

## **Diversity of language ideologies in Spanish-speaking youth of different origins in Catalonia**

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To explore language attitudes and ideologies in urban Catalonia, focus group structured interviews were conducted with two groups of adolescents of Spanish-speaking origins: the Autochthonous group, descendents of mid-late twentieth century immigrants from other parts of Spain, and the Immigrant group, who came from Latin America. The Autochthonous group displayed a clear spectrum of six sets of language ideologies. At one extreme was 'linguistic parochialism' in support for Catalan entailing rejection of compromise with Spanish or the Spanish state. At the other was linguistic parochialism favouring Spanish, which was dismissive of Catalan linguistic and national aspirations. In the middle were 'linguistic cosmopolitan' attitudes favouring accommodation, bilingualism and diversity. This spectrum was coherent and ordered in that it consisted of different responses to political and socioeconomic facts in Catalonia. By contrast, the Immigrant group, though equally ideologically diverse, was inconsistent and betrayed little engagement with local political or socioeconomic realities. Instead, immigrants seemed more interested in maintaining their linguistic identity by avoiding dialectal influence from Peninsular Spanish. The findings contribute to our understanding of the development of language ideologies and attitudes in bilingual contexts and in particular the impact of immigration on bilingual societies.

**Keywords:** language ideologies; linguistic diversity; identity construction; bilingualism; language planning; immigrants

### **Introduction and context**

Although in Catalonia Catalan and Spanish share official status, only Spanish is official throughout Spain and its demographic and commercial projection is incomparably greater. This imbalance has long caused concern for the future vitality of Catalan despite its hitherto remarkable demolinguistic stability (Bastardas 1986; Boix 1993; Newman, Trenchs-Parera and Ng 2008; Pradilla 2001; Pujolar i Cos 2000; Strubell 2001; Woolard 1989; Woolard and Gahng 1990). In fact, Catalan has survived such challenges as outright persecution during the 1939–1975 dictatorship and concurrent immigration from Spanish-speaking parts of Spain so massive that these migrants and their descendents now encompass more than half the population. Moreover, in recent years, a new wave of Spanish speakers from Latin America has arrived.<sup>1</sup>

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With the restoration of democracy and autonomy in 1978, the new Catalan government quickly implemented ‘linguistic normalisation’ policies designed to preserve Catalan.<sup>2</sup> Catalan-medium education was made the principal form linguistic diffusion within these policies with the goals described by Huguet (2007, 80) as...

pupils absolutely need to be able to use Catalan and [Spanish] normally and correctly at the end of their compulsory education [currently age 15–16] regardless of which language they used at the beginning of their education.

The result is that nowadays it is hardly unusual for those who acquire Catalan in school to embrace bilingualism or even to prefer Catalan. However, as Galindo (2008) observes, most use Catalan merely as a classroom language with Spanish still dominating other contexts.

This uneven expansion of Catalan makes the arrival of yet more Spanish speakers potentially problematic. Furthermore, Huguet and Janés’s (2008) language attitude survey found that Latin American students show most negative attitudes towards Catalan. Clearly, the future vitality of Catalan depends in good part on its ability to attract new speakers from immigrant groups.

Even before this latest immigration wave, the complexity of language attitudes in Catalonia was shown in two matched-guise studies (Woolard 1989; Woolard and Ghang 1990), as Catalan-medium education was beginning in 1980 and after it had been in place for seven years. As expected, Spanish and Catalan background groups preferred their own language on the affective dimension in both studies. However, in 1980, there was considerable rejection by Spanish speakers of Spanish-accented guises in Catalan. Woolard interprets this response as punishment of perceived linguistic traitors. There was also little reward offered to these speakers by their Catalan background judges. By 1987, however, the Spanish-accented Catalan guises did not provoke much rejection by Spanish background judges and was now viewed favourably by Catalan background judges. The bilingualism of this group was now more normalised.

In 2006, one generation later, we conducted an updated and modified replication of Woolard’s research and traced an amplification of the trends found between Woolard’s studies (Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng 2008). Most strikingly, there was even a mild, though significant, preference for non-native guises over native equivalents for male voices and no difference for female ones. We infer from these results the growth of a specific linguistic ideology, defined, following Heath (1977, 53), as ‘self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members’ related to group expression. We called this ideology ‘Linguistic Cosmopolitanism’ because of its support for bilingualism and preference for linguistic crossing. However, this support was not overwhelming; there was evidence for countervailing minority tendencies, what we dub ‘Linguistic Parochialism’, supportive of monolingualism. It follows that, given Heath’s definition, it is the lack of linguistic ideological consensus, not the presence of two languages, that allows us to talk about linguistic conflict in Catalonia. Furthermore, that conflict is three ways: between the competing parochialisms and linguistic cosmopolitanism.

