

Situation of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia (títol provisional)

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Extensió total: unes 60 pàgines

1 Foreword

This booklet aims to provide foreign readers with basic information about the situation of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia today. It covers topics such as the following:

- the linguistic and historical background
- knowledge and use of both languages in key areas of society
- relations between speakers of Catalan and Spanish
- language policy.

The information refers the part of Catalonia currently under the jurisdiction of the Catalan autonomous government (Generalitat). It does not cover Valencia and the Balearic Islands where Catalan is also spoken, nor Andorra or the Catalan-speaking parts of France or Italy.

It is based on both data and opinions. The opinions include those of the writer who has a long acquaintance with Catalonia, dating back to the early 1960s, and has been resident there for twenty years.

It argues essentially that Catalan is a language which displays considerable vitality despite certain important handicaps. Foremost among these are the persecution it has suffered under successive Spanish governments (notably that of General Franco), the competition of Spanish in present-day society, and the fact that it lacks the kind of support that only a strong sovereign state could provide.

It also reflects the view that measures to protect and foster languages, especially lesser spoken languages which have been persecuted, are not only legitimate but necessary, provided they are carried out within the limits of democracy and respect for the right of other language groups. It is the view of the author that these conditions are fulfilled in Catalonia today.

NOTA:

1) Text provisional! Alguns apartats i subapartats no estan acabats. No s'ha fet una relectura com Déu mana!

2) L'ordre dels apartats és indicatiu. El text no està pensat per a una lectura "linear" sinó per ser fullejat.

2 The Catalan language –a family portrait

Catalan is a member of the family of romance languages into which the vulgar Latin spoken in the different parts of the Roman Empire evolved over the centuries. Other related tongues include Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, Romansch and Provençal. From its original territory, stretching from just south of Barcelona to beyond the present French/Spanish border, the language spread to lands further south, east and west which were conquered from Arabs and to various other points in the Mediterranean. Speakers of Catalan today are found in four European states: Spain (Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands and parts of Aragon and Murcia), Andorra, France (department of Pyrénées Orientales), and Italy (the Sardinian town of L'Alguer/Alghero).

2.1 Relatives and neighbours

Catalan has many words and expressions in common with other languages that derive largely from Latin. The differences between them can be explained by a variety of factors:

while some words and other features evolved direct from classical Latin, others developed from the different varieties of vulgar Latin that were spoken at different times and in different parts of the Empire;

each language has been influenced in a different way, according to historical circumstances, by other languages –the pre-Roman languages spoken in the area, Germanic and Slavonic languages, Arabic, Hebrew, Basque, and others.

Here are a few examples to illustrate the extent of the differences, and similarities, between Catalan, two of its most closely related sister languages, Spanish and French, and English.

Sentences made up of more abstract, academic words often look almost identical, not only in the different Romance languages, but in English as well (though of course they would sound very different if pronounced out loud).

English	<i>The United Nations</i>	<i>decided</i>	<i>to intervene</i>	<i>in the conflict.</i>
Catalan	Les Nacions Unides	van decidir	intervenir	en el conflicte.
Spanish	Las Naciones Unidas	decidieron	intervenir	en el conflicto.
French	Les Nations Unies	ont décidé	d'intervenir	dans le conflit.

In the following example, using more down-to-earth vocabulary, the differences are greater and the points of coincidence more unpredictable: sometimes a Catalan word may look like the Spanish, French or English equivalent, and sometimes it may resemble none of them.

English.	The shops	will be closed	tomorrow	in most	cities.
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Catalan.	Les botigues	seran tancades	demà	a la majoria de	ciutats.
Spanish.	Las tiendas	estarán cerradas	mañana	en la mayoría de	ciudades.
French.	Les magasins	seront fermés	demain	dans la plupart des	villes.

A Catalan restaurant might offer its customers the following choice of dishes, which reflects a similar blend of similarities and differences.

GB MENU salad (lettuce, tomato, carrot, olives) beef stew with mushrooms strawberry ice cream coffee or tea

E MENÚ ensalada (lechuga, tomate, zanahoria, aceitunas) estofado de ternera con setas helado de fresa café o té

CAT MENÚ amanida (enciam, tomàquet, pastanaga, olives) estofat de vedella amb bolets gelat de maduixa café o té

F MENU salade (laitue, tomates, carottes, olives) ragout de boeuf aux champignons glace aux fraises café ou thé.
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2.2 Catalan and Spanish - a different music

Catalan and Spanish sound noticeably different even to the foreign ear. The sharp, staccato quality of Spanish is quite distinctive. Catalan, with its open vowels, sounds “broader” and has a softer, lisping sound, reminiscent of Portuguese.

The differences can be explained by phonetics. Certain sounds which are common in Spanish are lacking in Catalan, for instance the guttural Spanish j or g (symbol) (similar to Scottish loch) as in Quijote, or the Spanish c or z (symbol) (like English th in thin), as in González or Cáceres. (Foreigners should note that the name of the Catalan capital is

pronounced “Barthelona” *only by Spaniards*, the genuine Catalan pronunciation being virtually the same as in English!)

In contrast, the following consonant sounds which are common in Catalan do not exist in Spanish:

Phonetic symbol	Imitated pronunciation	Catalan spelling	Examples of Catalan words
	sh in English shot	x or ix	caixa (box, savings bank), xocolata (chocolate)
	s in English measure or vision	g or j	germà (brother), jardí (garden)
	l in the Scottish pronunciation of lost (similar to English Baltic)	l	pernil (ham)
	similar to ll in Italian bella or taglatelli	ll (this letter is specific to Catalan)	intel.ligent, novel.la
	s in English rose	s or z	casa (house), zero

Some of the consonant sounds which Catalan shares with Spanish are found at the end of words in Catalan but never in Spanish and Spaniards have considerable difficulties pronouncing them in this position. Examples are:

- m in words like plugim (drizzle)
- ll (symbol – similar to English million) in words like vall (valley)
- ny (symbol – similar to English onion) in words like seny (common sense).

Whereas Spanish has only the five basic vowel sounds, the Catalan vowels e and o can be either open or closed. The difference is something like that between sell and they, or coffee and note in English and is sufficient to differentiate between otherwise identical words, as for example in bota (boot) and bóta (barrel). In the Catalan spoken in Barcelona, northern Catalonia and the Balearic islands, there is also a neutral vowel, similar to English butter, which does not exist in Spanish. Examples are the final vowels in porta (door) or pare (father).

2.3 Language, people and country

Each language is a mirror of the experience and wisdom of countless generations of speakers, their tears and laughter, their fears and hopes, their interaction, year in, year out, with the landscape and climate in which they have lived and died. A language is also, to a lesser degree, the reflection of the roots its people share with the inhabitants of other lands, notably their nearest neighbours.

The following short list of Catalan proverbs and sayings, along with their Spanish, French and English equivalents, illustrates that combination of uniqueness and permeability which makes Catalan, like all other languages, a treasure of human experience in a particular area of the planet. While some expressions are virtually identical in the different languages, others are quite original, the ultimate choice of words and images being dictated by the intricate web of inter-relationships created by the sharing of land, climate and history, and by the singular “music” of each tongue.

GB.	It's raining cats and dogs.	
CAT.	Plou a bots i barrals.	(It's raining gourds and pitchers.)
E.	Llueve a cántaros.	(It's raining pitchers.)
F.	Il pleut des cordes.	(It's raining ropes.)
GB.	That's a horse of a different colour / a different kettle of fish.	
CAT.	Això són figues d'un altre paner.	(Those are figs from a different basket.)
E.	Esto es harina de otro costal.	(That is flour from a different sack.)
F.	C'est une autre paire de manches.	(That's a different pair of sleeves.)
GB.	To be born with a silver spoon in your mouth.	
CAT.	Néixer amb la flor al cul.	(To be born with a flower in your arse)
E.	Nacer con estrella.	(To be born with a star)
F.	Naître avec une cuillère d'argent dans la bouche.	(= English)
GB.	Much ado about nothing.	
CAT.	Moltes bufes i pocs trons.	(A lot of puffing and not much thunder.)
E.	Mucho ruido y pocas nueces.	(A lot of rattling and not many walnuts.)
F.	Beaucoup de bruit pour rien.	(A lot of noise for nothing.)
GB.	He who laughs last, laughs longest.	
CAT.	Riurà bé qui riurà darrer.	(= English)
E.	El último es él que ríe bien.	(= English)
F.	Rira bien qui rira le dernier.	(= English)

GB.	As deaf as a post.	(Extremely deaf)
CAT.	Sord com una campana.	(As deaf as a bell)
E.	Sordo como una tapia.	(As deaf as mud wall)
F.	Sourd comme un pot / comme une bécasse.	(As deaf as a pot / as a woodcock)
GB.	The early bird catches the worm.	
CAT.	Qui s'aixeca de matí, pixa allà on vol.	(He who rises early can piss where he likes.)
E.	Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda.	(God helps him who rises early.)
F.	A qui se lève matin, Dieu aide et prête la main.	(= Spanish)
GB.	A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.	
CAT.	Més val pardal a la mà que una grua enlaire.	(A sparrow in the hand is worth more than a crane in the sky.)
E.	Más vale pájaro en mano que ciento volando.	(A bird in the hand is worth more than a hundred in flight.)
F.	Un "tiens" vaut mieux que deux "tu l'auras".	(Better "Here it is" once than "You'll have it later" twice)

Just as languages are the mirror of a people's experience, so the names that identify families and places in a particular land are forged with the tools of that country's language. Catalan surnames and place names provide a clear illustration that Catalan is the language that has been spoken in Catalonia for countless centuries. Some of the most common surnames, for instance, are everyday Catalan words referring to:

features of the landscape:	Pla, Puig, Riu, Camp, Pou, Castell (plain, hill, river, field, well, castle)
plants and animals:	Alsina, Om, Romaní, Bou, Conill (holm oak, elm, rosemary, ox, rabbit)
occupations:	Fuster, Ferrer, Pagès, Forner (carpenter, smith, farmer, baker)
colours:	Blanc, Negre, Roig, (black, white, red)

Catalan forenames, such as Pere, Joan, or Miquel, are frequently found as surnames too. In contrast, the most characteristic Spanish surnames, in which a genitive suffix, usually –ez, is added to the father's Christian name (Sánchez, "son of Sancho", Fernández "son of Fernando" etc.) are totally absent (present-day Catalans who have such names are Spanish immigrants or their descendents).

