la grua, i la grua em sembla que
 {mother called the tow truck, and the tow truck, I
 think that}
- (48) encara no ha vingut.
 {it hasn't come yet.}
- (49) Teacher: Encara no ha vingut?
 {It hasn't come yet?}
- (50) Pere: Si ha vingut, a lo millor ha vingut a les dotze
 {If it came, maybe it came at twelve}
- (51) o una cose per així.
 {or something like that}
- (52) Teacher: Aquest dematí ja no hi era?
 {Wasn't it still there, this morning?}
- (53) Pere: No, perquè s'en va anar quan, ja feia uns vint
 {No, because she left when, it was after twenty}
- (54) minuts, bueno uns deu minuts, no? Llavors la meva mare
 {minuts, well, ten minuts, right? Then my mother}
- (55) quan la va veure, va anar a buscar un jerro d'aigua
 {when she saw her, she went to look for a water vase}
- (56) i li va volguer tirar però ja estava al dins del cotxe

{and she wanted to throw it at her but she was already inside the car}

(57) i llavors li va tirar i va... sobre el cotxe i
{and then she threw it and... over the car and}

(58) va sortir i va dir "¿Pero que hacei sinvergüenza?" ←
{she came out and said "But what are you doing, shameless"?

(59) Llavors tots els veïns van sortir "Eh!, Eh!"
{Then all the neighbors came out "Eh!, Eh!"}

(60) Es va armar un jaleo! i diu la meua mare: "A ver" ←
{There was a mess! and my mother said: "I can}

(61) si te tiro una maceta con... a" al cap, no? li volia ←
{throw you a flowerpot with... to" to the head, O.K.? she wanted}

(62) tirar, i diu: "Atrévete", i la meua mare no
{to throw it, and she said: "You dare", and my mother did not}

(63) ho va sentir, però si ho arriba a sentir li tira
{hear it, but if she would hear it, she will throw}

(64) (laughters)... plena de sorra i... i llavors
{full of sand and... and then}

(65) s'en va anar.
{she left.}

(66) Teacher: Val, el Xavier.
{O.K., now Xavier.}

Throughout all the narrative, one can see that Pere as

well as his mother, his building's doorkeeper and the neighbors were angry about the fact that the car was parked in the door blocking people's passage; he presents his mother's performance very proudly, treating her like the heroine of the story, while the other woman is the "bad" character of the tale. When he says that if his mother would have listened to the woman's dare she actually would have thrown the water, his classmates receive his statement with approving laughter. They have clearly been listening very attentively to the whole story.

The entire narrative is told in Catalan, except when Pere quotes people's words literally. In the first quotations of the doorkeeper's words, besides explicitly announcing the quotation with "and the doorkeeper told me" he shifts to a higher pitch, and a faster tempo, along with the shift to Castilian. In this way the quotation as a whole is set off from the rest of the performance (lines 42, 43 and 45).

Later on, when Pere quotes the woman's discussion with his mother, he again signals the beginning of the quote with something like "she said", then, he changes his pitch and tempo (lower pitch and slower tempo for the woman with the car; higher pitch and faster tempo for his mother), and, again, he shifts to Castilian. In fact, when he first quotes the woman's words, he tries to imitate one of the Andalusian varieties, the ceceante (see section 2.4.2),

which is known as a low prestige variety.

In other words, in this narrative, Pere is trying to recreate the whole scene and make it as colorful and lively as possible to keep his classmates's attention of and to communicate the intensity of his feelings. To achieve his goals, he uses different means. One of them, doubtlessly, is direct quotation, marked by a change in pitch, tempo, and a shift from Catalan to Castilian. The changes in pitch and tempo, besides signalling the extension of the quoted words, contribute to the effect created by the code-switching; code-switching and changes in prosody serve to build the image of a situation and an activity, through the shared cultural knowledge and the evocation of social characteristics and personal traits.

Within this particular narrative context, the use of Castilian for quotations as a part of the performance is felt as perfectly appropriate. In fact, it is a crucial part in the story-telling, since through the use of a specific language or dialect a particular persona is depicted, giving by this simple device an image of his/her individual as well as social characteristics.

First of all, Pere uses Castilian for quotations because it was the language used in the encounters that he is reporting; but at the same time, he is giving us important additional information: it is felt as natural

that the doorkeeper's language be Castilian, because his is a lower position usually filled by someone from an immigrant origin, although there are also Catalan doorkeepers. In other words, he is creating a typical scene relying on social stereotypes manifested through language choice.

Similarly, in the quoted dialogue between Pere's mother and the woman with the car, he is also probably bringing the actual language in which the interaction was carried on. Nevertheless, we can learn more about communicative norms and linguistic attitudes looking more carefully at the reported interaction. The woman first addresses the mother in the "ceceante" Andalusian variety of Castilian (a variety which Pere evaluated negatively before, in his first story), and the use of Castilian by the woman decides the language of the interaction. Pere's mother, who is a Catalan speaker, would most probably also speak Castilian. At the same time, by imitating a particular low prestige Andalusian linguistic variety, he is trying to convey a negative image of the woman with the car.

5.4. The School of Education: "Working in small groups" 1

It is 9:35 in the morning when I connect the tape recorders on three different tables. The class of Pedagogy started at 9:15. The teacher explained the assignment the students have to do during the first part of the class, working in small groups. They have to imagine how to

distribute the space in a classroom given a number of constraints that she listed. Each group has to draw a plan, and in the second part of the class they will present the different plans for general discussion.