During the matched-guise study, we interviewed some participants in focus groups to better interpret the results. In the present paper, we report findings of this

qualitative portion for autochthonous descendents of earlier peninsular immigrants and new immigrants from Latin America. Both share:

- being targets of Catalan language planners;
- connections to Spanish;
- secondary schooling in Catalan;
- sharing classes; and
- sharing neighbourhoods.

They differ in:

- dialect;<sup>3</sup>
- culture;
- length of exposure to Catalan; and
- rootedness.

The focus group data enable us to tease apart the concepts of ‘Linguistic Cosmopolitanism’ and ‘Linguistic Parochialism’, as realised by our participants. They also permit a comparison of participants belonging to these two communities with regard to these ideologies.

### **Methodology**

We conducted 13 open-ended focus group interviews (Fern 2001) in two Barcelona secondary schools. One, the ‘Inca Garcilaso’,<sup>4</sup> is public, and the other, the ‘Sant Francesc Solano’, is Catholic but receives partial state support. The Inca Garcilaso attracts a working class to low-income student body, and students and faculty are proud of the school’s inclusiveness and progressive social and educational philosophy. These orientations are shared by the Sant Francesc, but because of the tuition needed to attend, the student body ranges from working class to middle class, and the proportion of immigrants is much lower.

The focus groups were moderated by the English-speaking author, in Catalan or Spanish, according to the participants’ choices. Participants were 15 or 16 years old in their final year of compulsory education. Fifteen were autochthonous all descendents of Spanish-speaking migrants. Twelve were immigrants from Latin America who had arrived in Catalonia after puberty. Interviewees responded to their peers’ comments spontaneously as well as to questions posed by the moderator. Because participants responded to both the interviewer and their classmates, some may have moderated some of their views. However, divergent views often emerged and no one appeared surprised or offended when they did so. Also more than one-on-one interviews, focus groups stimulate interviewees who may be less forthcoming with an adult stranger, elicit insider knowledge (Fern 2001), and foment challenges to interpretations, values and claims of facts from other interviewees.

Interviewees were selected by school personnel with the criteria that they would provide a demographic cross-section, but that each group be composed of individuals who were friendly with each other. Most groups at the Inca Garcilaso were mixed between autochthonous and immigrant Spanish speakers and sometimes included

autochthonous Catalans and immigrants from other origins whose data are not analysed here. Those from the Sant Francesc contained no immigrants.

## Results

### *Ideologies and attitudes among the Autochthonous group*

The thematic qualitative content analysis shown in Table 1 reveals six linguistic-ideological stances along a spectrum from most ‘catalanista’ to most ‘españolista’, but no purely middle ground.

On the two extremes we find the linguistically parochial attitudes; in the centre, cosmopolitan ones; in between, mixed ideologies.

### *‘In the name of Catalan youth’: parochial Catalan*

The one parochial Catalan participant was Jacint, who we may call a *Catalan convert*, someone with roots outside Catalonia who fully embraces a Catalan identity. In fact, as he narrated it in Catalan, the conversion began with his father, a Spanish-speaking immigrant who made the decision to assimilate and to speak Catalan to Jacint. Assuming his father’s stance, for Jacint integration was an ethical obligation even for strongly rooted often Catalan-speaking communities such as Roma (Gypsies):

[The Roma] been here from the 17th Century, and they haven’t integrated at all in the society because they are super unified due to the idea that we are racists against them. And that I think this has developed into the opposite. The racists these days are them, if they don’t integrate, that is.

Jacint’s approach to identity was collectivist and activist, a position also manifested in his adoption of the discourse of the Catalan independence movement, in which he saw a leadership role for himself. Not only did he claim to speak ‘in the name of Catalan youth’, the claim giving title to this section, but he used talking points

Table 1. Autochthonous language attitudes and identity stances.

Ideological label	Participants	Identity	Language attitude
Parochial Catalan	Jacint	Exclusive Catalan identity	Catalan as their own and Catalonia’s language; exclusive use
Mixed Catalan	Pere, Jordi	Catalan identity; reluctant official Spanish identity	Catalan as their own and Catalonia’s language; non-exclusive use
Cosmopolitan Catalan	Aina, Alicia, Francesc	Assumption of a bi-national identity	Bilingual uses but preference for Catalan
Cosmopolitan Spanish	Marina, Esteve	Rejection of community labels	Bilingual uses but preference for Spanish
Mixed Spanish	Guille, Mario, Pablo	Exclusive Spanish identity; rejection of any nationalisms	Spanish as their own language; supportive of bilingualism
Parochial Spanish	Santiago, César, Emi, Silvia	Exclusive Spanish identity	Spanish as their own language; bilingualism only when enforced