Numerous place names, in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the coastal regions of Valencia also derive from Catalan words (though some, of course, are Catalanized versions of even more ancient pre-Roman, Basque or Arabic names). Place names whose meaning is obvious in modern Catalan include the following which may be familiar to foreign tourists:

Montserrat	saw mountain	Costa Brava	wild coast
Montjuïc	Jewish mountain	Aiguablava	blue water
Rambla	stream (a word that entered Catalan from Arabic)	Calella	little cove
		Poblet	hamlet
Sitges	silo	Ciutadella	small (fortified) city
Port de la Selva	forest harbour		

3 The Catalan language – the past

3.1 An outline history of the country

It was Charlemagne's heirs who laid the foundations of the future Catalonia in the 9th century when they settled and began to govern the lands on either side of the eastern Pyrenees to create a buffer against the Moorish caliphates who ruled the centre and south of the Iberian peninsula. Gradually these lands became independent from the empire and the counts of Barcelona acquired supremacy over their peers. In the 12th century the federated kingdom of Catalonia and Aragon was born of the marriage between a daughter of the Count of Barcelona and the King of neighbouring Aragon. That kingdom was itself united to Castile in the late 15th century by another dynastic marriage, that of Ferdinand of Aragon and Catalonia to Isabel of Castile – the “Catholic Kings”. It is from this point –and from this point only- that Catalonia can be considered a part of Spain.

Prior to this, however, Catalonia had enjoyed a long period of prosperity and prestige under a government which, for the period, was highly democratic. The Catalan monarch met with representatives of the nobles, the clergy and the boroughs to discuss matters of public interest as early as the 13th and in 1283 royal power was further limited when the parliament appointed an executive to govern the country between sessions. It was from this executive, which acted on behalf of the entire parliament or “generality”, that the present Catalan government, the Generalitat, took its name. Throughout the Middle Ages Catalan trade and industry flourished and the country's political and commercial influence extended all over the Mediterranean. The Catalan language spread to the kingdoms of Valencia and Majorca which had been reconquered from the Arabs in the 12th and 13th centuries and was extensively used as a language of literature, philosophy, law and government.

The colonization of America, however, caused trade routes to shift from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and the centre of power and wealth moved to Castile. Catalonia continued to enjoy self-government until the absolutist Bourbon dynasty succeeded to the throne of Spain in the early 18th century. It was the Bourbon King Philip V who, from 1714 onwards, abolished the remaining Catalan organs of government, imposed Castilian law, and launched the first concerted attempt to eradicate Catalan and make Castilian the only language of Spain. This language policy was pursued by successive Spanish governments, in different forms and with varying intensity, for over 250 years until the advent of democratic rule after the death of General Franco.

Despite the adverse political and linguistic situation, Catalonia enjoyed a period of renewed prosperity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Trade with the American colonies and the Industrial Revolution had paved the way for the mid-19th century economic boom. This in turn prompted a cultural revival, the *Renaixença*, or rebirth, backed by a thriving industrial bourgeoisie constantly at odds with a central government dominated by the great landowners of the centre and south of the peninsula. In the wake of the *Renaixença* all forms of culture, flourished and Catalan, which had declined into a mainly spoken tongue, gradually became once more language a language of poets, playwrights and novelists. To facilitate their task distinguished philologists endowed it with dictionaries and works of grammar based on both medieval and contemporary usage.

For two brief periods in the first half of the 20th century Catalonia recovered some degree of control over her own affairs, notably in the early 1930s. After the Civil War, everything changed once more: the democratically elected Catalan government was abolished, its President shot, and persecution of the Catalan language was resumed with unprecedented harshness until the death of Franco in 1975.

Since 1981 Catalonia has enjoyed self-government. It has its own parliament and its government, the Generalitat, which exercises the powers assigned to it under the Spanish Constitution and its own Statute of Self-government in fields including culture and education. Catalan, now enjoys official status to which it is entitled as Catalonia's own language, alongside Spanish, the official language of Spain.

3.1.1 Quote

Pierre Vilar: "Between 1250 and 1350 the Principality of Catalonia may be the European country to which it would be least incorrect to apply the apparently anachronic terms of political and economic imperialism and nation state ... This (Catalan political) creation is remarkable ... especially on account of its precociousness. Language, territory, economic life, the shaping of a mentality, a cultural community –the fundamental conditions of a nation– are already fully present as early as the 13th century."

3.2 The Catalan language through the ages

Catalan has been the language spoken in the area we now call Catalonia since the 8th century when the lands on either side of the eastern Pyrenees were settled by envoys of the Carolingian empire. The first traces of the written language appear in the 9th century in the form of isolated Catalan words in Latin documents. The influence of oral Catalan is also clearly perceptible during the following centuries in the Latin used by notaries to draft legal documents.

The oldest surviving fragment of a literary text comes from a Catalan translation of a work on Visigothic law entitled *Forum Iudicum*. It is believed to have been written in the early 12th century. The earliest complete document in Catalan which has come down to us is a set of commentaries on biblical texts known as the *Homilies d'Organyà* (Organyà sermons) which has been dated round about the year 1200. By the 13th century a Catalan translation of the Bible had been made and there are indications of an earlier version (12th century).

Catalan was subsequently used in legal and court documents and to draft the chronicles of Catalan monarchs. Distinguished writers in the Catalan language came, not only from Catalonia proper, but from other kingdoms the Catalan-Aragonese federation: Ramon Llull, one of the first writers, in the 13th C., to write works of philosophy in the vernacular, was from Majorca whereas the gifted .. C. poet Ausiàs March was from Valencia, like Joanot Martorell, the author of *Tirant lo Blanch*, which is considered the earliest forerunner of the modern novel.

Catalonia went into an economic decline after it became part of Spain in the 15th century and literary output followed suit. In the wake of the War of Spanish Succession (1705-14) which put the Bourbon dynasty on the throne of Spain, Spanish was imposed as the only

language of government, education and public life, and strenuous but unsuccessful measures were enacted to eradicate Catalan from other spheres of life as well. The majority of the population continued to speak Catalan but when in the second half of the 19th century writers began to use Catalan once more as a vehicle for literary expression, they were hampered by the lack of recognized rules of grammar and spelling. Philological studies based on historical and contemporary usage led to the publication in the early 20th century of the dictionaries and grammars which established the norms which are still in force today.

In the first half of the 20th century, during the periods when Catalonia recovered a degree of control over her own affairs, the language also flourished, giving rise to an abundant literature, as well as to many newspapers and periodicals. The short-lived autonomous government of the early 1930s introduced Catalan as the language of government and set up pedagogically advanced schools in which Catalan was taught and used to teach other subjects.

3.3 The Catalan language under Franco

Though Catalans, like other people, are diverse in their political leanings, the Catalan autonomous government supported the Republican cause throughout the Civil War and the country was a major bastion of opposition to the fascist coup headed by General Francisco Franco. The occupation of Catalonia by Franco's troops heralded the final victory of the Nationalist forces. Franco, moreover, considered the limited self-governing powers granted to Catalonia under the democratic but short-lived Second Republic as an attack on "national unity". Consequently the abolition of the Catalan government and the suppression Catalan language and culture were among the first measures implemented by his regime.

The following are a few of the ways in which the Catalan language, culture and identity were persecuted during the dictatorship:

- in the initial phase it was an offence even to be heard speaking Catalan in public
- the Catalan flag and anthem were prohibited
- civil servants were prohibited from speaking Catalan even among themselves, under pain of dismissal
- the Catalan language could neither be used nor taught in schools or universities, whether public or private, and all Catalan contents (history, literature, etc.) were removed from the curriculum.
- the few Catalan-speaking teachers who had not fled the country or been imprisoned were posted to other parts of Spain and replaced by teachers who neither understood nor spoke Catalan.
- teachers heard speaking Catalan at school could be dismissed.
- cultural institutions, including the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the Institute for Catalan Studies, were dissolved
- no books or periodicals could be published in Catalan

- existing stocks of printed matter in Catalan (such as letterheads or receipts) had to be destroyed or stamped over with expressions such as “¡Viva Franco! ¡Viva España!”
- signs, announcements and written documents of every type had to be in Spanish
- companies and businesses could not have Catalan names
- children had to be given Spanish, not Catalan, first names and the names of all other citizens were translated into Spanish
- Catalan place names (towns, streets, geographical features, etc.) were translated into Spanish (sometimes erroneously)
- correspondence addressed a person’s Catalan name or to the Catalan name of a street or town was returned as undeliverable or “lost”
- Catalan could not be used at any public meeting or ceremony
- names of organizations, streets, shops, etc. containing references to Catalonia were changed (the Library of Catalonia became the Central Library, etc.)

To placate international public opinion some rather superficial concessions were made during the latter years of the dictatorship: certain aspects of Catalan traditional folklore were tolerated (folk dancing, nativity plays, etc.), a few books and periodicals, mostly on erudite topics, were published, brief and usually unattractive radio and television programmes in Catalan were allowed at non-peak hours, and so on. But linguistic freedom was never re-established till the advent of democracy.

3.3.1 Quotes

Francisco Franco: “... we want national unity to be absolute, with a single language, Castilian, and a single personality, that of Spain” (1938) IM: 145. no source.

“It is vital to make a serious assessment of the impact of the Franco regime on the Catalan cultural tradition because it remains at the root of the greatest problems we face. We are talking about a cultural break that lasted for two generations and involved the elimination – exile, repression, and replacement– of social and cultural cadres (political, union and civic leaders, intellectuals and writers, journalists, artists, teachers, etc); about the dissemination by the State of a new culture for the mass consumption of the new popular classes, using new mass communications media, especially radio and television. Knowledge of the language was blocked, the heritage of documents and printed matter was destroyed, and Catalonia’s past was concealed or systematically effaced, and these are just a few of the factors which generated the spiral of ignorance about the recent historical current of

Catalan culture. This ignorance, which is still colossal among today's intellectuals, is one of the most lasting results of the ethnocide perpetrated by the Franco's regime."

Joan Manuel Trasseras. C2000 712:

3.4 Immigration

During the first 15 years of the Franco regime, though Catalan was relegated to the private sphere, it remained the language of the majority of Catalans, except those with political or economic reasons for adopting the language of the regime.

Then a drastic change took place, not in the outlook of Catalans, but in the actual population of the country. The already powerful Catalan industry was the first to recover from the effects of the Civil War. A massive influx of immigrants –well over 1 million between 1951 and 1970– flocked northwards from the mainly agricultural regions in the south and west of Spain. They settled around Barcelona, and the city's industrial suburbs mushroomed. Some boroughs saw their number of inhabitants multiply by 5, 6 or even 7 in twenty years, and by the 1970s 60% of those who lived there had been born outside Catalonia, not counting the children born after arrival. The figure for Catalonia as a whole in 1975 was 38%, a percentage far in excess of the peak immigration experienced even by countries like the United States. The more fortunate of these "other Catalans", as they came to be called, lived in crowded, isolated, sub-standard housing complexes; many had to be content with shanty towns.