The group whose conversation I am presenting here is made up of three women -- Anna, Rosa, and Carmen. Two of them, Anna and Rosa, have Catalan as a mother tongue. The other, Carmen, has Castilian. Rosa speaks a Catalan almost without Castilian interferences, what people would call pur ("pure"); Anna's Catalan is also rather "pure" but more similar to the variety called "Barceloni". Both of them have a Catalan accent when they speak Castilian, stronger in Rosa's case than in Anna's. The Castilian speaker, Carmen, was born in Andalusia, but she has lost many of the Andalusian-Castilian traits; her Castilian is very standard although when the conversation becomes highly casual or when she speaks to her family (as she told me in an interview) some of these apparently lost traits reappear. She started speaking Castilian two years before, and her Catalan is correct, although she has a very noticeable Castilian accent. The three of them are good friends, and they do things together outside school. Anna and Rosa also share an apartment during the week, living with their families on weekends.

They start speaking about the academic subject in Catalan, without any problem, and the three of them

participate in the conversation. At a point, Anna switches the topic asking another woman (from another group, but sitting at the same table) if she has done the assignment for Castilian Literature. She switches the conversation towards a more personal and light tone. Rosa explains what they were doing the evening before while preparing the assignment at their apartment. Then Anna switches to Castilian to state an invented title for a supposed "Romance"(a traditional poetic composition in Castilian literature):

- (1) Anna: ... i aquesta es va inventar un Romance
 (2) entre una verdulera i un peixeter del mercat
 (3) de Cerdanyola...

{and this one invented a Romance between
 a greengrocer woman and a fish dealer of the
 Cerdanyola's market.}

After a long pause, they go back to their work,
 and the following piece of conversation takes
 place:

- (4) Rosa: Zona d'arxiu i documentació.
 {Zone of archive and documentation.}
- (5) Anna: Què?
 {What?}
- (6) Rosa: Zona d'arxiu i documentació, s'en diu

- (7) d'això.
- (8) Anna: [Què?
 {Zone of archive and documentation, is that
 called.
 [What?}]
- (9) Rosa: D'ar-xiu-i-doc-u-men-ta-ció.
 {Of archive and documentation.}
- (10) Anna: [to C] Sí, ya era eso, tú decías
- (11) Carmen: [Sí.
- (12) Anna: "concentración de conocimientos" pero
- (13) ya era eso.
 {Yes, that was it, you said
 Carmen: [Yes
 Anna: "concentration of knowledge" but that
 was it}]
- (14) Rosa: Ai! Pobre noia, pues se sembla bastant.
 {Ai! Poor girl, it's very similar.}
- (15) Anna: Sííí, arxiu i documentació.
 {Yes, archive and documentation.}
- (16) Rosa: Llavors, les zones aquestes de passada,
- (17) circulació...
 {So, these zones of passage, circulation...}

The conversation goes on. They talk about the drawing they are doing. They speak Catalan. Then,

Anna switches again to a personal topic, turning her head towards Carmen. Just a moment before that happens, Carmen has made a comment in Catalan. The conversation goes like this:

(18) Carmen: Va, i què posem d'això?
 {O.K., and what do we put about that?}

(19) Anna: Mira, me corté, Carmen, Carmen...

(20) Ahir va ser un dia negre per mi.
 {Look, I cut myself, Conchi, Conchi...
 Yesterday was a bad day for me.}

After that interruption, they went back to the topic of the class. And the three of them participate in the conversation. Always in Catalan. Anna makes fun of what they are doing. Now they are distributing the furniture around the classroom they are drawing, and they start talking about some furniture that would look odd, at least, in a classroom.

(21) Anna: No sé perquè li deien "tocador".
 {I don't know why they called it
 "dressing table".}

(22) Carmen: Perquè es feien tocados.
 {Because they did coiffures}

(23) Anna: !AH! !Oye! Como tú ... [laughters]

{AH! Listen! Like you... }

After the laughters, they go back to the topic and to the Catalan language. A little later, Carmen asks another group's people:

(26) Carmen: Què heu posat, d' això?

{What did you put regarding that?}

(27) Anna [imitating Andalusian accent]: Vaa,

(28) que noh copiamoh [laughters].

{Come on, we'll copy you}

Then, for a little while, the conversation goes on among the people of the two groups. They talk about the topic of the class, sharing their opinions.

When the conversation between the two groups ends, Rosa thanks them:

(29) Rosa: Mercès.

{Thanks}

(30) Anna: Gracias. --Usted las tiene todas

{Thanks. You have all the thanks [old formal and nice way to answer]}

Then, again, the conversation turns to a more personal tone, and they talk about what they are going to do in the afternoon:

(31) Carmen: Què voleu fer? A les tres?

{What do you wanna do? At three?}

(32) Anna [imitating again the Andalusian accent]: Yo...

conducí, mata...

{I will drive, kill...}

A while later they finished their assignment. Then, one or two people from each group had to draw their plan on the blackboard and explain it to the whole class. Carmen was the person from this group who did that, and she explained her group results to her classmates.

As can be observed, the episode is basically conducted in Catalan. Nevertheless, on several occasions, the Castilian language is also used. Looking carefully at the passages where this occurs, it can be noted that through the shift to Castilian special effects are reached.

Anna, who of the three most often shifts to Castilian, uses that language for two reasons: a) to make some personal remarks directly addressing Carmen, the Castilian speaker (lines 12-13 and 19), or b) as a rhetorical device to produce a humorous effect (lines 27-28, 30, and 32).

When the topic of their conversation is the assignment they are supposed to be doing, the language used by the three of them is Catalan. That shows that the school norm concerning language use, which specifies Catalan for

academic-public purposes, has been internalized and is applied when talking about an academic subject even working in small groups and having a Castilian speaker in the group. The shift to Castilian, then, clearly signals a shift in the topic (from academic to personal) and a shift in the tone of the conversation (from formal to light and personal).

