SEMI-SPEAKERS OF CATALAN AS A REMNANT OF HISTORY

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How language barriers have shaped Catalan identity.

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Title: Semi-speakers of Catalan as a remnant of history.
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Abstract: What are the certain patterns of collective identity of whom has been taken own identity language away by force? If a culture is symbolized by a language, what will happen if another language replaces to the existing language to interfere the symbolization of the culture? The research focuses on individuals, who are the semi-speakers of Catalan language. In other words, monolingual Castilian speakers, who have failed to develop full fluency and proficiency of Catalan language in the bilingual communities in Spain, Barcelona where I did my fieldwork. Catalonia as a nation having own language had struggled over centuries of political control by the Spanish central government and had been imposed to employ Castilian in public. The speakers who have been deprived a language, they have recognized a self-awareness of discrepancy in ethnic identity and become an ambivalent identity. The hypothesis is that the experience of being excluded from Catalan linguistic community because of the low-proficiency may link to the phenomenon of shame as the internal and external sanction of the individuals.

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1 Introduction

When I was waiting at a bus stop in Barcelona, an old man started talking to me, and he was surprised the fact that I have an ability to speak Catalan. The man said *"What a shame thing! Even the girl like you from outside of Catalonia can speak our language, but many of Spanish people living here, they do not even speak Catalan."* Every foreigner who learns Catalan tend to be appraised. Catalan people incline to regard foreigner as an outsider, and will be astonished the fact that the outsider takes a time to learn their language. On a different occasion, when I was on a bus, another elderly man suddenly mumbled in Castilian towards some passengers (who seem immigrants or foreigners) including me with a wry look, *"You and everyone here don't speak Catalan!!"* In the city of Barcelona, we may encounter such situations, the locals or so-called "Catalan people" make a clear line by language between the locals and the others. Some daily events like these emerges a question inside of me whether if shared identity or language make them unit together as if it is a universal thing. Nowadays a big wave of tourist is hitting the city of Barcelona. A big street towards the Sagrada Família, the Avenue Gaudi has been renamed as the Avenue General Primo de Rivera for the two times during the last past century. An urban planner, Ildefons Cerdà (1815-1876) achieved to draw the Barcelona city against an architect Antoni Rovira supported by the bourgeois after many years' efforts and suffered the dilemma between Madrid and Barcelona. How many of the masses of tourists pay attention these facts? The Catalan people are often stereotyped as *seny* (levelheaded), *menestralia* (artisans), or allegiance people. At the same time, negatively they are characterized as cold, closed or unfriendly. Quite unconsciously we are inclined to move towards the stereotypes that have been constructed under a particular human condition. People in the city of Barcelona have endured the condition of language repression, and it was not the old past. The memories have remained the human mind, and the symptom has emerged differently depend on each's experience. I aim to find out the certain patterns of collective identity of whom has been taken own identity language away by force. If we premise that culture is symbolized by a language, what will happen when another language replaces to the existing language to interfere the symbolization of the culture? Speaking

a language will determine a collective identity? A collective historical experience constructs particular acts of speaking? How languages create separation or differentiation among groups? To identify or recognize the own identity, nationalism sentiment is fundamental? How individuals evoke nationalism feeling in a cognitive sense when lacking own identity language? Due to political control, certain existing social norms limit and/or determine individual's behavior or speech act? We are prone to discuss identity whenever an ethnic group faces a crisis of one's identity. As a consequence, it always raises a question of nationalism when two or more identity crashes. The argument of nation and state in Catalonia seems an infinite debate. What I attempt to address is to comprehend the origin of the Catalonian nationalism (so-called *Catalanitat*) and the bilingualism in the sociohistorical context. According to the typology of Ernest Gellner's nationalism (1938:75), the agrarian age of human is a period in which some can read and most cannot. On the other side, the industrial age is one in which all can and must read. The case of Catalan, some partial speakers in the territory of Catalonia can neither read nor write the Catalan language, which is not meeting the criteria of industrial society of Gellner. The principle question is here as a linguistic anthropologist; if language competence is the knowledge of a language that an ideal speaker should have, what will happen for semi-speakers with low-proficiency? What's kind of language performance (or behavior) they manage to employ upon low-competence? I started from a major premise that all language behaviors of subjects are the result of consequence of individual experience, sentiment, and cognitive mind. As for a minor premise, shared language behaviors are somehow united, caused by unified sentiments in a cognitive sense. My research focuses on individuals, who are the "semi-speakers" of Catalan language. I employ the term of "semi-speakers", that is to say, individuals who have failed to develop full fluency and normal adult proficiency. Mainly it refers to monolingual Castilian speakers in the bilingual communities in Barcelona, Spain. More precisely, the generations that are not fully bilingual (mainly the elderly individuals) due to the social and historic political changes in the last century. The hypothesis is that the semi-speakers of Catalan belong to the boundaries between the sociology terms of membership group and the reference group due to the lack of language competence. More precisely, they wish to belong to another group, or they