Note: Pseudonyms are faithful to the connotations of ‘Catalanitat’ and ‘Espanolidad’ in real names.

associated with the movement. For example, he referred to ‘the situation of linguistic minoritisation’, which was ‘advanc[ing] at a frightening rate’.<sup>5</sup>

His parochialism became manifest in a conflation of integration with assimilation that saw aggressive and non-aggressive manifestations of non-Catalan identity as equally offensive. At the time of the interviews, there was a fad involving bumper stickers. It began with the appearance of a bull profile taken originally from Spanish brandy advertising road signs. As Strubell (2009) puts it, this toro indexes ‘a rather aggressive, masculine, primitive Spanish identity’. Not surprisingly, responses developed. The most popular took the form of a donkey, *ruc* in Catalan, which symbolised Catalonia.

Yet Jacint equated toros to other popular Spanish cultural practices, such as *palmeo* (Flamenco rhythmic clapping) and Flamenco-tinged rock music, that index Spanish identity less directly or aggressively. Even some Catalan speakers did not escape Jacint’s criticisms if they were not sufficiently ‘conscious’ or liked such music as *reguetón*, a popular Latin American genre, or pop music in English or Spanish. By contrast, he was a follower of ‘militant music’ in particular that of the pro-independence Catalan singer Lluís Llach. Finally, politics imbued Jacint’s life to such a degree that he intended to study political science in university and then move into the political sphere as a career.

#### ***‘I feel Catalan, but in reality I’m Spanish’: mixed Catalan***

Jordi and Pere, also Catalan converts, agreed with Jacint that identity is derived from community of participation not family origins. Yet they simultaneously accepted an imposed identity at odds with their sentiments, as expressed by Pere and giving title to this section. Jordi agreed: ‘Like, me, I’m Catalan, like very Catalanist, but I also recognize that I’m Spanish because ultimately this is my state because that’s what they put on the maps’. In other words, a Catalan ideal was compromised by a Spanish reality.

This *realistic* compromise was reflected in visual symbols. In his room, Jordi displayed a flag associated with Catalan independence and a *ruc* bumper sticker but would not display these items publicly, ‘out of respect’, presumably for others who did not feel the same way. Similarly, both boys preferred Catalan but did not want to impose it on those who did not know it or were visibly foreign.<sup>6</sup> So they participated in a mixed-group interview in Spanish, which Jacint avoided. Their accommodation follows the Catalan norm of convergence to Spanish in which even competent non-native Catalan speakers are spoken to in Spanish (Boix 1993). Finally, these boys did not let their Catalanism limit their cultural interests. They listened to Catalan political music but also rap in Spanish or English. Another commonality with Jacint worth noting was that Jordi and Pere planned to continue studying at university.

#### ***‘I’m Catalan, but I’m also from Spain’: cosmopolitan Catalan***

Aina, Alicia and Francesc, all from bilingual households – embraced the dual identity that Pere and Jordi reluctantly accepted. Aina’s words – providing the section title – amplified this linguistically through code mixing: ‘Soc catalana però també soy de España’.<sup>7</sup>

Alicia also performed similar code mixing, a break with the limited codeswitching discussed by earlier researchers (Boix 1993; Woolard 1989). Yet these bilinguals,

expressed agreement with more parochial Catalans in assigning Catalan the status of ‘Catalonia’s own language’, thus assimilating it to the role of any language in a monolingual state. Given the bilingualism in Catalonia, this status is ideological, not factual, but it allows Catalan a status as a prestigious and symbolic instrument for integration. For them, like for the more parochial Catalans, the use of Catalan by immigrants is a sign of acceptance of the local culture, and is a moral obligation. That is why Alicia supports breaking with the convergence to Spanish norm with immigrants.

Significantly, this group does not conflate integration with assimilation. All valued cultural diversity and multilingualism as sources of personal and social enrichment. For instance, Alicia views Catalonia positively *because* it allows immigrants and their descendants to stay faithful to their origins. She identified strongly with Flamenco because of her Andalusian and Roma family roots and overtly rejected the parochial *Catalanista* view as extreme:

I consider myself Catalan because well I was born here, and Catalan forms part of who I am. But, I don’t like extremes. Like I’m not a Catalanist, and I don’t want the Catalan people to be independent. Like I think that in Spain we have many languages, and in Catalonia we speak Spanish and Catalan.

The key term is this idea of Catalan forming *part of who she is*. In this way, identity is seen as a property of an individual rather than loyalty to a collective. This is a key component of Hip-Hop ideology (Newman 2001; Pennycook 2007), and it is not surprising that she, Alicia, also claimed to like rap music. Again, plans for continued study predominated in this group.