In a conversation held some time after this episode was recorded, Carmen told me that when they are together outside the classroom (in or out school) they use Castilian much more often among them. She told me that many times it happens that she would speak Catalan and the others, especially Anna, would speak Castilian to her, so that each speaker is using the other's first language. This also happens in the episode recorded (lines 31-32), when Carmen asks a personal question to the other two in Catalan (lines 31-33) and Anna answers her in Castilian imitating an Andalusian accent. With her shifts, Anna is probably also evoking or recreating other more informal or more intimate situations by her use of Castilian.

Another interesting aspect to be noted is Anna's imitation of the Andalusian accent which has a humorous effect (lines 28 and 32). It has to be remembered that Carmen is Andalusian and that the three participants are good friends, so it is very improbable that the use of this linguistic variety has the same meaning that it had in the example presente in "telling news 2". There, we observed

that Pere used this accent to negatively describe a character in his story. Here, differently, it is used to create a light and friendly atmosphere. What happens is that at most Anna is probably relying on the second stereotype that was mentioned in section 2.4.2; this stereotype makes people think of the Andalusian dialect as funny, colorful and very appropriate for joking.

What is important to notice is that the two languages are perfectly integrated for people's communicative goals. Speakers take advantage of having two languages in their linguistic repertoire and use them rhetorically, achieving the same effects that other monolingual people would achieve by shifting among different styles of a single language.

5.5. The Elementary School: "Working in Small Groups" 2

The following conversation was recorded in the elementary school during a "working in small groups" session. The teacher has explained to the whole class how to play a game and distributed the necessary pieces. Each child has a set of ten cardboard pieces with numbers written in them; blue pieces have a whole number and orange pieces a fraction. Each child has them in two piles in front of his/her in such a way that they can not see the numbers. In the middle of each table there is a numbered board. Each child, at him/her turn, has to take one cardboard piece of each pile and has to calculate the fraction of the whole

number; for instance, if s/he has a card with $1/2$ and a card with 6, s/he has to calculate how much one half of six is, and then s/he will advance three positions in the numbered board.

In the table where I left the tape recorded there are five children. One, A, is a Castilian speaker; the other four are Catalan speakers. There are two boys, A and M, and three girls, Eu, An, and Al. A is one of the few children in the class who uses Catalan as little as possible; he even translates into Castilian some of the mathematical terminology, and mixes both languages frequently. Nevertheless, when he talks to the class, to the teacher or to me, he always uses Catalan. He is very responsible and the rest of the children respect him very much. He seems more mature than the others; he is a good student although sometimes, in math, for instance, he is a little slow.

Although M, Al and Eu have Catalan as a mother tongue, they speak Castilian very easily even if, as it is the case with M, they show a lot of interference. An, on the contrary, almost never speaks Castilian. Eu is a very good student, too, quiet and well behaved; M and An are average students, M is very talkative and moves a lot; Al always has problems understanding. The make up of this table is a good example of what was said before about the criteria for organizing the children around tables in the classroom. They are not organized by sex, language or school

performance, but in accordance with the way they relate to each other, to maximize the possibility that children help each other and get along well.

The conversation starts when Al asks the group who is going to start. Instead of getting an answer to her request, M asks A how many cardboard pieces each of them should have because he realizes that he has less than he thought he should have. A also realizes that he has some repeated numbers among his pieces. For a while the whole group keep talking about this, and I myself talk several times to the group to calm their spirits.

(1) Al: Qui comença? El M, l'Eu, l'An o l'A? Perquè jo...

{Who starts? M, Eu, An o A? Because I...}

(2) M: Tienen de haber diez, eh?

{They have to have ten, don't they?}

Pause, Al sings, the other are looking at they cards.

(3) M: A veure, vaig a contar jo els meus, eh?

{Let's see, I'm going to count mine, o.k.?}

Pause. They count.

(4) M: Yo tenía diez y ahora tengo ocho.

{I had ten and now I have eight}

Now the teacher is saying something to the class,

and A says something to M that is not audible; M answers:

(5) M: Claro que no, yo tenía diez.

{Sure I don't, I had ten}

(6) A: ¿Y cuántas tienes?

{And how many do you have?}

(7) M: Ahora tengo ocho.

{Now I have eight}

(8) An: Quants s'han perdut?

{How many have been lost}

(9) M: Jo tenia deu i ara en tinc vuit. He perdut dos.

{I had ten and now I have eight. I've lost two}

(10) A: Yo tengo números repetidos.

{I have some numbers twice}

(11) An: ¡Ale! Mira aquest!

{Hey!, look at this one!}

(12) Eu: Claro! Tenemos de tener nueve.

{That's it! We have to have nine}

(13) Amparo: A veure, a veure. Segur que tindreu els

(14) mateixos.

{Let's see, let's see. I'm sure you have the same}

- (15) A1: Aquests tenen divuit, jo no sé...
{They have eighteen, I don't know..}
- (16) M: Jo en tenia deu i ara en tinc vuit... dos,
(17) tres, quatre, cinc...
{I had ten and now I had eight... two, three,
four, five...}
- (18) Amparo: Veus, aquest es repetit, aquest també.
{You see, this one is repeated, this one too}
- (19) A: Jo també tinc de repetits.
{I also have some twice}
- (20) Amparo: Sí? Aquests de la bossa? Què no pot
(21) ser, no pot ser que...
{Do you? These on the purse? It can't be
it can't be that...}
- (22) M: A mí me faltan dos, no hay derecho.
{I don't have two, that's not fair}
- (23) A: Yo tengo dos de dieciocho.
{I have two eighteens}
- (24) M: A mí me faltan dos.
{I don't have two}
- (25) A1 [singing]: No puedo entender...
{I can't understand}

- (26) M: Jo tenia tres quatres, tres...
{I had three fours, three...}
- (27) A: ¡Seis! ¡Cuatro seises!
{Six! Four sixes!}
- (28) M: ¡Vale!
{All right!}
- (29) A: Tú tenías cuatro seises.
{You had four sixes}
- (30) An: Això, quan...
{This, when...}
- (31) M: Quatre ni un, ai! sis ni un.
{Not one four, I mean, not one six}
- (32) Eu: Tú que cartulina tenías, A?
{Which card did you have, A?}

This piece of conversation is a very good example of what is going on when communicative interaction becomes more private, when children relate to each other as peers without the teacher, the institutional intermediary, watching and evaluating their behavior, as is the case in "telling news".