The phenomenon had untold consequences for the Catalan language. The newcomers were virtually all Spanish speakers with no knowledge of Catalan. Nor had they any opportunity to learn it in a society where the only language in public use was their own and where they themselves lived in virtual ghettos. By the time democracy and Catalan self-government arrived, many had been in the country between twenty and thirty years and a whole generation of children had grown up in an totally Spanish speaking environment.

The effects of the influx are still apparent today. According to the latest census data (1996) 28% of Catalan residents even now are from non-Catalan speaking parts of Spain. It is estimated that 41% of the present population are the original immigrants and their descendents, which means that most families, particularly in the Barcelona suburbs, are of mixed or non-Catalan descent. (MLP)

The results of a survey conducted in the spring of 2000 clearly reflect the fact that many of the problems which prevented the use of Catalan during the dictatorship –large concentrations of Spanish speakers in some areas and lack of knowledge of the language– are still with us. Among those who stated they did not normally speak Catalan (almost one in three), 84% invoked the following reasons:

Hardly anyone round about me speaks Catalan (39.6%)

I am afraid of speaking it badly (23.4%)

I cannot speak it (31.1%)

On the other hand, less than 5% justified the non-use of Catalan on the grounds that everyone understands Spanish.

3.4.1 Quote

“The 1996 (Census) data confirm that the most significant shortcomings in the knowledge of Catalan stem from the *traditional* factors: on the one hand the anti-Catalan language policies of the 19th and 20th centuries; on the other, the conditions in which the massive influx of immigrants reached Catalonia during the years from 1955 to 1975.” (Farràs ..., p. 157).

3.5 Immigration update

Since the 1980s, immigration from other parts of Spain has virtually ceased. However, immigration from foreign countries, notably the Third World and Eastern Europe, is growing fast. The figures are not comparable with the influx of the 1950s and 1960s: persons born in foreign countries according to the 1996 census amounted to only 2.9% of the total, though to this percentage must undoubtedly be added the many immigrants without residence permits. The census also provides evidence that foreigners who settle in Catalonia are now learning Catalan much faster than those who moved there forty years ago. However, the cultural differences which separate these new immigrants from the host community and the precarious legal situation in which many find themselves make it difficult to assess the real impact of this phenomenon.

4 The Catalan language today

Nowadays Catalan is spoken in an area of 68,000 km² with a total population of 10 million. That area includes three self-governing regions of Spain – Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia– as well as the easternmost part of Aragon and a few boroughs in Murcia bordering on Valencia. It also includes the independent principality of Andorra, the French region of Roussillon (department of Pyrénées Orientales), and the town of L'Alguer (Alghero) in Sardinia, Italy.

Mapa: PPCC.

It is estimated that some 9 million people understand Catalan in these different areas and approximately 7 million can speak it, though reliable figures are available only for Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia. The following are the most recent census data available, expressed in percentages of the total population and absolute numbers:

	Understand Catalan (1996)	Can Speak Catalan	Can Read Catalan	Can Write Catalan
Catalonia (1996)*	95.0% 5,683,237	75.3% 4,506,512	72.5% 4,330,251	45.8% 2,743,326
Balearic Islands (1991)**	88.8% 587,096	66.7% 441,340	55.0% 363,819	25.9% 171,240
Valencia (1991)***	82.1% 3,056,794	50.6% 1,882,094	37.7% 1,403,739	15.1% 560,880

* Population of 2 years and over. ** Population of 6 years and over. *** Population of 3 years and over.

Source: Farràs and Reixach, from census data supplied by the Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya.

In some areas Catalan is given a different name, though it is in effect the same language with variations no wider than those that separate British from American English, or Flemish from Dutch: it is called *valencià* in Valencia, *mallorquí* in Majorca, *tortosí* around Tortosa in southern Catalonia, and so on. Catalan is the sole official language of Andorra and has official status, alongside Spanish, in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia. It has recently been given special protective status in Aragon.

The situation of Catalan has been weakened by 250 years of repression in Spain, particularly under the Franco regime, and by the centralist language policies of successive French governments. It is also adversely affected by being under the jurisdiction of so many different governments which are prevented by political obstacles –and often by political divergences– from coordinating their efforts at home and abroad. Even so, the Catalan language displays a surprising vitality. It is the ninth most widely spoken language in the European Community, and has more speakers than certain state languages such as Danish, Norwegian, Finnish or Slovenian. Moreover the level of economic development of the area where it is spoken, its widespread use among all age groups and sectors of the population, its successful transmission from one generation to the next, its use in

government, schools, higher education, public life and the media, and its ability to express concepts related to science, technology, business, etc. make it one of the lesser spoken languages of Europe with the best prospects of survival.

4.0.1 Illustration: (fotos i/o noms de “famosos”)

All these people speak Catalan. For most of them, it is their mother tongue.

Gaudí, Casals, Dalí, Miró, Caballé, Carreras, Alícia de Larrocha, Jordi Savall, Fura dels Bau, Comediants, Ricard Bofill, Jordi Bonet, Xavier Mariscal, Subirachs, Arcarons, Crivillé, Corretja, Mayor Zaragoza, Samaranch, equip espanyol de Copa Davis, 2001.

4.0.2 Quotes

“According to some definitions Catalan might be classed as a minority language, although this notion is obviously relativized by socio-political contexts. Danish or Norwegian are in no danger of being classified as such –they are official languages of independent states– yet each of them has fewer speakers than Catalan. The fact remains that Catalan is spoke today* by well over six million people, and chiefly in a country where it has authentic historical roots and a strong claim to linguistic supremacy.”

* written in 1991

Miquel Strubell, ...

“... Catalan (is) a perfectly viable European language and the second language in Spain spoken by one in six citizens of Spain and official for one in four.” Isidor Mari...

4.1 Knowledge of Catalan – the figures

The most recent census data available give the following picture of knowledge of the Catalan language in Catalonia.

	Understand Catalan	Can Speak Catalan	Can Read Catalan	Can Write Catalan
1981	79.8	no data	no data	no data
1986	5,287,200 90.3%	3,747,813 64.0%	3,542,012 60.5%	1,844,493 31.5%
1996	5,683,237 95.0%	4,506,512 75.3%	4,330,251 72.3%	1,844,493 45.8%
Difference 1986-96	+ 4.7%	+ 11.3%	+ 11.8%	+ 14.3%
Difference 1981-96	+ 15.2%	---	---	---

Farràs, p. 30.

Lack of knowledge of the Catalan language is concentrated in certain sectors of the population and linked to specific factors.

- age: one in three persons aged *over forty* is unable to speak Catalan, compared with only 5% of teenagers and 10% of young adults.
- education: nearly two-thirds of those who do not understand Catalan are either *illiterate or did not finish primary school*. In contrast, nearly 90% of those with higher studies (secondary school graduates and above) can understand, speak and read Catalan.
- occupation: inability to understand and speak Catalan tends to be associated with *less highly qualified occupations* (less than 70% of “blue collar” workers speak Catalan, compared with over 87% of those in “white collar” jobs)
- place of birth and residence: only 25.7% of those born in *non-Catalan speaking parts of Spain* and resident in the mainly *industrial suburbs* of Barcelona can speak Catalan (though far more understand it).

Illustration: graph 3.3 on knowledge by age groups and graph 6.2 on knowledge by education. (Farràs ...)

4.2 Knowledge of Catalan - reading between the figures

The 1996 Census figures on knowledge of Catalan can be seen as either encouraging or as discouraging, depending on how they are read.

On the positive side virtually the entire population aged 2 and over (more than 5 million people in Catalonia alone) understood Catalan, 3 out of 4 (close to 4 million) could speak it, and almost as many could read it. These figures showed a marked improvement over the last ten years and since the restoration of democracy.

Illustration: graph 2.2 on evolution of knowledge 86-91, 91-96 (Farràs ...)

The fact that greater knowledge of Catalan is associated with youth and higher educational and professional qualifications is also encouraging, particularly in comparison with the situation of many other stateless languages.

On the negative side, however, a language is clearly in an abnormal situation when approximately a quarter of the population *cannot* speak or read it and nearly half *cannot* write it. The contrast between the situation of Catalan and that of Spanish is further proof of this imbalance: a survey conducted in 1998 indicates that *97% of the population of Catalonia understand, speak and write Spanish*, while only 2% cannot read it and 3% cannot write it (1998 CIS survey quoted on p. 33, Farràs).

Furthermore, while knowledge is clearly rising and is a prior condition to actual use of the language, it does not follow that everyone who *can* speak Catalan actually *does* speak it in the course of their everyday lives. Nor does it tell us anything about the *quality* of the language among those who do use it. Data and comments on both these aspects are to be found elsewhere.

4.3 Use of Catalan

A survey conducted in February 1999 reflects a near-tie between Catalan and Spanish throughout Catalonia, though Spanish has a significant lead in Barcelona and especially its suburbs:

Usual language:	Catalonia	City of Barcelona	Barcelona Metropolitan area
Catalan	49.6	46.2%	37.5
Spanish	49.9	52.9%	61.7

Avui 19-6-1999, DYM survey, Feb. 1999

The same survey enquired about the respondents' language preference with respect to reading matter and media. While the popularity of Catalan audiovisual media is seen to be high, the lower scores for activities involving reading reflect the below-normal familiarity of the population with written Catalan. The category "predominantly Spanish" includes 32.5% of respondents who read newspapers and 26.9% who read books "*exclusively in Spanish*".

Preferred language(s)	Press	Books	Radio	TV
Predominantly Catalan	23.5	17.7	35.5	34.7
No preference	19.1	24.1	29.7	34.3
Predominantly Cast	52.6	53.8	30.4	30.7

Avui 19-6-1999, DYM survey, Feb. 1999

In another study carried out in the spring of 2000 (Ubach) respondents all over Catalonia were asked which language they used most often in different situations. The results again show the low levels of use of written Catalan but also the relatively were as follows:

Situation	Percentage of respondents who use Catalan
asking a stranger a question in the street	51.7
with neighbours	46.1
shopping	52.9
with friends	42.3
with a barman in a bar or café	48.7
at work	50.4
with fellow students	56.5
with a local policeman	50.8
taking personal notes	36.7
at work or at place of study	

Among young people survey results indicate that actual *use* of the language falls far short of *ability*. The survey just mentioned reports that 56.5% of young people speak Catalan with fellow students while 16.2% spoke both languages. Another study commissioned by the Catalan government's General Secretariat for Youth in 1999 yielded the following data on general language use among the 15-29 age group:

Always or mostly Catalan	44.2%
Catalan and Spanish equally	25.1%
Always or mostly Spanish	30.0%

The gap between these percentages and the percentage of the same groups who are able to speak Catalan according to the census (over 90%) is striking, as is the size of the group who alternate between one language and the other. (Avui 3-1-99 Secretaria General de Joventut/ Dept de Cultura.)