identify themselves with another group. That is to say, they belong to the reference group subjectively (Catalan language group), but at the same time, they alienate themselves from their own membership group (Castilian language group). More important, they motivate themselves to recover their language competence through normative or comparison reasons, which are caused by individuals' self-sanctions of guilt and shame. Furthermore, the semi-speakers of Catalan who are currently learning at the language school, they incline to possess more the shame feelings than the guilt feelings because of the accumulated Barbarism (*Castilianism*), which triggers to emerge an inferior feeling in mind. Catalan as a part of high culture and privilege language, this sociohistorical uniqueness create the double society; Catalan and Castilian. Depends on the degree of sentiments towards one or the both, we can classify whether if they possess parallel and ambivalence identity. In Barcelona, a bilingual or an interlingual situation, we no longer rely on language-based identity. Identity can be modified due to the social conditions and the language positioning of political power. Catalonia is also one of the peculiar case having different identities and languages in the various period due to socio-political and socio-historical complexity. There is a considerable sum of Catalan people who have Castilian as the first language, and they are the center of the discussion of unstable identity for a long time. Clua and Sánches (2014: 6) articulate that the Catalan language has traditionally been an important element of delimitation of belonging and identity and it was built up the discourse and practice as the main differentiating feature between the Catalans and the non-Catalans. Manuel Delgado (1998: 200) argues that Catalonia's bilingual situation is a defect and it was made for Catalan speakers as prestige language, and he suggests that all individuals should be fully bilingual to remove the strong ethnic trait of Catalan to be a country. Double speakers were regarded as working-class Castilian-speaking immigrants and previously studied by Kathryn A. Woolard's fieldwork in 1979. Since then, it has been past several decades, what is the current situation? In the process of acquisition of Catalan language as the second language, is it still dominated more integrative motivation (the desire to be accepted by another group) than instrumental motivation (the desire to get ahead in some way) among immigrants? Learning language is not only for obtaining methods of communication but also for understanding particular

cultural thought or ideology. If it is so, can language be a barrier to social integration? How can individuals maintain traditional language? Why language has survived as long and whether it will survive longer? How can we be free in our language choices while being moral? If communication does not segregate society, the language will do so? What is the ethnical process for individuals to become the stereotypes of Catalan? The motivation of acquisition of language implies acquisition of culture as well? Is this the question of co-habitation between culture and language, or rather between human and language? To answer these questions, there are some controversial concepts to be considered: nationalism, bilingualism, and identity in Catalonia. More important, I aim to analyze the fundamental notions of language, culture, and cognition from the perspective of linguistic anthropology in order to describe the stereotypes of semi-speakers (including individuals who are at different levels of competence of writing, listening and speaking).

2 Ethnographic Methods

"… as Von Neumann puts it, " an almost exact theory of a gas, containing about 1025 freely moving particles, is incomparably easier than that of the solar system, made up of 9 major bodies." But when it tries to construct its models, anthropology finds itself in a situation which is neither the one nor the other: The objects with which we deal— social roles and human beings— are considerably more numerous than those dealt with in Newtonian mechanics, and at the same time, far less numerous than would be required to allow a satisfactory use of the laws of statistics and probability. Thus we find ourselves in an intermediate zone: too complicated for one treatment and not complicated enough for the other." (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 314)

2.1 Participant-observation: The ethnographic methods are based on traditional methods. My goal of ethnography is to describe a culture of the members of the group in emic terms as cultural mediator by considering the relation between language, culture, and cognition. Language is only a part of culture. The objects of investigation rely mainly on the domain of linguistic anthropology. However, due to the interdisciplinary field of the work, I expand existing theory in other disciplines such as sociology and psychoanalysis besides anthropology or linguistic. The ethnographic (or ethnolinguistics) methods based on participant-observation, interviews, documents and narrative comparison, and radio talk analysis. My fieldwork was done in Barcelona from 2014-2016 at three different language schools where offer learning opportunities of Catalan language: *l'Escola Oficial d'Idiomes, el Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística* and *l'Escola de la Dona*. Before starting as a researcher, I was learning the Catalan language some other language schools in Barcelona, that experience enriched the participant-observation. At the former two official language schools, students mainly learn to obtain an official certificate of Catalan language. At the latter school, I attended orthographic class, which is settled mainly for older-age students with schooling in Castilian language during the Franco regime. During the classes, I put myself as complete participation in order to find out the methods and theories of learning. Take notes to find some rules of speech or writing styles among the subjects and whether if the rules are unified among all or not, and examine why the rules resemble or differ from each other. The advantage of complete participation