### ***‘I’m Spanish or Catalan. Whatever!’: cosmopolitan Spanish***

Esteve reported growing up bilingual and currently speaking Catalan with his father and Spanish with his mother, but his peer socialisation was primarily in Spanish. Marina was brought up in Spanish, and now, although she was proud of being bilingual, she was ‘more used to’ Spanish. Both participated in the interview in Spanish. Yet when one Latin American co-interviewee expressed her difficulties with Catalan in school, Marina encouraged her to learn the language. Similarly, Esteve felt that Catalan-medium instruction was good for immigrants on grounds of the quintessentially cosmopolitan support for multilingualism.

Like the cosmopolitan Catalans, Esteve and Marina emphasised the role of the individual in acquiring aspects of identity in a way that is additive and enriching, but they differed in their distaste for identity *labels*. When asked what she felt herself to be, Marina provided the title of this section: ‘Spanish, Catalan. Whatever!’ Esteve expressly rejected labels. In terms of social life they were the only two autochthonous participants who named Latin Americans as friends and enjoyed the Latin American genre *reguetón*, which was vehemently rejected by others. Esteve’s musical tastes were probably related to his participation in the Barcelona Hip-Hop scene as a turntablist, and *reguetón* is related to rap, the prime Hip-Hop musical genre.

Yet both participants showed hints of a Spanish *tilt*. Marina’s musical tastes centred on Flamenco Rock. As for Esteve, rap is almost an entirely Spanish-language enterprise in Catalonia and his career goals also showed a Spanish tilt as he planned to join the Spanish state National Police, not the Catalan-Autonomous corps.

***'I don't feel Catalan. My language is Spanish': mixed Spanish***

Pablo made a slangy claim that could be freely translated as 'this Catalonia stuff, like I'm not really feeling it', and along with Guille considered the *ruc* to be 'silly'. Yet although Pablo considered himself Spanish and rejected labelling Catalonia a nation, he did not like the *toro* either; he felt both symbols were 'exclusionary'. He defined himself as not being nationalist of any kind 'neither *españolista* nor *catalanista*'. Mario similarly opposed independence because, in his view, it creates barriers.

All three chose Spanish for the interview, but Mario seemed comfortably bilingual, and said that he used Catalan with teachers at school and some neighbourhoods. However, he opposed 'imposing' Catalan 'too early' on immigrants. He also saw Catalan, not Spanish, as an obstacle for them in the university entry exams, although both languages were equally new to many immigrants. By contrast, Pablo claimed to speak Spanish to all strangers and not to accommodate but felt Catalan deserved support and favoured bilingualism on principle. Guille claimed to converge to the language of acquaintances and said he chose languages to address strangers depending on his judgement of whether a person was Catalan or Spanish-speaking using physical appearance or clothing.

Note that this group develops the dislike of identity markers shared with the Spanish cosmopolitans into an assumption – shared by dominant groups elsewhere (e.g. Fought 2006) – that theirs is an unmarked identity. They did not, however, defend their dominance through contempt for Catalan and hostility to its imposition.

***'Not even in Catalan class': parochial Spanish***

That step was taken by Silvia, Emi, César and Santiago, who would speak Catalan only during the Catalan classes, or even, as Silvia claimed – giving title to this section – avoid it even there. For this group, Catalan was a local language with low linguistic capital that in any case would die out. Thus, they presented their preference for Spanish monolingualism as realistic.

Like Jacint, this group showed robust intergenerational continuity. As Emi put it, 'My father's from here, but he's not very Catalan either', and Emi said, 'I don't feel Catalan, I'm more about the South [of Spain]', even though that South was two generations removed. Such a statement implies an ethnicised view of language: speaking Catalan would imply she was something she is not, an imposition (Pujolar i Cos 2000).

Making up for the spatial and temporal distance that separated them from their roots was the Spanish state, which they saw as dominant and powerful. As evidence for the reality of a Spanish identity over an illusory Catalan one, they mentioned the Spanish Identity Card, the lack of Catalan currency (although Spain's currency since 2002

is the Euro), and Spanish national sports teams (although there are several Catalan national sports teams; see Strubell 2009). Exhibit One, however, was Catalonia's political subordination to Spain. As César said, 'What I am is Spanish, that's first, then from Barcelona ... Catalonia is in Spain'. When their parents or grandparents moved to Barcelona, they did not change nations necessitating a shift in language but simply went to another region of Spain.

Not surprisingly then Santiago expressed a view of Catalanists as unreasonable and immune to facts. As evidence, he referred to a Catalanist classmate, who, he

claimed, actually behaved inconsistently with his beliefs by speaking Spanish to him. The Spanish convergence norm became evidence that Catalan was not a linguistic equal of Spanish.