Why does M speak Castilian so much? He could speak Catalan addressing the whole group, but if he does that it could also be interpreted as if he were only speaking to the three girls, leaving A out of the conversation. By speaking

Castilian he is clearly identifying with A, the only Castilian speaker in the table. There are two reasons to explain this linguistic choice. On the one hand, A is a boy, like himself, and for these children gender division is one of the primary criteria for grouping. As I observed everyday in the playground, they group always by gender. Boys would play soccer or something of the like, while girls would remain in small groups of two to four talking or playing some kind of quiet game. Now, working in small groups is like a bridge activity between formal, academic ones, like "telling news", and informal ones, like playing in the playground. By speaking Castilian so much, M is building the social relation based on gender division usual among them when they relate to each other as peers, eliminating the ambiguity that the use of Catalan could entail.

On the other hand, A is, as I said before, a good student respected by all his mates. Thus, since M is having some problems with his cards, he is interested in seeking A's attention because his respected position would assure that the game is not going to start without him. By clearly putting himself side by side with A, M is negotiating A's understanding and solidarity. Again, M's choice of using Castilian makes clear for everybody their roles in the interaction.

So, the explanation of M's use of Castilian goes

beyond the fact that A is a Castilian speaker, because, by his language choice, M is probably negotiating and establishing what the social rules and roles of their interaction in the small group are going to be, and these rules have to do with gender division and status.

There is a fragment of this conversation (lines 13 to 21) in which the use of Catalan is very consistent, and it is clearly marked by my presence among them trying to help them. This fragment, is the only occasion in which A speaks Catalan (line 19), and he does that to address me. Now, they are talking "to the institution" (since my presence in the classroom was associated with the teacher's role), and the institutional norm is applied without any problem. After a while, and probably seeing that I can not solve their problems, M speaks again in Castilian. In doing this language shift, he is switching the conversation from a formal interaction between the group and myself to the previous form of interaction among peers.

Chapter 6

THE INFORMANTS TALK ABOUT THEIR LINGUISTIC USE

4. 1. The Fifth Graders' Use of Catalan and Castilian

In June 1985, I returned to Bamby to play back some fragments of the tapes I recorded two years before. The students were now in seventh grade, some of them had left the school (6), and there were some new students (2). I went to the class with their fifth grade teacher; all of them were expecting me because they had seen me several times in the last weeks and seemed to be very happy about it.

I played some pieces of the recordings taped and they made comments on them. After a moment of surprise, they remembered exactly the scene that was being played, and a conversation about their use of Catalan and Castilian followed. After this conversation, I handed them a questionnaire to fill out about their use of both languages (see appendix one). In this questionnaire there were questions about what language they used at school and at home with different interlocutors (friends, teachers, parents, etc.). Here are some of the results.

Out of the total questionnaires collected (22), all but four (81.8%) said that they would answer in the language they would be addressed. Two (9.09%) said that they would answer always in Catalan; regarding the other two (9.09%),

one said that he would answer in Catalan but shifting to Castilian if he realized that the interlocutor did not understand him; The other said that he would generally answer in Castilian although he would do it in Catalan with some people.

About the language they reported being their first language, 14 said that it was Catalan, 4 that it was Castilian, and 4 that it was both, Catalan and Castilian. I think that some of them interpreted "first language" as the presently favored language, since I can positively state that some of those who answered "both" had Castilian as a mother tongue as was the case of A1 (see section 5 in chapter five).

The students who said they had Catalan as a mother tongue (14), reported the following use of the languages (see next table):

talking with	Catalan	Castilian	Both
teachers	14	0	0
classmates working	3	0	11
classmates playing	0	0	14
father	13	0	1
mother	13	0	1
brothers/ sisters	14	0	0
other kin at home	6	0	1
other kin visiting	9	0	5

As can be observed all CTs reported using Catalan with the teacher, and none of them reported using only Castilian for any item. Nevertheless, all of them reported that they used both languages when playing with their classmates, or, what is the same, no student spoke of using only Catalan when playing. Eleven (78.5%) students also said that they used both languages when working with their classmates; only three reported using only Catalan, and one of them was the boy that I presented in "Telling news" 1 and in "Working in small groups 2" as one of the children who shifted to Castilian very easily.

The students who reported having Castilian as a mother tongue, and those who reported having both languages manifested their uses of Catalan and Castilian as follows:

First language: CASTILIAN

talking with	Catalan	Castilian	Both
teachers	4	0	0
classmates working	0	2	2
classmates playing	0	2	1
father	1	2	1
mother	1	2	1
brothers/sisters	1	2	1
other kin at home	1		
other kin visiting	1	2	1

First Language: BOTH CATALAN AND CASTILIAN

talking with	Catalan	Castilian	Both
teacher	3	0	1
classmates working	0	1	3
classmates playing	0	1	3
father	0	4	0
mother	0	2	2
brothers/sisters	1	2	1
other kin at home	2	2	0
other kin visiting	0	4	0

The most evident results of these two last groups are 1) all but one reported using Catalan to speak with the teachers, and the one who did not, reported using both; 2) None of them reported using only Catalan to speak with their classmates either when working or playing. When working, three (37%) said they used Castilian and 5 (62.5%) said they used both. When playing, three (37%) said they used only Castilian, four (50%) said they used both languages, and one did not answer.