On the other hand, there are signs of a rise in the use of Catalan in families since the percentage of respondents who speak Catalan with their parents and contemporaries is significantly lower than the percentage who speak Catalan to their children (43-44% compared with 51%) (Ubach March-April 2000). In the home too bilingual habits have increased even more, less than 1% stating that they speak both languages to their parents, as against 9% who spoke both with their children.

4.4 Quality of Catalan

The Catalan used today still bears the scars of the persecution of the language under Franco. Native Catalans, especially those over forty, though they speak their mother tongue fluently and spontaneously in informal situations, frequently face the following problems:

insufficient command of Catalan spelling and grammar

unfamiliarity with the correct Catalan style and phraseology for more formal situations (formal correspondence, reports, speeches, etc.)

ignorance of specialized vocabulary in Catalan (scientific and professional terms, names of foreign places and people, neologisms, certain forms of slang, etc.)

inability to differentiate correctly between the two languages (confusion between similar words which have different meanings in Catalan and Spanish, mispronunciation of Catalan words, use of Spanish syntax, colloquialisms, etc.).

Such phenomena are difficult to illustrate with figures, though some are eloquent enough. That only three out of five people *born in Catalonia* can write Catalan (and only three out of four university graduates can do so) is a clear illustration of the impact of all-Spanish schooling.

Nor has access to a Catalan education eradicated such problems among the young. While today's young people have had infinitely better opportunities to learn to speak and write Catalan correctly, many come from Spanish-speaking families and others have been influenced by the poor Catalan spoken by the older relatives and friends. Models of acceptable language usage are few and far between: many radio and television announcers, well-known public figures, personalities of the world of culture and even teachers still have a command of Catalan which would be considered gravely deficient in any normal language context. To all this must be added the continuing predominance of Spanish throughout society and particularly in areas of special interest to the young: mass media, contemporary music, computer games, magazines, professional sport, and so on.

4.4.1 A foreigner's experience

When I moved to Barcelona in the early 1980s I rented a room for several months in a flat belonging to two charming, well Catalan ladies from an upper middle class family.

The flat was on the top floor and there was no lift, so the ladies ordered their groceries once a week from the local supermarket. The procedure was as follows:

- The two ladies sat at the kitchen table and discussed what items were to be ordered. The conversation was in Catalan, the only language I ever heard them speak with their family and friends, but they wrote out their list in Spanish, the only language they had been taught at school.
- Reading from their Spanish list, they phoned the Catalan-speaking manager of the supermarket and dictated the items to him in Catalan.
- The manager, who could not write Catalan either, wrote down the list of purchases in Spanish.

- When the groceries arrived, the ladies chatted in Spanish to the Spanish-speaking delivery boy who had been living in Barcelona since the age of 8 but still had difficulty understanding Catalan.
- As they put their groceries away in cupboards and refrigerator, one lady called out the name of each item in Catalan while the other checked it off the grocer's Spanish bill.

Initially I was fascinated by the complexity of the language switches involved. Later I realized that virtually the entire Catalan-speaking population had to go through the same rigmarole in innumerable situations of everyday life.

What I also realized was that use of my two landladies were not using Spanish by choice: their own unfamiliarity with written Catalan, and the delivery boy's unfamiliarity with even the spoken language, left them with no choice. Most of today's young people are not only far better equipped to use Catalan in such situation: with a command of both languages, they can also choose which they *prefer* to use.

4.5 How Catalans see the language question

Survey results consistently indicate that the majority of Catalan residents, whatever their linguistic background, are aware of the precarious situation of the Catalan language and its causes and support measures to rectify it.

Many examples could be quoted. For instance, a survey carried out in 1999 (ref.) showed that an overwhelming majority of respondents (83%) considered that *everyone who lives in Catalonia should know Catalan*. Over half (52-59%, according to the place of residence) were in favour of an equal balance between the Catalan and Spanish languages, while almost a third (29-31%) felt the balance should favour Catalan. In another study conducted the same year, 57.4% of respondents gave Catalan government language policy a positive or highly positive assessment as against only 14.8% who took a negative or highly negative view. Most were in favour of equal status for Catalan and Spanish, and those who wished Catalan to predominate far outnumbered those who wished the predominant language to be Spanish. In answer to another question, the majority felt that Catalan and Spanish should be used to the same extent in the press, radio, television, books, courts of justice, restaurants and cafés. Between 37% and 42% wanted Catalan to predominate in each of these fields, while only 4-7% wanted Spanish to predominate.

4.5.1 A foreigner's experience

Contrary to what a very small, usually politically motivated minority sometimes claim, there is no language conflict in Catalonia, in the sense of frequent clashes between speakers of Catalan and Spanish. In over 20 years in the country I have never experienced any major incident, any display of real resentment or ill-will between Catalan and Spanish-speakers beyond the banter and grumbling that characterize any relationship between members of different generations or people with different backgrounds or lifestyles.

Catalans bend over backwards to accommodate those who do not speak or understand their language. They will almost invariably switch to Spanish, without the slightest prompting, when talking to strangers who, by reason of their appearance, accent, name or attitude, are perceived as non-Catalans and I have witnessed numerous conversations in Spanish

between Catalan speakers who wrongly assumed each other to be non-Catalans. Most Catalans, even when aware that the stranger *does* understand Catalan, still switch to Spanish out of a sometimes misguided sense of “politeness”.

In fact the outsider who *wants* to practise Catalan has very few opportunities to do so!

FALTA – APARTAT SOBRE PROJECCIÓ INTERNACIONAL DEL CATALÀ

5.0 The Catalan language in society

5.1 Media and press

Though Catalan-language media and press cover a broad spectrum, they continue to face two major problems:

- The continuing repercussions of the persecution of Catalan during the Franco era.

For a considerable proportion of the population, including older generations of native Catalans educated entirely in Spanish-speaking schools and Spanish speakers who settled in Catalonia under the dictatorship, Catalan remains primarily a spoken language. These low literacy levels not only limit the readership of printed media but hinder the production of all types of media on account of the many language checks needed to ensure quality.

- Market forces.

Commercial broadcasters and publishers worldwide favour more widely spoken languages which reach larger audiences, at lesser cost, and generate more advertising income. Multinationals and Madrid-based media groups, unhampered by a Spanish government unconcerned by the welfare of “regional” languages, control an increasing share of the Catalan market and operate almost entirely in Spanish. This situation has numerous side effects: better career prospects and higher pay entice Catalan professionals away, the contents and quality of Catalan language media are adversely affected by the need to compete for audience with commercial media in Spanish, the capabilities of the Catalan production industry are largely diverted in creating programmes in Spanish, and so on.

5.1.1 Television and radio

Catalan television viewers currently have the choice between:

TV3 and Canal 33 - two publicly owned channels operated by the Catalan Corporation of Radio and Television (CCRTV) which broadcast wholly in Catalan

TVE1 and TVE2 – two publicly owned channels operated by the Spanish government broadcast mainly in Spanish, except for somewhat less than two hours a day in Catalan (for Catalonia and the Balearic Islands) at mainly off-peak time slots.

Antena 3 and Telecinco – two commercial channels which broadcast almost entirely in Spanish.

Canal Plus – a commercial pay channel which broadcasts entirely in Spanish.

Various pay-to-view digital platforms, all of which broadcast in Spanish.

Approximately 113 local television stations which broadcast nearly all their own programmes in Catalan (except for films). (IPL99, 65).

In 1999 TV3 and Canal 33, the two channels operated by the CCRTV (Catalan Corporation of Radio and Television) broadcast a total of 16,183 hours, all in Catalan. The channels’ own productions accounted for 56.6% and they carried over 900 hours of advertising (85-

90% in Catalan). A further 15,766 hours were broadcast by satellite. Together TV3 and Canal 33 accounted for 27.3% of the total audience.

In the early 1980s the only programmes in Catalan had been local broadcasts by the Televisión Española in off-peak viewing slots. From the very start TV3, the main channel of the CCRTV set up in 1984, reached an exceptionally wide audience despite using a language that was still unfamiliar to many non-native viewers. Until the advent of commercial television in 1988 it succeeded in maintaining a balance between the amount of Catalan- and Spanish-language viewing. By 1988 TV3's rating in Catalonia was 43.6% and its programmes were being relayed to a sizeable Catalan-speaking audience in Valencia and the Balearic Islands.

Then the situation changed. The Spanish government's Commercial Television Law, passed in 1988, failed to make any provision for the existence of languages other than Spanish. The three new commercial channels, not being called upon to provide programmes in Catalan, Basque or Galician, have broadcast almost entirely in Spanish ever since, thus upsetting the previous balance.

Even so, the latest figures indicate that TV3 is still outperforming all other channels in the Catalan market: together with its sister channel Canal 33, it commanded an average of 25% of the audience from March to September 2000 (Taylor-Sofres). The same figures confirm the popularity of a wide range of Catalan television programmes: thirteen of the forty top ranking programmes in Catalonia are by TV3. They include the afternoon, evening and weekend news (no Spanish-language news programmes appear in the list), as well as sitcoms, soaps, current affairs programmes, football transmissions and films, all produced or dubbed in Catalan. The most successful Catalan soap operas have been followed by nearly a million viewers.

The fifty or so local television stations which broadcast mostly in Catalan account for about 0.5% of the audience, or 25,000 viewers.

Catalan television, however, in spite of its undeniable popularity, is at an obvious disadvantage compared with the three commercial and two public channels broadcasting entirely or largely in Spanish, not to mention the new digital channels.

In the field of radio the situation is similar. Among broadcasters covering the whole of Catalonia, the CCRTV's Catalunya Ràdio has considerably more listeners than any other station and heads the morning and afternoon rankings, while other Catalan-language public and commercial channels also score well (Com Ràdio, RAC1, etc). Of the approximately 200 local radio stations, over three quarters broadcast at least 90% of the time in Catalan.

However, the Catalan radio stations cannot compete with the combined audience of the numerous public and privately owned Spanish-language networks, many of them part of powerful commercial media groups which cover the whole of Spain: SER, COPE, Radio Televisión Española, etc. The percentage of Catalan used in commercial radio programmes barely reaches 10%, a situation which recent Catalan government regulations seek to alleviate. (IPL99, 65)

5.1.1.1 Il·lustració

Programes de televisió d'un diari qualsevol amb els programes en català encerclats.

5.1.1.2 Quote:

“At the end (of the 1990s) the consolidation of radio and television consumption in Catalan, under the leadership of the media which are dependent on the CCRTV, is a fait accompli. But this should not ... be allowed to conceal the growth of the supply of communications media in Spanish. The inequality between (Catalan and Spanish) will become increasingly obvious as a result of the expansion of digital platforms, the future expansion of cable and its audiovisual production capability, and the growing interest of major multimedia groups in absorbing the greatest possible number of interests. ... On the threshold of the 21st century, we must be content with the existence of a balance which favours Catalan in terms of audience but which is detrimental to Catalan in terms of business, market and breadth of supply.” (Terribas & Bosch – C2000 696).