Curiously, these assertive words were delivered in a happy-go-lucky manner that contrasted strongly with Jacint's earnest Catalanism. In fact, members of this group often tried to mitigate identity assertions with humour. For example, Silvia said she would only wear her *toro* T-shirt if it matched her trousers. Relatedly, there was little expression of grievance, even in the matter of Catalan-medium schooling. This absence was striking because this policy is the object of a campaign by a Spanish conservative political party centred outside Catalonia, which paints Spanish speakers in Catalonia as oppressed by having no opportunity to learn in their native language.

### **Ideologies and attitudes among the Immigrant group**

In contrast to the locals, the immigrants cannot be distributed along a neat spectrum of language attitudes with consistent relationships between these attitudes and ideas about identity. Our more rough and ready classification is summarised in Table 2.

#### *'I feel purely Argentinian': a collective, non-integrative Latin American identity*

Only three immigrants admitted some identification with their new home: Maribel, Celia and Ángel. Maribel described herself as having a mixed Spanish and Ecuadorian identity, saying she 'was born there', but was also 'a bit from here'. Celia said that she actually feels Spanish in Spain but Ecuadorian in Ecuador. Ángel from Colombia explicitly confessed his disorientation by describing himself as 'neither here nor there', and 'lost in the world'.

The other nine identified exclusively with their country of origin as, in Gonzalo's words, 'Argentinian from birth to death', but what this meant varied. Gonzalo,

Table 2. Immigrant language attitudes and identity stances.

Identity	Participant	Origin	Attitude towards Catalan	Integration stance
Between Spain and country of origin	Ángel	Colombian	Defensive, ambivalent, or indifferent	Unwilling
Predominantly country of origin	Maribel	Ecuadorian		
Country of origin, with Barcelona	Randolph	Ecuadorian		
Country of origin only	Elio	Dominican	Positive	
	Janet	Ecuadorian		
	Maya	Cuban		
	Rulfo	Colombian		
	Sebas	Uruguayan		
Predominantly country of origin	Nancy	Ecuadorian		
Country of origin, with Barcelona	Celia	Ecuadorian		
	Johan	Ecuadorian		
	Gonzalo	Argentinian		Interested



Randolph and Johan admitted positive associations with Barcelona, an attitude associated with their acceptance by locals. In Gonzalo's words: 'I've had a good welcome here from the Barcelonan people, from the Catalan people'. He seemed the most at home with a cosmopolitan construction of identity:

Yeah, I feel purely Argentinian. But like, I'd like to be a bit of each, like, integrate cultures from different places . . . I don't go with a closed mind, but with an open mind to learn things from those places like languages.

Switching to excellent Catalan, he added a classically cosmopolitan view, 'I believe that borders, the only thing they do is to create more problems between people'. Yet his multiculturalism was inconsistent; he criticised other Latin Americans on grounds of inauthenticity when they adopted Hip-Hop styles because, 'they think they're in the Bronx'.

Be that as it may, lack of identification among the immigrants with either Catalonia or Spain was overwhelming. However, it was expressed more in rejection of Peninsular Spanish than of Catalan. They reported that Latin Americans made fun of the Peninsular accent and that the words 'español' and 'españolito' were an insult used to police suspected linguistic assimilation. The complex Spanish second person pronominal system became a particular focus of this policing. In the plural, the Latin Americans reported strictly maintaining their native *ustedes* and avoiding the Peninsular informal *vosotros*. Violation of this norm could lead to cases like the following described by Celia:

Mi mother tells me off a lot whenever I come out with, 'what are [with *vosotros* morphology] you guys gonna do?' 'What are you guys [with *ustedes* morphology] gonna do?' And she corrects me . . . Because on this my mother is purely and rigidly Ecuadorian. Nothing slips out from her. The only thing that does is 'vale' [the Peninsular OK].

The second person singular could also be contentious but not with form, but pragmatics. Latinos used (in school) the same forms as the Spaniards<sup>8</sup>; but with many adults such as teachers, Spaniards use the informal *tú*, whereas most Latin Americans prefer the formal *usted*. One Latin American reported becoming actually upset about how a teacher told her to refer to her with the informal pronoun. The preference for *tú* then fed into a stereotype of Spaniards as lacking manners and due respect.

Socially, most of Latino participants reported going out with exclusively Latin American cliques, regardless of their country of origin.<sup>9</sup> Out-of-school contact with locals was limited to those interested in Latin music, such as Esteve or the occasional boyfriend or girlfriend of a Latino friend. For Nancy, Latin music became a kind of 'meeting point' that helps locals and Latin Americans get closer, but it was the Spaniards who had to cross. However, most Spanish participants expressed an intense dislike of *reguetón*, the most popular Latin genre. Curiously, the Latin Americans did not report feeling marginalised or rejected from local groups. Instead, the social segregation was portrayed as inevitable, 'because everyone already has their customs', as Johan put it or, in Celia's words, 'it's that we're Latinos'.