Although some contradictions have been found, these reported data basically confirm what we found through direct observation: Catalan is seen as the academic language by all children. In the family, Catalan speakers speak Catalan, while bilingual and Castilian speakers reported speaking both Catalan and Castilian (this should be object of further direct observation). Only three out of the total claimed to use only Catalan when working, and none of them claimed to use only Catalan when playing.

This reinforces our observations about how Castilian is still very much used in everyday communication in the classroom when no formal activities are carried out in it.

6.2. The Future Teachers's Use of Catalan and Castilian

In the questionnaire I gave them when I first asked them to be my informants, there was an open question about when and how they learned their second language. Since

there are not significant differences between group A and group B, I will refer to them as a whole here.

The important difference arises between the Catalan speakers' answers and the Castilian speakers' answers. All Catalan speakers said they learned Castilian before the age of six, whereas all (but five) Castilian speakers said they learned the Catalan language after the age of 13, and most of them said they started actually using that language between the ages of 16 and 19. That means that many of them started to speak Catalan when they entered the school of education, because it was required, although most of them already knew it and have had Catalan courses.

Catalan speakers said they learned Castilian through television, with friends, in the street, in the school, and an important number of them did not remember how they learned it. Most Castilian speakers said they learned Catalan in the school and some added that, besides the school, a relationship with some Catalan speaking friends also helped them to start learning speaking Catalan.

Both Catalan and Castilian speakers reported their mother tongue as the language they spoke at home (most of them still lived with their parents). Most Catalan speakers said that they also used Catalan outside home, although some of them said they used both languages. Most Castilian speakers said they spoke both Catalan and Castilian outside

home. The fact that Catalan seems to be more used is clearly due to the quantitatively greater amount of time these people spend at the school or at school work.

In April I gave them a second questionnaire (see appendix two). From February to the end of March, the third year students of Philology went to do what is called Pràctiques (practice teaching) in different elementary schools. For two months every one of them was in a superior cycle classroom (grades 6th to 8th) observing and helping the teachers in their professional tasks as a part of their training.

In the questionnaire I gave them I asked them about some sociolinguistic characteristics of the schools where they were and about their own use of Catalan and Castilian. Most of the schools they visited were public schools, because during the second year they visited mainly private schools. Also, many of them were schools with pedagogical concerns which have started implementing some kind of linguistic policy regarding the use and teaching of Catalan. That means that what we are going to present here should not be taken as a representative sample of the school situation of Catalonia. It can serve, nevertheless, for our purposes of understanding more fully what, if any, changes have occurred in the school system in Catalonia. For instance, the percentage of schools that use Catalan as the language of the school or that are pedagogically "active" is much

higher than the actual percentage for Barcelona or for its metropolitan area, as was presented in chapter three.

I collected 29 questionnaires in group B and 30 in group A. I will present the results separately because in some cases one student of one group and one of the other group were practicing at the same school, so it is not possible to simply add the results for the two class groups.

Public Schools Visited by Group A Students

school lang.	CT			CS			Both		
	8 (100 %)			4 (100 %)			18 (100 %)		
pupils' lang.	CT	CS	Both	CT	CS	Both	CT	CS	Both
teachers' lang.	25.0	75.0	75.0	100	50.0	25.0*	16.6	5.5	77.7
IN THE CLASSROOM									
teacher to pupils	75.0	25.0	25.0	50.0	50.0	16.6	22.2	61.1	
teacher among pupils	50.0	12.5	37.5	100	100	5.5	61.1	33.3	
	12.5	37.5	50.0	100	100	5.5	83.3	11.1	
THE STUDENT									
w/ pupils	75.0	12.5	12.5	25.0	75.0	50.0	16.6	33.3	
w/ teachers	75.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	75.0	33.3	66.6		
w/ adm. staff	75.0	12.5	12.5	25.0	75.0	33.3	44.4	22.2	

Public Schools Visited by Group B Students

school lang.	CT 12 (100 %)			CS 6 (100 %)			Both 4 (100 %)		
	CT	CS	Both	CT	CS	Both	CT	CS	Both
pupils' lang.	25.0	33.3	41.6	----	83.3	16.6	25.0	25.0	50.0
teachers' lang.	91.6	----	8.3	33.3	50.0	16.6	25.0	----	75.0
IN THE CLASSROOM									
teacher to pupils	83.3	----	16.6	----	100	----	25.0	----	75.0
pupils to teacher	33.3	33.3	33.3	----	100	----	----	----	100
among pupils	25.0	50.0	25.0	----	100	----	25.0	50.0	25.0
THE STUDENT									
w/ pupils	75.0	----	25.0	----	83.3	16.6	75.0	----	25.0
w/ teachers	91.6	----	8.3	16.6	16.6	66.6	100	----	----
w/ adm. staff	75.0	16.6*	----	66.6	33.3	----	50.0	25.0*	----

* One did not answer.

As the tables show, when Catalan was the official school language, there were many schools where Castilian, or both Catalan and Castilian were the languages of the children and of the teachers. In the classrooms visited by the students, Castilian was also used by the pupils, although the teachers were reported to address the children always in Catalan. A student said "Catalan children speak Catalan among themselves, but they address the non-Catalan speakers in Castilian. Castilians almost always speak Castilian".