5.1.2 FALTA! – apartat de premsa

5.2 Books

5.2.1 Six centuries of Catalan books

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

Over 600 years later Catalonia still has a thriving publishing industry accounting for approximately 30% of the total output of Spain and the average Catalan reads more books than the average Spaniard. The spring book fair to mark the feast of Saint George, Catalonia’s patron saint, is one of the most popular and attractive events on the calendar. It is significant that the date – April 23rd – was also chosen for another reason: to commemorate the death of Cervantes, the most illustrious of Spanish writers, and books in Catalan and Spanish are offered side by side on the stands that line the streets of all towns and villages – along with roses, for it is also “rose day”.

But readers in Catalonia have not always enjoyed so wide a choice. The total prohibition of all books in Catalan was one of the first measures taken by the Franco dictatorship after the end of the Civil War. Gradually, to improve its image, the regime made a few exceptions though the stringent censorship was never lifted. Initially only books with archaic spelling were allowed; for twenty years no new Catalan translations of foreign works were authorized; and until the end of the dictatorship only topics of little appeal to the general public were permitted.

The figures speak for themselves. The 43 titles published in Catalan in 1950, 11 years after the Civil War ended, were a far cry from the 865 issued in 1936, the year it began. In 1960 the total reached 184, and by the year of Franco’s death it had risen to 661. But it was not until 1977 that the pre-war total was finally exceeded.

5.2.2 Foto: parades de llibres per Sant Jordi amb títols en català i castellà.

5.2.3 Catalan books today

Since the return of democracy the number of books published in Catalan has grown steadily. In twenty years the number of titles published each year multiplied by twelve. Between 5000 and 6000 books a year were coming out by the early 1990s and the 1998 ISBN register included 7406 books in Catalan (some published in Valencia and the Balearic Islands), 12% of the total for Spain. (insertar gràfic)

However publishers of books in Catalan still labour under severe difficulties. The smaller potential readership is further reduced by the generations of Spanish-educated Catalans who find it easier to read in Spanish and many books, including best sellers, come out in Catalan long after they have already been available in Spanish. Print runs are shorter than for books in Spanish (3511 as against 5196) since the latter enjoy a readership covering Latin America as well as Spain. Consequently profits are also smaller and for Catalan authors the prospects of a successful literary career are less bright if they choose to write in Catalan. Hence while 7261 titles in Catalan were published in Catalonia in 1999 and 25,493,815 books in Catalan were sold, these figures amounted to only 30.6% of all the titles published in Catalonia and 20.7% of all the books sold. (Estudio de Comercio Interior ...).

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

5.2.4 Il·lustracions: algunes obres importants (GEC, Coromines, ...) al costat de llibres de butxaca en castellà.

5.3 Entertainment

5.3.1 Theatre

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

In 1999 Catalan theatre-goers had the opportunity to see 556 theatrical productions of which 273 (48%) were in Catalan and 125 (22%) in Spanish. The remainder were in foreign languages or had no words (mime, etc.). In terms of audience, 41.6% of the spectators went to see productions in Catalan, 34.4% attended productions in Spanish, and 6.5% went to other productions. (IPL99, 87-88) With slight fluctuations, this breakdown is similar at that found in previous years.

At the same time, theatrical programmes are by no means primarily local in content. Barcelona is included in numerous touring circuits for productions in Spanish and other languages. The 2000-2001 season at the Catalan National Theatre, for instance, commenced with the Spanish classic *El Alcalde de Zalamea*, coproduced by the Teatre Nacional itself and the Spanish Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico. Also on the programme are performances by Théâtre de l'Odéon, Berlin Tanzteatre and DCA/Festival de Saint-Denis, as well as Catalan productions of works by British, German, Norwegian, Greek and Bulgarian authors.

5.3.2 Cinema

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

These attempts too have failed to yield the desired results and the number of films in Catalan available to Catalan-speaking film-goers is strikingly low. In 1999 whereas 92.6% saw films in Spanish and 5.3% saw films in foreign languages, only 2.1% were able to see a film in Catalan (IPL99). Moreover, a large proportion of the films that are screened in Catalan are for children and many have been dubbed through funding from private educational organizations.

The cause is not to be sought in any difficulty in understanding Catalan. Live theatre in Catalan competes perfectly well with Spanish productions, and official television ratings show that films in Catalan attract large audiences. Public opinion, moreover, is receptive: 83% of respondents to a recent survey were in favour of at least half the films on show being in Catalan (Avui, 19.7.98). Nor is the size of the potential audience to be scorned: Catalonia has the highest proportion of filmgoers in Europe and constitutes the sixth largest film market in terms of audience (the eighth largest in turnover) (Gen. web). It is simply a question of profits: the powerful distributors who control the market know that the Catalan population also understand Spanish, and it is less profitable to dub and distribute films in two language versions than in one.

In sovereign states with less widely spoken languages, firm governmental measures can solve such problems. But when the Catalan government attempted to introduced regulations under the 1998 Language Policy Act to ensure that a minimum number of films in the cinemas were in the language of the country, opposition from the distributors was so fierce that the government had to back down. Yet the aims were modest: 25% of reels were to be

dubbed or subtitled in Catalan –a percentage far short of the percentage of Catalan-speakers in the population– and 25% of film sessions to be in Catalan (20% during an introductory three-year period). Negotiations are currently underway to find mutually acceptable ways of improving the situation.

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

5.3.2 Illustration

Cartellera d'un diari qualsevol amb les pel·lícules en català encerclades (si se'n troba!).
Only ...% of films on show in Barcelona cinemas on (date) were in Catalan.

5.3.3 Entertainment for young people

Falta: apartat sobre jovent (música, ...)

5.4 Education

5.4.1 The return to Catalan-language schooling

The Catalan language was banned from the entire education system, as a subject and as a language of instruction, throughout the Franco dictatorship. Though a few exceptions were granted in the early 1970s, it was not until the arrival of democracy and Catalan self-government that the situation began to change. The real turning point came after 1983 when the Language Normalization Act approved by the Catalan Parliament gave Catalan a key role in education at all levels. Section II, Article 14 of this act states the following:

- “1. Catalan, as Catalonia’s own language, is also the language of education at all levels.
2. Children have the right to receive their early instruction in their usual language, be it Catalan or Castilian. The Administration must guarantee this right and provide the means to ensure it can be exercised. Parents and teachers may exercise it in the name of the children, by requiring it to be applied.
3. The teaching of Catalan and Castilian is obligatory at all levels and grades of non-university education.
4. All children in Catalonia, irrespective of their usual language when they first enter school, must be able to use both Catalan and Castilian normally and correctly by the end of their basic education.
5. The Administration must take the necessary measures so that: a) children are not separated into different schools for reasons of language; b) Catalan is used progressively as the pupils’ mastery of it increases.”

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

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

The use of Catalan as the language of instruction was gradually extended throughout compulsory education. Spanish continued to be taught as a subject, and the right of parents to opt out of education in Catalan for their children was maintained. Hardly any parents, in fact, made this choice. But when Catalan was declared the language of basic education in Catalonia from the 1993-4 school year onwards, there was opposition from minority groups

in Catalonia itself and from the right-wing Spanish press and the decrees were appealed to the Spanish Constitutional Court. The Court's verdict, however, handed down in December 1994 was largely favourable to the Catalan education system.

5.4.1.1 Quotes

Opinions of two specialists in immersion teaching

Two specialists in immersion teaching made the following analyses of early language immersion in Catalonia:

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

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

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

Artigal, pp. 10-11

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

Arnau, C2000 p. 743. ..

5.4.2 The present situation of language in schools

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

Primary schools: in 67.5% schools all classes were given in Catalan, except for those devoted to Spanish and foreign languages and literature, whereas in the remaining 32.3% instruction was in both Catalan and Spanish.

Secondary schools: in 25.91% all instruction was in Catalan, and in the remainder instruction was in Catalan, except for certain subjects which are taught in Spanish.

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

Pupils who enter the Catalan school system after commencing their education in Spanish are entitled to special attention. They also receive special language tuition: the 130 such groups in operation in 1998-9 were attended by 1556 children (0.14% of the total) and there were also conversation groups attended by approximately 2000 students.

Exemptions from education in Catalan were requested by the parents of ten pupils out of a total of nearly 800,000 in the 1998-9 school year. No such requests were received in the 1999-2000 school year. (all data from IPL99).

5.4.3 The impact of Catalan-language schooling

An indication of the effects of recent language policy in schools is given by the proportion of students who sit their university entrance examination in Catalan, which has risen from 52.3% in 1991 to 73.5% in 1999 (IPL99). Further indirect proof is provided by the overall knowledge of Catalan attested by recent census results which show that school children, especially those between 10 and 19, have a far better command of Catalan than their elders (95% understand, speak and read it, and nearly 90% can write it).

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

Even so the opposite reading of the same figures reveals that, *despite* education in Catalan, in 1996 there were still 80,000 children and young people between the ages of 5 and 19 who could not speak Catalan and 57,000 teenagers aged 15-19 who could not write it. Such results cannot yet be seen as a sign that the goal of "normalization" has been achieved.

5.4.3.1 Quotes

"Whatever the analytical perspective adopted, it is systematically in childhood, adolescence and, to a lesser extent, youth that we find the highest levels of knowledge of Catalan ... Thus school, to a large degree, is the institution which is doing most to prevent knowledge of Catalan from being a distinguishing mark of social class, which is making it possible, to a great extent, for inter-territorial differences to fade, and which enables those born outside Catalonia to acquire Catalan at an early age." (Census 1996, p. 156)

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

(Isidor Marí, quoting Albert Bastardas C2000 725).

5.4.4 Attitudes to Catalan government policy in education

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

A study conducted in December 1999 yielded the following results:

32.8% of respondents wanted more Catalan in the schools

58.8% of respondents wanted the amount of Catalan in the schools to remain the same

4.1% of respondents wanted less Catalan in the schools:

(Study of Language and Economic activity in Catalonia, Gabise, December 1999)

Another survey carried out in March-April 2000 produced the following responses:

In which language do you mainly prefer your children to be educated?

		%
Catalan	607	60,7
Both: Spanish and Catalan	178	17,8
Don't mind	88	8,8
Spanish	80	8,0
Other answers	41	4,1
Don't know / No answer	8	0,6

(Ubach, 2000)

5.4.5 Beyond school

In higher education both the 1983 and the 1998 language acts gave students and teaching staff the option of using either Catalan or Spanish, while stipulating that universities must provide “courses and other suitable resources so that students and teaching staff may improve their comprehension and knowledge of Catalan”.