Not surprisingly, given the estrangement from local cultural practices, most Latin American participants expressed either disinterest or lack of awareness of local conflicts such as the status of Catalonia. Rulfo and Randolph were completely unaware of the meaning of the bumper stickers, for example.

We end this section with the exception that proves the rule, the Argentinian Gonzalo who, as regards friendships, avoided exclusively Latino groups. The following statement was expressed entirely in Catalan:

I have Catalans and I have Spanish [friends], and I have some from outside here, and no, it's not a problem, but [other Argentinians] join together, and they make like a group... and go out all together. Well fine, but it's...like attacking the country you're living in. I don't understand it.

***'They'll want to keep their language': a variety of attitudes towards Catalan***

By contrast with the near consensus regarding Spanish culture and Peninsular Spanish, the attitudes towards Catalonia and Catalan were inconsistent. Even the judgements of demolinguistic facts varied. Nancy and Johan accurately observed that not everyone in Catalonia speaks the language and that it is not an international one. However, these limitations were not perceived as a threat to its survival. As Johan put it:

They'll want to keep their language, their customs, and that's historical, it comes from a long time ago...The number of people who speak it might diminish, but it won't disappear.

Others had some mistaken impressions. For instance, Cuban Maite thought that only older people spoke it, and Uruguayan Sebas believed it was limited to upper classes.

Attitudes varied from highly resistant to highly supportive of personal bilingualism. To start with the most negative, Randolph did not appear interested in learning Catalan. After five years in Catalonia, he accepted instruction in that language only if he happened to already understand it: 'If I understand them fine, but there are things I don't know even a word...but other things I understand and there's no problem for me'. Another Ecuadorian, Janet, confessed not liking to speak Catalan but her reticence seemed to lie in lack of real practice and maybe a feeling of exclusion: 'I speak very little Catalan...because I don't have anyone to speak it with, and like no one speaks Catalan to me'. Dominican Elio was the third immigrant who reported not liking to speak Catalan, in his case because he felt incompetent. Note that none of these objections relate to issues of identity unlike their parochial autochthonous peers, or like their own feelings about Peninsular Spanish.

Other immigrants held more positive attitudes. Rulfo supported Catalan-medium instruction on grounds it expands one's knowledge, echoing the cosmopolitan views of his autochthonous friend Esteve. Another positive attitude was expressed by Sebas on the grounds that Catalan is Catalonia's own language, echoing the discourse found among the more Catalan-identified Autochthonous groups:

Yo pienso que está bien porque como es un país que tiene *la seva* lengua.

I think that it's good because it's a country that has *its* own language.

This statement, which inserts the Catalan possessive *la seva* (its) into a Spanish sentence, assumes the description of Catalonia as a country – in fact, he (wrongly) considers Spain a federal state. Yet he claimed to speak Catalan only when obligated to, like in Catalan class or when addressing strangers in neighbourhoods he considered more Catalan. Curiously, he was aware of the locally symbolic *toro* and *ruc* but attached them his own meaning:

Vale, ya lo sé y no niego también que el burro salió en contra del toro, pero a la vez, también salió en contra del toro, del torero en sí, (...) Yo tengo el burro, en mi organización en contra de los toreros y de la matanza de toros.

Ok, I know it, and I don't deny that the donkey came out against the toro, but at the same time, it came out against the bull of the bullfighter. I have a donkey in my organization against bullfighters and against killing bulls.

Interestingly, this statement used a number of features of Peninsular Spanish, including not only *vale* but the clitic *lo* (it) which is elided in Latin American varieties in that construction. Sebas was a high academic achiever. His integration, such as joining an anti-bullfighting organisation dominated by locals, points to a racial/cultural division among the Latin Americans. Most Argentinians and Uruguayans are not visible minorities in Catalonia, unlike most other Latin Americans, their cultural links to Europe are stronger and they tend to be more successful academically.

Several Ecuadorians also supported schooling in Catalan. Johan also felt it was good for himself and for his future children on the grounds of additive multilingualism and also because Catalan is the language of the Catalan people. Yet along with this mix of cosmopolitan and Catalan nationalist discourse, he echoed Spanish-chauvinist discourse too when devaluing the Catalan language:

English, French, and those languages, German, that are more global. With Catalan you can go anywhere around here and speak in Spanish, and they also understand you the same. They're not gonna tell you, listen, speak Catalan.

At the same time, it is not just a question of difficulty or miscomprehension; he said, 'Although I did not use to understand when they spoke, but well, now I'm picking up the trick to Catalan'. Still, he said he only spoke it in Catalan class and he lamented his continuing problems with orthography. Nancy, also Ecuadorian, expressed willingness to speak Catalan despite her acknowledged struggle with it, and it came out that Catalan was present in her home because her younger siblings spoke it to each other. Most surprisingly, they even spoke it to their mother who had taken a Catalan course. Interestingly, Nancy compared the bilingualism in Catalonia to that she had experienced in Ecuador where indigenous languages are spoken.