When the language of the school was Castilian, the consistency regarding language use was greater than in the former case. Castilian was the language of the children and the teachers in most of these schools, and it was almost the only language used in the classrooms visited by the

students. When the school did not have one or the other language as the school language, the situation was more diverse, although, in general, Castilian by itself or along with Catalan predominated.

One thing to take into account, as we said in chapter three, is that public schools in Catalonia have had traditionally more problems for renovation and change at the pedagogical as well as at the management level. Until a few years ago, they depended on the central government and were very traditional and authoritarian. Besides, in many cases, they concentrate teachers from outside Catalonia as well as immigrants' children, so catalanization is more difficult to be implemented there.

Regarding the students' s (the future teachers) use of the language, what seems to condition their choice between Catalan and Castilian is the language of the schools, on the one hand, and the language of the interlocutor, on the other. There are many students who made comments in the questionnaire to explain why they chose one language or the other; here are some of them (the students who wrote these were in schools where Catalan was the institutional language):

"I tried to use Catalan, but sometimes with the Castilian speaking pupils I used Castilian".

"I spoke Castilian [to the administrative staff] since

they were Castilian speakers" or, as another says, "because this was their language".

"I would speak Catalan and Castilian depending on the teacher's language".

What was probably the case was that they tried to use Catalan for academic purposes, since it was the language of the school. Then, for interpersonal communication outside the classroom, they would use more Castilian depending on the language of the person with whom they were speaking.

One student who was in a school without an "institutional" language said: "I used preferably Catalan, but I often switched to Castilian to eliminate 'barriers'"; and another: "In most of the cases, the language of the administrative staff was Castilian, therefore the language I used was Castilian".

In these examples, I have underlined the words since, because, and therefore, because, as logical relators, they express perfectly the norm of switching to Castilian if this is the perceived language of the interlocutor. Furthermore,, this norm operates even in domains where the institutional language is Catalan or where the choice is apparently free.

CEPEPC Schools Visited by the Students

Total schools	GROUP A 4 (100 %)			GROUP B 5 (100 %)		
	CT	CS	Both	CT	CS	Both
school lang.	100.0	-----	-----	100.0	-----	-----
pupils' lang.	100.0	-----	-----	100.0	-----	-----
teachers' lang.	100.0	-----	-----	100.0	-----	-----
IN THE CLASSROOM						
teacher to pupils	100.0	-----	-----	100.0	-----	-----
pupils to teacher	100.0	-----	-----	80.0	20.0	-----
among pupils	75.0	-----	25.0	80.0	20.0	-----
THE STUDENT						
w/ pupils	100.0	-----	-----	100.0	-----	-----
w/ teachers	100.0	-----	-----	100.0	-----	-----
w/ adm. staff	75.0*	-----	-----	100.0	-----	-----

* One did not answer.

The first thing to note is the high level of consistency reported in this type of school. Catalan was the language reported to be used always except among the children or, in one case, when they addressed the teacher. This confirms what was found in Bamby School. As has been said, CEPEPC schools have very clear pedagogical and linguistic programs, all the teachers are Catalan speakers and work all together. What was probably an error of perception is that Catalan was reported to be the language of all the children in all the school visited. Knowing this type of school, it is hard to believe that there were not any Castilian speaking children.

Private Schools Visited by the Students

	GROUP A			GROUP B		
	3 (100 %)			3 (100 %)		
Total schools	CT	CS	Both	CT	CS	Both
school lang.	100.0	-----	-----	66.6	33.3	-----
pupils' lang.	66.6	-----	33.3	66.6	33.3	-----
teachers' lang.	100.0	-----	-----	66.6	-----	33.3
IN THE CLASSROOM						
teacher to pupils	66.6	-----	33.3	66.6	-----	33.3
pupils to teacher	66.6	-----	33.3	66.6	33.3	-----
among pupils	100.0	-----	-----	33.3	33.3	33.3
THE STUDENT						
w/ pupils	100.0	-----	-----	66.6	33.3	-----
w/ teachers	100.0	-----	-----	66.6	-----	33.3
w/ adm. staff	100.0	-----	-----	66.6	-----	33.3

All the schools visited by group A students had Catalan as the school language, and, logically, the situation was very similar to the one described for the CEPEPC schools visited. For the schools visited by group B students, the situation was different because the presence of Castilian varied according to whether Catalan or Castilian was the school language.

As we said before, these reported data seem to tell us that Catalan is used for academic purposes if it is the institutional language, with some exceptions in the public schools because of their particular history and characteristics. Castilian is very much used when it is the language of the school (more than Catalan in the same cases) or where the choice of one language or the other is not required at the institutional level. So, when the institutional norm specifying Catalan does not apply, we

find that the implicit norm operates, which makes people shift to Castilian when a Castilian speaker is present. What is important to note, nevertheless, is the fact that in some schools the Catalan language is indeed seen as the prestige language, and it is used as such.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

7.1. Conflict Between Change And Persistence In Everyday Communication.

In the preceding chapter we brought evidence of the tension between change and persistence of the previous norms of communicative behavior regarding language use and choice in everyday classroom interaction.

The data presented and analyzed reveal an important change, almost unthinkable only some years ago. The Catalan language has become in a certain number of schools the primary language, the "H" language, using Ferguson's (1959) terminology; the language used for all formal, academic purposes. In the schools studied, the Catalan language is used always by the teachers (except when teaching Castilian or another language, or, in the case of the school of education, except for a small number of non-Catalan speaking teachers). Catalan is the language used in all written communication issued by the school and it is the language used by the students to address the teachers and the class in the course of academic activities. In fact, we observed how the actual use of the Catalan language can signal that a formal, academic, public activity is being carried out.