Available information about the proportion of university lectures and classes given in Catalan in Catalan universities relates to different years and the proportion of Catalan is likely to be higher at the present time:

Universitat de Barcelona:	51.2% of professors teach entirely in Catalan (1992)
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya:	54.6% of professors teach entirely in Catalan 5.2% teach mostly in Catalan (any?)
Universitat Rovira i Virgili:	65.8% of professors teach entirely in Catalan (1995)
Universitat de Lleida: (Generalitat web page)	59.5% of professors teach entirely in Catalan (1993-4)

The computerized distance degree courses offered by Open University of Catalonia are entirely in Catalan. Close to 7000 students were enrolled there in 1998-9.

It is worth noting that, despite the relative complexity of the language situation in Catalonia compared with other parts of Spain where only one language is used in the universities, Catalonia receives more Erasmus students than any other part of Spain. The university with the highest number of foreign PhD students is also a Catalan university: the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya. (IPL99 57).

In adult education the law provides that both Catalan and Spanish must be taught. In 1999 66% of students enrolled in such courses, studied entirely or mainly in Catalan, and 34% entirely or mainly in Spanish. Over 43,000 adults attended the nearly 2000 Catalan language courses organized throughout Catalonia in 1998-9 through cooperation between local authorities and the Catalan Department of Culture. Numerous Catalan language courses at different levels are also organized for Spanish, Catalan and local government employees and for employees of the judicial system.

5.5 Economy and work

5.5.1 The background

Catalonia has been one of the most economically advanced areas of the Iberian peninsula for centuries. In the Middle Ages it developed a complex guild structure and set up trading posts throughout the Mediterranean. In the 18th century, Catalan manufacturers and merchants traded actively with the American colonies, paving the way for an Industrial Revolution which reached Catalonia long before the rest of the Spain and for a powerful bourgeoisie whose interests were constantly at odds with the wealthy landowner of the centre and south.

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

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

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

The Catalan government has made a series of attempts to regulate the use of Catalan in certain aspects of economic life by legislation, but lack of consensus, motivated partly by political interests and partly by corporate opposition, have not infrequently compelled it to back down either before tabling its bills or in the implementation process. Principles which have proved impossible to establish include the use of Catalan on product labels and in instructions for use (Spanish government legislation simply makes Spanish compulsory in these areas), the right of consumers to be served in commercial establishments in the official language of their choice, or the establishment of minimum percentages of Catalan in various media and in the cinema.

The unique backing which a state is in a position to provide to its official language in the economic field was demonstrated recently by the sudden appearance of Catalan on labels and other materials manufactured by certain multinationals. After a short period of euphoria Catalans discovered that the reason for the inclusion of their language was not the seven million Catalan-speakers who are split between several self-governing regions of Spain, but the fact that the tiny principality of Andorra, where Catalan is the official language, had recently been admitted to the United Nations.

5.5.2 Language use in the workplace

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

The imbalance between the two languages emerges clearly from the results of various surveys which indicate that Catalan is used between 70 and 90% of the time in informal conversations, but that well over half the tasks involving writing or reading –and often considerably more– are done in Spanish. The percentages of catalogues, contracts, invoices, pay sheets and business letters in Catalan are even lower.

5.5.3 Interaction between companies and the public

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

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

In advertising, signs, company names and the other elements that make up the corporate image, Spanish is clearly predominant in most sectors. Many firms have Spanish, or linguistically neutral names, including many native Catalan firms (though it should be remembered that company names often date back to the dictatorship, when Catalan names were prohibited). It is only in the Catalan language press and media that Catalan is used to any appreciable extent in commercial advertising. On Catalan public television channels, some 90% of the commercials are in Catalan, but data on the press indicate that Catalan newspapers carry less advertising than their Spanish counterparts, probably because their circulation is also more limited, and that advertisements in Catalan tend to be smaller than advertisements in Spanish. In the Spanish-language media it comes as no surprise that Spanish is by far the dominant language of advertising. The language breakdown of other forms of commercial advertising such as hoardings, neon signs, handouts and leaflets

delivered to the home is difficult to ascertain on account of its heterogeneous nature, but overall trends points to a predominance of Spanish in most key sectors.

5.5.4 Labels and instructions

The overwhelming majority of products on sale in Catalonia bear labels written exclusively in Spanish, or in Spanish and other European languages, but hardly ever in Catalan. A study carried out in Barcelona in 1993 revealed Catalan already occupied less space than Portuguese on product labels –below 1%– and with increasing integration of European markets this trend has intensified in the intervening years. Such is the importance of economies of scale that products labelled in Portuguese, Italian and even Greek, Hebrew or Arabic can be readily found on any supermarket shelf, whereas it requires considerable determination to find a single label in Catalan. Apart from a few Catalan owned supermarket chains which have pursued the policy of labelling their own products in Catalan, Catalan labels are usually found only on locally manufactured produce which reach the consumer with few intermediaries and are sold in small shops of market. Examples are confectionery, sausages, cheese, milk and eggs.

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

5.5.4.1 Illustration

The exception ... (productes etiquetats en català, aparador o publicitat d'alguna cadena de supermercats en català)

... and the rule (productes etiquetats en castellà, portuguès, grec etc., instruccions d'ús d'un medicament en castellà).

5.5.5 Labour relations

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

5.6 New technologies

The new information and communication technologies are both an opportunity and a threat to smaller language communities. On the one hand they offer powerful tools for the pursuit of cultural and educational endeavours, notably in language-related fields, make it possible to reach a large audience quickly and at low cost and provide links between groups and institutions which reinforce the language community. But on the other hand, commercial

interests and the power of independent states tend to tip the balance in favour of the more widely spoken languages which also benefit from the same advantages.

5.6.1 Operating systems, navigators, software and multimedia

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

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

Despite a number of interesting initiatives, the number of multimedia products available in Catalan is also severely limited, for similar investment-related reasons.

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

5.6.2 Language-related computer applications

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

One of the earliest and most ambitious projects has been in progress since the mid-1980s when the Catalan Terminology Centre –TERMCAT– was set up under an agreement between the Catalan government's Department of Culture and the Institute for Catalan Studies. Since then linguists and computer technicians at Termcat have standardized Catalan terminology in a multiplicity of socioeconomic, technical and scientific fields, compiled lists of neologisms and bibliographical references and established links with

numerous terminology centres worldwide. The staff respond to some 12,000 terminological consultations per year, not counting those related to bibliography. An automatic consultation system, Cercaterm, has recently been inaugurated.

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

5.6.3 Educational applications

The most ambitious project involving the use of new technologies in education is the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (Open University of Catalonia), inaugurated in 1995. The Open University operates in the Catalan language as a private network using Internet tools which enable students to communicate with their tutors, carry out administrative tasks, borrow library books and even chat with other students in a virtual bar. The innovative use of conventional and electronic teaching materials and the original operational design of the university's virtual campus won it the European Commission's Bangemann Challenge Award for distance education in 1997. Registration at the UOC has rose from 200 students enrolled in two courses in 1995 to 9000 enrolled in 8 courses in 1998-99.

New technologies are also successfully applied at the lower echelons of the education system by the Computer and Audiovisual Programmes of the Catalan Education Ministry. **(completar aquesta informació!)**

5.6.4 Catalan on the Internet

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

According to a recent study carried out by Vilaweb, there are nearly 450,000 webs pages in Catalan, 0.14% of the total (it should be noted that no language, except English, has more than 6% and that Spanish, with 7.5 million webs, has 2.42% of the total). Catalan is thus the 19th most widely used language on the Internet, immediately after Hungarian but before Turkish, Greek or Hebrew. In terms of ratio between the number of web pages and the number of speakers of each language, Catalan ranks 15th, before either Portuguese (22nd) or Spanish (24th). The same source indicates that 65% of the webs in areas where Catalan is spoken are in Catalan. (Avui, 8-6-00).

5.7 Government and the Judiciary

5.7.1 Catalan and local government

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

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

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

Catalan is now the normal working language of the Catalan civil service, public corporations, communications media, and so on. Official documents are produced in both Catalan and Spanish and citizens can communicate with the Catalan government in either language. Catalan is also the predominant working language in the four provincial authorities in Catalonia (diputacions) and in local authorities throughout the country. Council meetings are held in Catalan nearly everywhere except in a few boroughs in the Barcelona suburbs where a large majority of the population is Spanish speaking.

5.7.2 Central government and the organs dependent upon it

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

Nowadays the situation varies from one branch of the administration to the other. Whereas the language used by the central government police forces (National Police and Civil Guard) is still overwhelmingly Spanish, a shift towards bilingualisms has been noted in aspects such as elections, tax offices, and government advertising campaigns.

The 1998 Act on Linguistic Policy passed by the Catalan parliament gave Catalans the right to apply to any branch of the central government in Catalonia in their own language and receive attention in Catalan without any translation being required. The following year,

almost twenty years after self-government, the Spanish government also introduced regulations stipulating that both Spanish and Catalan are to be used in documents and forms for the use of the public, advertising campaigns, and other fields. If implemented these measures would cause far-reaching changes. However progress is slow and it is still unusual for citizens applying to branches of the central government in Catalonia to be dealt with in Catalan in the normal way.

5.7.3 The judiciary

Nowhere is Catalan used less than in the administration of justice. Though the use of Catalan has been permitted since the mid-1980s, virtually all court proceedings and legal documents in Catalonia are still in Spanish. A 1994 study by the Catalan law society reported that only 8% of hearings and 7% of documents were in Catalan, though the language was used in 44% of informal conversations. Five years later, in 1999, over one in five employees of the judicial system was still unable to speak Catalan, and nearly one in ten did not even understand it. The same year there were still 39 offices (9%) in which not a single employee habitually spoke Catalan in his or her dealings with the public and 279 (65% of the total) where not a single employee normally used Catalan in writing. Documents drawn up in Catalan by notaries public in 1999 amounted to only 8.45% of the total.

The main obstacle to the use of Catalan is the system whereby, until 1998, knowledge of Catalan was not even a factor in appointing civil servants to jobs in Catalonia. When jurisdiction over the administration of justice was transferred from the central to the Catalan government in 1998, the applicants' knowledge of the language began to be considered an asset. It is still not obligatory, however, and an elementary diploma is considered sufficient.

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

5.7.3.1 Illustration

The exception proves the rule ...

(Algun document jurídic en català).

5.7.4 Public services

Some progress towards equality for Catalan and Spanish has been accomplished in recent years in dealings between utility companies and their customers. Telephone directories, for instance, are now bilingual, while signs in company offices are mostly bilingual and most employees in contact with the public can speak both languages. Bills, advertising and correspondence also tend to be bilingual, though almost invariably the default option which prevails when the customer has not expressed any preference is Spanish.