Such cosmopolitan language attitudes were also found in Celia's (another Ecuadorian) home since she spoke Catalan with her younger sister. Not surprisingly, her attitude towards schooling in Catalan was positive:

It's normal that we are in Catalonia, and the classes here have already been analyzed [sic] as being spoken in Catalan. And I suppose it's normal that in a country if they speak a language, well, you gotta speak that language.

She only felt that, despite the existence in high schools of Catalan as a second language classes, there should be more help for immigrants to learn it. Some Catalan teachers we spoke to agreed.

Maribel, though also Ecuadorian, showed complete indifference towards Catalan. She did not hold any defensive attitude towards the language and spoke it in all her classes at school, but she viewed it as an instrument that may help her in studying and remaining in the country. The Colombian participant, Ángel, who felt disoriented as regards his identity, showed no clear attitudes

towards Catalan. On one hand, he said he used it – with difficulty – when the context called for it:

I was in Girona and all the people were like Catalan. All of them, everyone . . . So there I ended up speaking Catalan.

On the other hand, he said he did not usually speak it because he has never heard it in his neighbourhood and, implicitly, on the grounds that Catalonia is neither a state nor known internationally: I say in my country ‘I’m going to Catalonia’, and they’ll tell me ‘Where is that?’ I mean, it’s not . . . like [saying] ‘I’m going to Spain’. Echoing the anti-Catalanist discourse, for him Catalan is a local language with low linguistic capital:

It’s that there are times when I wonder that if you begin to speak Catalan, and you don’t know if you’re gonna be here in Catalonia your whole life, and it’s not gonna be any use to you. You might just end up in another part of Spain.

We end again with Argentinian Gonzalo who stood out as a self-conscious outlier who used Catalan regularly at school: ‘Catalan, well, I don’t completely speak it perfectly, but at least I do speak it’. The language had taken on the positive connotations he ascribed to the Catalan people: ‘I really like this city. I really like the people here. They’re open minded, supportive, just really nice people, really sociable’. Although he felt unable to become a Catalan convert, he showed a pro-integration norm, in particular regarding Catalan culture and language:

I believe that you have to come [to a place] to integrate, and a part of that integration is to learn the language, to learn the cultures, and learn the ways of life, and to respect them. Above all, respect the culture, and there are many people who don’t do that.

## **Discussion**

The Autochthonous participants show a wide spectrum of ideologies on language and identity, but within this diversity there is a great deal of order. To adapt the terminology applied to the relationship between dialect norms and society by LaPage and Taboret-Keller (1985), we can say that the Autochthonous group’s language ideologies are ‘focused’. One aspect of focus is the one-dimensionality of the spectrum. Another is that each category correlates with a consistent set of corollary attitudes and beliefs. Internal contradictions seem to be mitigations of beliefs that violate social norms against stridency and perhaps linguistic parochialism. There is also a reasonable reflection of the reality of the continuing relative socioeconomic power structures. Those with aspirations of upward mobility are more sympathetic to Catalan, which predominates in local government and, traditionally, the upper middle class just as Woolard (1989) found a generation ago. There is also a reflection of the political reality in which the structural superiority of the Spanish state is in uneasy balance with its Catalan autonomous component. The most pro-Catalan position is highly politically engaged and committed to change, and the most Spanish one is non-political. The concerns with identity and its markers as important for community cohesion and solidarity are also reasonable reflections of Catalonian social structure. Community solidarity and grievance are associated with more Catalan-oriented positions; the more Spanish ones display confidence if not complacency.

Between the extremes we find a predominance of linguistic cosmopolitanism, explaining our previous quantitative findings (Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng 2008), as most interviewees show attitudes that are at least partially cosmopolitan. For cosmopolitans, Catalan may have already become what Heller (2006) calls ‘a common language of civic participation’ and lost the role of ethnic emblem. The assumption of Catalan as an intrinsic part of their identity is therefore not necessarily in contradiction with their use of Spanish or their Spanish-speaking family origins. This same lack of exclusive symbol-identity connection has its cultural counterpart in the mixture of Catalan, Spanish and International music these participants listen to.

By contrast, the Immigrant group presents opinions regarding identity and language ideology with relatively little connection between them. Adapting LaPage and Taboret-Keller’s (1985) terms, these ideologies are ‘diffuse’. The distribution is not so much graded as individualistic, and positions do not appear coherent and only inconsistently reflect the socioeconomic, political and linguistic status of the languages.