When in 1978 H. Calsamiglia and I (Calsamiglia and

Tuson 1980, 1984) did fieldwork in a neighborhood of Barcelona, we were optimistic and thought that a change in linguistic norms was starting to take place. We would hardly have thought, however, that seven years later a situation like the one just described would be found to have such numeric importance. The same can be said, I believe, with respect to Woolard's work (Woolard 1983). In these studies, Castilian was the language found to be used for almost all public and formal purposes in public life.

Thus, first and foremost, it has to be reported that a change is occurring in the Catalan society regarding communicative norms. If some years ago it could be said that the Catalan language was not necessary to "survive" in any domain of the Catalan society, now it has to be admitted that there is at least a part of the academic domain where the Catalan language is necessary to survive. And we are not talking about some kind of elitist, upper class schools: the school of education belongs to a public university, and the elementary school is a neighborhood school that, although now private will soon become public. Obviously, we are also not talking about lower lower class schools, but rather something intermediate. In the schools studied (and in similar others, as the CEPEPC schools) all children have to speak and write the Catalan language to be able to follow the everyday activities of the schools. And they do. Successfully. In the classrooms observed we did not observe

that school failure/success was due to the mother tongue of the individual by itself, as we pointed out in the previous chapter.

Yet, another piece of evidence comes from the data analyzed: Catalan speakers use the Castilian language to address a Castilian speaker (even knowing that they speak Catalan fluently) in personal communication, and for rhetorical reasons to create the image of a situation.

So, in the settings studied, where Catalan is the language used for formal purposes, Castilian is often used to signal, or create informal, intimate communicative interchanges when someone whose mother tongue is Castilian is present, or when a situation like this is evoked. Thus, whereas in the public, formal level a change is observed, the analysis of interpersonal communication at the informal level and the reports given by the students of situations like this tell us that the previous norm still persists, since Catalan speakers shift to Castilian when they speak with Castilian speakers even if they can speak Catalan. Nevertheless, the changes in progress affect the consistency and the strength of the norm, characterizing the current period in the academic domain as transitional.

Can we generalize from the settings studied to the broader society? I think that to a certain extent we can. But first, we have to address two main issues. First of all, we are talking about a specific domain, the school, and

some would said that what happens inside the school has little to do with the broader society. Secondly, we are talking about two schools where the use of Catalan is required, favored, and promoted, and in the Catalan society the use of Catalan, except for a small number of jobs, is not required.

Regarding the first issue, I would argue, picking up on what was said in chapter one, that the school, and especially what happens in the classroom if deeply analyzed, can be taken as a microcosm where socio-cultural norms, values, and relationships are created and recreated through communicative interaction and evaluation. Rules of socialization are learned through everyday interaction in the classroom and in the playground.

Regarding the second issue, I would argue that if Castilian is still very much used by Catalan speakers, alongside Catalan, in a domain where the use of Catalan is required and positively evaluated, it is reasonable to assume that it would be much more used in situations where its use is not required.

So, we have a puzzling situation: on the one hand, we have a change in the explicit norms that govern language use and choice for public and formal purposes in a part of the school domain; and this change affects people's actual linguistic and communicative behavior in these contexts.

But, on the other hand, we also have the previous norm operating at the informal, personal, intimate, and rhetorical level. This was observed in two settings where the conditions for the use of Catalan were extremely good. Traditionally, as we have said, the school has been seen as one of the main factors of Catalanization of the whole society. To what extent can the school contribute to the change of linguistic behavior of the broader society?

As our data and other studies show, today, Catalan speaking children learn the Castilian language before attending school, whereas Castilian speaking children only learn Catalan (if they do) through the school. And, even in the more "pro-Catalan" schools, the previous norms, when people are not involved in a formal situation, persist.

The problem formulated in chapter one is raised again: What happens today in Catalonia is that the school is asked to teach the children some communicative norms regarding language use that are different from those operating outside the school, in the broader Catalan society. This statement throws some light on what the problem is.

In fact, the "Catalan schools" are acting as a microcosms of the desired Catalanization; they are seen as one of the strongest means at hand to peacefully achieve linguistic normalization. But, again, to what extent can a minority of schools (8.98% totally Catalanized, plus 17.82%

in process of Catalanization) change the communicative norms of a society?

In 1979, the group of Catalan intellectuals who signed the "Manifiesto de Bellaterra" (Argente et al. 1979) claimed that to teach Catalan as a subject matter would be negative for Catalanization, because the contents of instruction in the current school were not seen as useful to "real" life.

Now, children attending "Catalan schools" learn the Catalan language and how to use it for any school activity, especially those which involve hierarchical relationships such as talking to the teacher, or "public" such as talking to the class. These children are learning one set of rules regarding language choice to apply in the school, and another set of rules to apply in the broader society. Do these two set of rules interfere with each other? Can one of them occupy the domain of the other?. What the data analyzed show is that they can be perfectly compatible. Again, whether or not the new norm is going to be applied later on outside the school is something that depends on other factors.

Something similar can be said with respect to the student teachers observed. They are perfectly capable of teaching in Catalan, but during the practice time they used the Catalan language only if it was the language of the

school where they were practicing, and most of them said that they would do the same thing when truly teaching. Besides, in all the informal conversations analyzed the existence of the previous norm was observed.

Consequently, all the evidence presented points to the fact that the new norm applies only if required. Thus, without denying the importance of the changes achieved until now, the future of the linguistic normalization remains dubious.