5.7.5 A foreigner's experience

Visitors with experience of any branch of the Spanish government are unlikely to forget it. Post offices with mail lying in haphazard stacks on the floor and counters identified by signs handwritten on paper yellow with age and stuck to the walls with tape, ... Dusty, dilapidated police stations where officers fill in forms with numerous carbon copies, typing painstakingly with one finger of each hand on ancient cast-iron typewriters ... Chronically slow trains which often seem relics from before the Civil War, passengers clambering across the tracks to reach the right platform after confusing, inaudible last-minute announcements, ... And everywhere, impossible opening hours, long queues reaching out into the street, and even longer delays.

The Spanish civil service has not progressed much faster in terms of language. In Franco's day to speak Catalan when asking for a new driving licence or a postal order was an act of rebellion requiring considerable courage. Today it is no longer dangerous, but you think twice before trying. Possibly –just possibly– the man behind the counter will not even understand Catalan and will retort “Please speak Spanish!”. More probably he will understand what you say (unless of course he is a judge or a police officer). But he will still answer in Spanish, often impatiently, and to simplify matters you will have to switch to Spanish anyway.

Many of your dealings with government organizations involve bureaucrats outside Catalonia, who cannot be expected to understand Catalan and are often hostile to it. If you phone directory enquiries, you call may be answered by a phone company employee in Burgos or Cáceres, so heaven help you if you make your request in Catalan. And if you are lucky enough to find a bilingual tax form, actually completing it in Catalan may be unwise, not to mention writing a letter to a government service in Catalan, or submitting a legal document in Catalan Exercising your legal right to address a government service in Catalan is almost bound to cause complications, delays, and possibly added cost.

5.7.6 Some languages are more official than others

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

- Spanish official documents, such as passports, identity cards, car licences and driving licences are solely in Spanish (and in other European languages where necessary).
- Until recently, though legal documents such as contracts or property titles could legally be drafted in Catalan and could in theory (though in practice not always) be submitted to any authority within Catalonia, if they had to be used in other parts of Spain a (costly) sworn translation had to be provided, just as if they had been written in Japanese or Urdu.
- Despite repeated attempts by Catalan parliamentarians to enable other official languages to be used in the Spanish legislature, even the most symbolic of concessions, such as one which would have permitted members of parliament to take the oath of

allegiance to the constitution in their own official language, were refused for many years.

- All Spanish bank notes and coins are solely in Spanish. Despite campaigns in favour of the introduction of Catalan and other official languages, the new Euro notes and coins which will be issued in January 2002 will again be only in Spanish.
- Of the 3609 stamps issued by the Spanish post office between 1850 and 1998, only 18 (0.5%) bore words in Catalan (usually the names of places or people). All have been issued since democracy. The percentages for other languages which are official in different parts of Spain were even lower: 0.16% in Galician and 0.03% in Basque. The words "España" and "Correos" (post office) have never appeared in any other language. This practice is in contrast with a hundred or so other countries throughout the world which issue bilingual stamps or stamps in several official languages.
- Following the creation of the main Catalan television channel, TV3, in 1984, relays were set up by volunteer groups in Valencia and the Balearic Islands, where Catalan is also spoken, to make the programmes available to those who wished to watch them. When the new commercial television operators were set up in 1988, the Spanish government not only failed to take into consideration the existence of languages other than Spanish in granting the licences but allocated to the commercial channels exactly the same frequencies that were being used to relay Catalan television programmes, thus effectively blocking reception outside Catalonia.
- When TV3 commenced broadcasting, Televisión Española, which regularly cooperated with foreign television news services in transmitting pictures over its network for news services and outside broadcasts, refused to perform the same service for the Catalan television. For some considerable time the Catalan station was compelled to fly in its footage by air.
- The Spanish government introduced regulations to ensure that computer hardware sold in Spain included the character "ñ". No steps were taken to ensure that the special characters of other official languages (for instance, the Catalan ç, the grave accent, the l.l) were also included.
- Spanish legislation makes it compulsory to label products "at least in the Spanish, the official language of the State". Measures taken with regard to other official languages have been purely restrictive in nature.

Some steps towards equality between languages also deserve mention:

- The Spanish government has granted limited funding to cover the costs of language normalization in Catalonia, and funds cultural activities in Catalonia (though on a much smaller scale, for instance, than in Madrid).
- It has recently become possible, to a very limited extent, to speak Catalan, Basque and Galician in the Spanish Senate.
- A Catalan edition of the official journal of the Spanish government (Boletín Oficial del Estado) is now published.

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

5.7.8 Quotes

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

Isidor Marí, p. 181 * written in 1993

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

Joan Solà, Avui 21-12-00.

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

Branchadell et al. (ref!)

5.7.6 Illustration: A rule with few exceptions:

impresos d’hisenda, notificacions de la seguretat social, segells en castellà; carnet de conduir en diverses llengües europees, ...

6 Questions and answers

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

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

- How different from Spanish is Catalan?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Catalan is most definitely a written language, with its own rules of spelling, grammar and syntax, its own dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Nowadays it is in widespread use at all levels of the education system, including universities, as well as in government, and possesses a full and varied terminology covering business, science and new technologies.

Catalan generated a flourishing literature in the 20th century encompassing all the usual genres: fiction, poetry, essays, children's books, etc. Other particularly fertile periods were the late 19th century and the Middle Ages, when some of the first works of philosophy to be written in the vernacular (by Ramon Llull, from Majorca) were produced in Catalan. The earliest written documents in Catalan date back to the 12th century.

- Why don't Catalans want to speak Spanish?

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

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

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

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

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

If bilingualism means having a thorough command of more than one language and using it to communicate with people from elsewhere, then all native Catalans are bilingual. In fact they are far more bilingual than their Spanish, British or French counterparts. And they are in favour of multilingualism too.

Unfortunately, what many of those who claim to support "bilingualism" in Catalonia really mean is that Catalans should speak Spanish so that Spanish-speakers, even when resident in Catalonia for many years, can continue to speak only Spanish. It is that particular, one-sided form "bilingualism" which Catalans reject.

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

Your friend probably speaks Spanish well enough to be mistaken for a native. The majority of Spanish-speakers in Barcelona understand Catalan perfectly and conversations in which

one person speaks Catalan and the other speaks Spanish are extremely common nowadays. If your friend's informant had realized he was a foreigner, you may be sure the reply would have been in Spanish.

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

For one thing, Catalan is not such a small language. Danish, Norwegian or Finnish, for instance, have fewer speakers than Catalan. Moreover any language, regardless of its size, is the unique reflection of the culture an entire people, built up over the centuries. If the language dies, much of the identity of that people dies with it. Which is a pity.

In order for globalization to have positive repercussions for humanity, it must surely involve reinforcing *interaction* between people from *different* linguistic and cultural backgrounds, not reducing the cultural diversity of humanity, which is one of its prime assets, to a massified uniformity.

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

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

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

Equal competition between Catalan and Spanish is impossible because the entire situation favours Spanish over Catalan: with a far greater number of speakers and the support of not one but several governments, Spanish inevitably has the upper edge in many vital fields including business, mass media, and new technologies.

Moreover it will take decades to eradicate the effects of the persecution. Two entire generations of native speakers were deprived of the chance to learn their mother tongue at school, the language was banned from virtually every context except informal conversations between family and friends, and close to a million Spanish-speaking people settled in Catalonia precisely when Catalan was banned from every sphere in which they might have learned it.

The results will be with us for decades: many native Catalans over 30 who had to study in Spanish are still largely illiterate in their own language, with an inadequate command of

grammar, spelling, specialized terms, formal style and so on. And many non-natives still cannot even speak it.

In short, letting Catalan and Spanish compete on equal terms is a bit like expecting a canary that has spent its life in a cage to compete in a flying contest with a seagull. (ref. Cruells).

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

To start with, the fact that Catalans know Spanish in addition to their mother tongue cannot be used to deny them the right use their own language in their own country. Nor does it alter the fact that it is usually immigrants who adopt the language of the host society, not vice versa.

For another thing, a language which is confined to private conversations is doomed to extinction. When it cannot be used in meetings, theatres, scientific reports, business correspondence, religious services, advertising, courtrooms, classrooms or station announcements, a language fails to develop, or maintain, the words and expressions that are required in each of these situations. Then people start "borrowing" from the language that is in public use, they switch to that language when they have to say or write something important, and before long their own language is no longer fit for anything *except* informal conversations.

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

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

Catalans have an inadequate command of their own language, not by choice or omission, but because they were forcibly prevented from learning it in the normal fashion. So it would be committing a new injustice to abandon the language on the grounds that they do not speak it correctly.

In order to understand how this situation arose, try to imagine the sort of situation that might arise in a country like Sweden, where the majority of the population have a good command of English.

Imagine, for instance, a Swedish child educated in schools where he or she heard nothing except English. That child would be unlikely to know much about Swedish spelling or grammar, or to learn the Swedish words for osmosis, or cosine, or the Gulf Stream round the family dinner table.

Then imagine a Swedish adult living in a country where all newspapers, media and books were in English. That adult would probably never become familiar with the Swedish terms for cyberspace or the human genome or AIDS.

And if that adult had never read a business letter or a financial report in Swedish, or filled in a tax form in Swedish, or heard anyone address a meeting in Swedish, he or she might well have a hard time writing or speaking the sort of Swedish you need to perform each of these tasks.

And if two whole generations of Swedish lawyers and car mechanics had received their entire training in English and all the available reference books and technical manuals were also in English, they might well be at a loss for words if called on to discuss professional matters in their mother tongue.

This, and more, is what happened to Catalans under Franco. Perhaps the most remarkable thing is that Catalans still do speak their own language, and that the language is now once more in use in all those spheres.

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

Because language is a two-way process. Unless everybody in Catalonia at least *understands* Catalan, it is impossible for Catalan speakers to exercise the right to speak it! How can Catalans use their own language to ask someone the time, chat to their neighbours, write a letter, or buy a postage stamp, if they cannot assume that the persons with whom they interact understand them? And how can they receive proper attention in their own language if shop assistants, doctors, civil servants, bank managers and policemen, for instance, cannot be expected to speak it?

Another reason in favour of non-natives learning Catalan is that it is in their own interest to do so: to understand and appreciate the culture and history of their adopted country, to interact with native Catalans on an equal footing, and also, in more practical terms, to be able to compete for the growing number of jobs which now require knowledge of Catalan.

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

No. There are several important differences.

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

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

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

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

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

For anyone who knows only Spanish –or who freely decides not to use Catalan – life in Catalonia poses very few problems and many live in the country for decades without ever speaking Catalan. Everyone understands and speaks Spanish and attention is universally available in Spanish–in shops, banks, hospitals, and everywhere else. You can communicate in Spanish with all levels of government and all kinds of documents –forms, contracts, regulations, etc. – are available in Spanish. The vast majority of signs are bilingual or only in Spanish. All but a tiny fraction of products come with labels and instructions for use solely in Spanish. Work of all types is readily available to monolingual Spanish speakers, except some civil service jobs and others involving contact with the public, for which knowledge of Catalan is now also required. The overwhelming majority of native Catalans switch to Spanish if necessary, without even being asked to. And there are far more leisure opportunities –newspapers, books, television and radio programmes, films, records, etc.– in Spanish than in Catalan.