At times, these positions appeared to be scattered echoes of snippets of discourses held in the Catalonian public sphere. At others, the Latin American participants expressed a language ideology that assigns political authority to Spanish on the grounds of its universality, supra-ethnic, and all-including linguistic anonymity. Some, however, have started seeing Catalan as a means to progress socially, as Spanish-speaking immigrants did in the 1980s (Woolard 1989).

Diffuseness can be expected because of their relative newness in the country, but it may also in part be owed to being Spanish speakers yet not Spanish, and thus the preoccupation with maintaining the difference between Peninsular and Latin American varieties. The Spanish language becomes a ‘space of fight’ (Unamuno and Corona 2008) in which Latin Americans resist the devaluing of their dialects. Catalan is of secondary importance and no threat to identity. In fact, many respondents crossed the local linguistic divide but not the transoceanic dialectal one. Related to this geographic link, immigrants constructed an imagined Latino identity, one with its international and dynamic culture from which Spain was excluded. This identity provided these young immigrants with strength in the face of discrimination and poverty, and the cultural and often racial differences separating them from Spaniards.

One meeting point was Hip-Hop, which has functioned in this manner in Britain (Rampton 1995), North America (Newman 2001; Sarkar and Allen 2007) and Asia (Pennycook 2007). However, it only seemed to really inform the views of the Spaniard Esteve and his Latino friends Rulfo and Randolph. Another bridge was political engagement, which only affected Gonzalo, Jacint and Sebas. Other potential meeting points, such as sports and other peer cultural activities (e.g. skate boarding) were not found among these participants, although they may exist.

By contrast, there were predominantly parochial manifestations on the part of the Autochthonous participants vis-à-vis the immigrants, in particular, the strong rejection many locals showed to *reguetón*, sometimes framed as a sign of the Latinos’ non-integration and cultural disruptiveness. Another sign of parochialism is the predominance of homogeneous cliques (see also Alegre i Canosa 2007). Yet a few participants from the multiethnic Inca Garcilaso were members of interethnic social networks. Others, in the relatively homogeneous Escola Sant Francesc Solano, were open to immigration and to immigrants maintaining their cultural traits. These were also the most cosmopolitan participants with regard to bilingualism in Catalonia. So,

although openness to immigrants may still be limited, its vanguard is the same as the one most supportive of bilingualism.

### Conclusion

One finding in this study is the overwhelming concern of the Immigrant group with dialectal differentiation and other forms of maintaining cultural distinctiveness. The new Latin American immigration increases demographically the population of Spanish speakers, but the Latinos do not identify with their peninsular predecessors. Nor do they copy the spectrum of language attitudes and ideologies of that group. Contact with Autochthonous peers and adults has at most led to piecemeal echoes of ideas and discourses that form both parochial and cosmopolitan ideologies.

At this point, it is too early to see whether this differentiation will persist. Future research will be needed to determine to what extent the next more established generation will show a similar spectrum of ideologies. It is still an open question how the linguistic adaptation will play out in terms in relation to bilingualism, including assimilation to Peninsular Spanish, to Catalan and to the (ever changing) range of bilingual practices in Catalonia.

Nevertheless, the dominance of cosmopolitan attitudes among the Autochthonous group does seem to provide an opening for language planners who wish to reinforce the position of Catalan. The key is that this position is simultaneously open to bilingualism and to respect and maintenance for immigrants' cultures of origin. If use of Catalan can be constructed as a symbol of inclusion and openness and not assimilation, there is a much greater chance that it will be attractive to ethnic minorities. This cosmopolitan view of integration is likely then to be the most successful.

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### Notes

1. From 2000–2005 half a million immigrants have arrived, including many Spanish-speaking Latin Americans (IDESCAT 2009).
2. *La Normalització lingüística* is officially described as 'facilitating the knowledge, use and dissemination of Catalonia's own language in all spheres of life' Consorci per la Normalització Lingüística (2009). In practice, it involves the preferential use of Catalan in local government and education and requirements for Catalan knowledge in local public administration (Turell 2001).
3. We refer to the Spanish variety spoken in Spain as 'Peninsular' following the Spanish-language linguistic tradition, not 'Castilian', a term which is common English, but which is problematic because of its ambiguous reference.
4. Schools are identified by pseudonyms.
5. We only provide the English translations except when the language use itself is of interest.
6. According to the latest official census of 2001, 69% of all foreigners at least understood Catalan when addressed to in this language (IDESCAT 2009).
7. Catalan is underlined, Spanish in italics.
8. The Argentine and Uruguayan participants used *tú* rather than their native *vos*.

9. Alegre i Canosa (2007) and secondary school teachers in Barcelona's metropolitan area report a similar phenomenon on school playgrounds even if in classrooms students from various origins work well together.

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