Another general consideration regards the use of code-switching as a symbolic device. What our data show is that the binomial "one language-one situation" does not always work. Bilingual speakers have the two languages integrated and use them for communicative purposes in the same way that a monolingual person would use different styles of one language. Our informants rely on linguistic diversity as a part of their cultural world, and they take advantage of it to accomplish their communicative intents. They use diversity positively to enrich their talk and to achieve some rhetorical effects.

7.2. Methodological Remarks.

Finally, I would like to make some methodological remarks about the approach used, and basically about the adequacy of the qualitative analysis of language use to understand social processes.

People in the same community share a set of strategies regarding language use. These strategies vary depending on the situation, the activity, the goals, the actors, and so on. Linguistic cues are used to signal what kind of situation is being built through communicative interaction. These cues can be segmental or suprasegmental, and, as we have seen, the selection of a given linguistic variety is one among them.

The direct observation of people's linguistic behavior gives us actual evidence of how these strategies work in everyday interactions. Then, through the careful analysis of discourse content, we can discover how much information has been lexicalized and how much has been left to be interpreted through inference (and through which mechanisms). When discovering strategies, we are discovering which are the norms that govern people's linguistic behavior. In processes of macro-changes, like the one that is taken place in Catalonia today, the knowledge of the internal mechanisms regulating people's use and selection of languages is highly important.

The problems of language use are direct constituents of the socio-cultural problems of a given society. For this reason it is always necessary to have a deep knowledge of the historical and socio-cultural reality of the community under study. This is the reason why two chapters of this study are dedicated to explore the history and current state

of relations between language, society and school in Catalonia. But the process of knowledge is a dialectical one, because in learning about a given community we learn about its linguistic usages and policies; and, conversely, in analyzing language use, we are learning about the dynamics of a given society since language is a direct reflection of the social universe in which people live.

Everyday life is carried out through continuous interactions in which language plays a crucial role. Social reality is created, maintained and changed in the very course of these interactions. The school, taken as one of the institutions encharged with teaching individuals the rules that govern life in their society, is an especially interesting domain to be observed. In the school, each piece of behavior is a matter of evaluation. As we said at the beginning of this study, evaluation operates primarily through the use of language in all the different communicative situations which take place everyday within the school: in the classroom as well as in the playground; between teacher and students as well as between students themselves; in formal as well as in informal situations.

Through this study we have learned something more about the important role that language plays in everyday life. Language is one of the main activities of human beings, and it becomes a key marker of identity and an instrument to create social reality. We also learned that

the role of the school as a factor of change can be important but not decisive given the importance that other social factors, and first among them, the media, are taking today in presenting to people patterns of behavior in a more powerful manner than the school does.

And last, but not least, we have learned that focussing on language use, analyzing situated discourse through qualitative methods, can help us a great deal to understand the complexity of social life, of cultural processes, and of human behavior in general.

APPENDIX ONE
Questionnaire Given to the Fifth Graders.
Catalan Version.

NOM:

COGNOMS:

1a llengua: Català Castellà .

1. Quina llengua uses quan parles amb

CATALÀ CASTELLÀ LES DUES

- a) Els mestres
- b) Els companys, quan treballeu...
- c) Els companys, quan jugueu.....
- d) El pare
- e) La mare
- f) Els germans
- g) Altres familiars que viuen a
casa teva.....
- h) Altres familiars, de visita....
2. Quan algú se't dirigeix en català, en quina llengua
li contestes?
3. Quan algú se't dirigeix en castellà, en quina llengua
li contestes?
4. Quina llengua uses més?
- Català Castellà Les dues igual
5. Quins programes de televisió t'agraden mes?
6. Veus TV3? Sí No
7. Quins programes de TV3 t'agraden més?
8. Quin canal de televisió t'agrada més?
- TV1 TV2 TV3
- Per què?

Questionnaire Given to the Fifth Graders.
English Translation.

NON:

COGNOMS:

First language: Catalan Castilian

1. Which language uses when speaking with

CATALAN CASTILIAN BOTH

- a) The teachers.....
- b) Your classmates, when working...
- c) Your classmates, when playing...
- d) Your father.....
- e) Your mother.....
- f) Your brothers and sisters..
- g) Other relatives living
at home.....
- h) Other relatives, visiting..

2. When someone addresses you in Catalan, in which language do you answer?3. When someone addresses you in Castilian, in which language do you answer?

4. Which language do you use more?

Catalan Castilian Both the same

5. Which programs in TV do you like more?

6. Do you watch TV3? Yes No

7. Which TV3 programs do you like more?

8. Which TV channel do you like more?

TV1 TV2 TV3

Why?

APPENDIX TWO
Questionnaire Given to the Future Teachers.
Catalan Version.

1. Nom:
2. Escola de pràctiques:
3. Localitat:
4. Tipus d'escola:
5. Llengua/es de l'escola:
6. Llengua/es dels alumnes:
7. Llengua/es dels mestres:
8. A l'aula on tu eres, quina llengua usava/en:
 - a) El/la mestre/a amb els alumnes?
 - b) Els alumnes amb el/la mestre/a?
 - c) Els alumnes entre ells?
 - d) Els alumnes amb tu?
9. Quina llengua useves tu amb:
 - a) Els alumnes?
 - b) Els mestres?
 - c) El personal no docent?
10. Observacions.

Questionnaire Given to the Future Teachers.
English Translation.

1. Name:
2. School where student teacher work was performed:
3. Place:
4. Type of school:
5. School language/s:
6. Pupils' language/s:
7. Teachers' language/s:
8. In the classroom where you were, which language was used by:
 - a) The teacher with the pupils?
 - b) The pupils with the teacher?
 - c) The pupils among themselves?
 - d) The pupils with you?
9. Which language did you use with:
 - a) The pupils?
 - b) The teachers?
 - c) The administrative staff?
10. Remarks.

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