In contrast, anyone who decided not to learn or use Spanish would find life extremely difficult: some people still do not understand Catalan and many do not speak it; many documents, signs, labels, and instruction manuals are only in Spanish; without speaking Spanish it is often impossible to deal with any body directly or indirectly dependent on the Spanish government (railways, post office, telephone, taxation, ...) or with the Spanish police forces; virtually no jobs can be performed without the use of Spanish and relatively few Spanish-speakers switch to Catalan, even in a group where Catalan speakers are the majority.

FALTEN: preguntes i respostes sobre els “perills” del nacionalisme i del localisme.

9 Appendices

9.1 Basic data

Falta una taula senzilla de dades demogràfiques, econòmiques, territorials, etc.

9.2 Legislation

Falta concretar quins textos jurídics cal incloure i de quina manera convé presentar-los: traducció directa, traducció amb comentaris El tema és molt complexe!

De moment he redactat alguns aclariments conceptuals que m'han semblat pertinents.

9.3 Key concepts in language legislation

9.3.1 The concept of *a country's own language*

This notion is found in legislative and legal texts starting from, and including, the 1979 Catalan Statute of Self-government which distinguishes between the basis for the official language status enjoyed respectively by Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia.

In the case of Spanish the grounds invoked are of a *legal* nature: the fact that Spanish (or Castilian) is defined in the Spanish Constitution as the official language of the whole of Spain:

Spanish Constitution (1978)

Article 3

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

¿(Translation from quote in 1998 law except for article 3.)

In the case of Catalan the grounds referred to are implicitly of a *historical and geographical* nature: the fact that Catalan originated in Catalonia, has been the language used by the inhabitants of Catalonia throughout a long period of history, and was also the language of Catalonia's governmental institutions as long as it remained a sovereign political entity in its own right.

The text, in an official translation, says literally:

Autonomy Statute for Catalonia

Article 3

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

One might summarize the distinction in everyday terms by saying:

“Catalan is the official language of Catalonia because it has been language of the people of Catalonia for countless centuries and was the language of the government of Catalonia as long as Catalonia was a sovereign nation. At the same time, since Catalonia is now part of Spain, Spanish, which is defined in the Constitution as the official language of Spain, is also official in Catalonia.”

9.3.2 Linguistic normalization

The word “normalization”, in Catalan legal and sociolinguistic terminology, is related to the notion of the “normal” situation and use of a language in a given society, and has no connection with the standardization (or “normativization”) of spelling, grammar, etc.

Implicitly the term postulates that a language is in a “normal” situation when it can be freely used by individuals, groups and institutions, and is in an “abnormal” situation when its use is, or has been, artificially restricted, especially by political persecution. Thus Catalan is seen to be in an “abnormal” situation at the present time as a result of the restrictive measures that were applied to it for some 250 years (since the Bourbon dynasty acceded to the throne of Spain in 1714) and above all because of the particularly harsh persecution it suffered under the Franco dictatorship, from 1939 to the advent of democracy in 1978.

Normalization is thus seen to represent the process whereby the artificial restraints of the “abnormal” situation and their direct consequences are rectified so that a language can be restored to a situation of “normality”..

Both the above concepts are implicit in the preamble Language Normalization Act passed by the Catalan parliament in 1983.

“The Catalan language, an essential element in the formation of Catalonia, has always been the nation’s mother tongue and natural vehicle of communication, as well as the symbol of a cultural unity with deep historical roots. Besides, it has always been a witness to the fidelity of the Catalan people to their land and specific culture. Finally, it has served very often as an instrument of integration, enabling ever citizen of Catalonia, regardless of geographical origin, to participate fully in our peaceful coexistence.

Forged in its own lands, and later shared with other territories with which it forms a linguistic community which, over the centuries, has made a valuable contribution to culture, the Catalan language has been in a precarious position for some years, a position characterized principally by the meagre presence of Catalan in official spheres, in education and in the mass media.”

The preamble goes on to refer to the decree whereby Catalan was deprived of its official status in the early 18th century; to the “prohibitions and persecutions of the Catalan language and culture unleashed after 1939”; to the banning of Catalan from compulsory education, except during a one or two brief periods, from its introduction in the mid-19th century until 1978; to “the influx into Catalonia of a large number of mainly Spanish-speaking immigrants” at a time when Catalonia was unable to take adequate measures in the socio-economic field, in city planning, education and other spheres, so as “to enable them to become integrated and to participate fully in Catalan society from their own

cultural identities, which the Generalitat acknowledges and respects.”; and finally to “the emergence of modern mass media in Spanish”.

9.3.3 The distinction between collective and individual linguistic rights

The concept of a country’s “own” language underlies another key distinction which is reflected in Catalonia’s language legislation: the distinction between individual and collective linguistic rights. Thus it is implicitly argued that the language rights of the native inhabitants of any land –those who speak the country’s “own” language– are collective rights, based on the rights of the community which has inhabited a particular area of the earth’s surface for a long period of time, whereas the language rights of those who have migrated to that land from elsewhere are individual rights. Moreover, language being an essentially social and non-individual aspect of human life –notably because it is linked to communication and involves the participation of a number of interacting individuals– collective rights in the linguistic field are of necessity more extensive than individual rights.

This distinction is particularly relevant in situations involving immigration. It is generally recognized that while immigrants undoubtedly have the right to use their own language and transmit it to their children, as well as the right to preserve their identity and culture, such rights cannot be exercised to the same extent as those of native members of society without impinging on the linguistic and cultural rights of the latter. This principle is applied in different ways in different countries, depending on the demographic balance and usually on political and socioeconomic factors as well. In most cases, however, such things as educational facilities, communications media, documents, or signs are not normally available to the same extent in the language of immigrants as in the language of natives of the country, and it is usually expected that newcomers will learn and use the language of the country in their interactions with the natives rather than vice versa.

In the specific context of Catalonia, language policy has been based on the following reasoning.

The individual rights of Spanish-speaking immigrants must be respected and upheld for the following reasons:

- because of their sheer numbers

- because they speak a language which is also official in Catalonia

- because they speak a language which Catalans also understand and speak

- because they arrived in Catalonia at time when they had hardly any opportunity to learn Catalan in the way immigrants usually learn the language of the host society since Catalan was banned from virtually every sphere in which such opportunities might have arisen

- because, even if the opportunities had existed, many of them lacked the educational background to learn Catalan with ease and lived in such precarious conditions that survival, rather than integration, was their top priority.

On the other hand, the collective rights of the Catalan-speaking natives must be upheld and defended:

because Catalan is Catalonia's own language

because Spanish, though official, is not Catalonia's own language and is understood and spoken by all Catalans today only as a result of political pressure from successive Spanish governments

because it is spoken worldwide by far fewer people than Spanish

because it is supported only by the power of the Catalan government (and the governments of other regions where it is spoken) and lacks the backing of a sovereign state (except the Principality of Andorra, which has only 60,000 inhabitants)

because, as a result of the two aforementioned factors, Catalan is particularly vulnerable in fields such as the economy, mass media and new technologies

because for centuries it has suffered severe discrimination, and often outright persecution, at the hands of a successive Spanish governments

because Catalonia received a gigantic influx of Spanish speaking immigrants (amounting to 38% of the overall population in 1975) who were unable to learn the language of the host society because that language was banned at the time from public use.

Of the seven factors invoked in support of the rights of the Catalan language, all but the first amount to arguing, in essence, that Catalan, despite being Catalonia's "own" language, is in a position of *inferiority* with respect to Spanish.

9.3.4 Rights and duties

While Catalan and Spanish are both official in Catalonia, the connotations of the term official are different.

The Spanish Constitution (Article 3) makes Spanish the official language of the State and declares that all Spaniards have the *duty* to know it and the *right* to use it.

On the other hand, the Catalan Statute of Self-government (Article 2) states that the citizens of Catalonia have the *right* to know Catalan and to express themselves in Catalan, both orally and in writing, in their everyday lives and in public acts, both official and unofficial.

Two important differences are implicit in these two articles.

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

2) While the knowledge and use of both languages are defined as rights, only knowledge of Spanish is a duty.

In everyday terms one might say that though citizens of Catalonia have the right to use Catalan in Catalonia, they have no right to use it in elsewhere in Spain, whereas citizens of other parts of Spain have the right to use Spanish anywhere they wish. And while citizens of Catalonia are entitled to learn and use Catalan in Catalonia, nobody –whether or not s/he is a citizen of Catalonia– is under any obligation to learn it, much less to use it.

This difference has led to numerous problems of interpretation and implementation, since the right of Catalans to use their language in their homeland is difficult to reconcile with the right of other Spaniards to use *their* language in whatever part of Spain they may choose to live and work. Many such problems have concerned the circulation of labour.

Central government employees can still request and obtain jobs in Catalonia without prior knowledge of the Catalan language being demanded, or even the obligation to learn Catalan following their appointment. Only recently has knowledge of Catalan even become a factor in such transfers.

There has been fierce opposition from members of many professions outside Catalonia to any attempt to require them to know or learn Catalan in order to work in Catalonia. This has occurred even with members of professions in which ease of communication is a prime necessity: doctors, nurses, psychologists, counsellors, teachers, lawyers and, to a lesser extent, receptionists, telephone operators, and so on.

The teaching of Catalan as a compulsory subject in Catalan schools also aroused opposition, though rarely from the parents or guardians of pupils. The allegation was that knowledge of Catalan was not a constitutional duty, unlike knowledge of Spanish, and therefore Catalan classes should be optional.

(falta completar aquest apartat)

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<http://barcelona-on-line.es>

New Technologies and Computer Software

http://www.microsoft.com/windows/ie_intl/ca/default.hsp
<http://www.softcatala.org>
<http://www.rebost.net>
<http://www.gencat.es/dgsi/rel/relacio.htm> (Societat de la Informació)
<http://www.ictnet.es> (Institut Català de Tecnologies)

Various

<http://www.xtec.es> (Catalan Department of Education)
<http://www.Barcelona2004.org> (Forum of Cultures, Barcelona 2004)
www.linguistic-declaration.org/index-gb.htm (Universal Declaration Linguistic Rights)
<http://www.gencat.es/icm> (Institut Català del Mediterrani)
<http://www.unescocat.org> (Centre UNESCO de Catalunya>)
<http://www.bcn.es> (Barcelona City Council)

Search engines in Catalan or with specific references to Catalan sources

<http://www.cercat.com>
<http://www.som-hi.com>
<http://www.vilaweb.com/nosaltres>
<http://www.cercador.com>
<http://www.drecera.com>
<http://www.apali.es>