research is to share the same obstacles with the subjects (Catalan semi-speakers) and to establish a rapport for gaining access to local knowledge and local communicative usages as Duranti also suggests as follows:

> "Complete participation, when possible and ethically appropriate, gives researchers a great opportunity to directly experience the very processes they are trying to document. Though it is by no means equivalent to entering the mind and body of a native speaker, performing gives a researcher important insights into what it means to be a participant in a given situation and suggests hypotheses and further questions." (Duranti 1997: 100)

In the case of linguistic fieldwork, complete participation is the fundamental methods being able to interact and approach competently to the native language what an observer is researching for. Goffman's remarkable theory in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* in 1959, so-called the "dramaturgic metaphor" became an obstruction during complete participation inside of the classrooms where participants play the role of "performance team" as "front region". In the classrooms, the participants co-operate to perform their role in given situation as a "teacher" or a "student." Moreover, the impression management of individuals occasionally limits themselves not to play further than the given roles. Therefore, the ethnographic method of complete participation was effective to collect the unified language behaviors among speakers and the basic instrumental date-collections of subjects (e.g., age-group, gender, social status or birthplace). Not only disclose the front region of the subjects as collective representation but also it is important to focus on the behind of masks of the subjects: What kind of impression the subjects try to give? Do the subjects want to conceal something? The language usage differs outside of the class? The approximation of subject's identity is insufficient only in the classrooms because of the limitation of time and the obstacle of the dramaturgic metaphor. As mentions Goffman, the dimension of role performance is less effective outside of the space separation. Therefore, I extend the fieldworks outside from the classrooms into public spaces where there are less biased by the influence of role performance of individuals. In the city of Barcelona, where happen to be carried various activities, which represent

Catalan folklore cultures in the public spaces. Such Catalan traditions, cultural events or political events create a mass of people; they are some way unified, and there is a case that they share a similar identity. Public gatherings are *Sardanes*, *Havanera*, *La Feria de Abril Barcelona*, The *Sant Jordi* festival, *La festa Catalana, 9N and Via Catalana* and so forth. At there, I focus more on the complete observation rather than complete participation in the classrooms to classify precisely individual's behavior and language usage in the gatherings. I accompanied with a group of *Havanera* and chorus to some performances on the street and at the elderly residence in Barcelona. The necessity of fieldwork in public spaces or gathering is to standardize the vague concept of Catalan identity by gathering small elements of scattered individual's will with a command of micro-scope perspective. The remarkable urban studies of Jane Jacobs illustrate the concentrations of small elements in city life:

> With urbanization, the big get bigger, but the small also get more numerous. Smallness and diversity, to be sure, are not synonyms. The diversity of city enterprises includes all degrees of size, but great variety does mean a high proportion of small elements. A lively city scene is lively largely by virtue of its enormous collection of small elements. (Jacobs 1992: 148)

No doubts that the city of Barcelona is mingled with multiple ethnicity and identity. Moreover, Catalan identity does subtly vary when we look closer. It is inevitable dealing with a city problem of "disorganized complexity" as Jacobs adapted the term from Warren Weaver. "Because the life sciences and cities happen to pose the same *kinds* of problems does not mean they are the *same* problems." (Jacobs 1992: 439) We can state the same for identity problem; we share the same kinds of problems, but it isn't the same. The significant thing is to perceive what kind of problem individuals pose by filtering disorganized complexity. The analytical methods are to reveal the process of composition of identity, to seek for "unaverage" clues in small elements and to work inductively from particulars to the general. According to Jacobs, "unaverage" quantities of small elements are often the only announcers of the way various large quantities are behaving, or failing to behave, in combination with each other. Finding non-ordinary clues of individuals are somehow awareness of lack or

different from ordinary. The awareness of lack or difference emerges one's identity discrepancy as a problem. Moreover, it is necessary to consider in which one's identity perspective emerges from micro-scope or macro-scope. It is because problems may differ each other, in other words, they may share the same kinds of problems but may not the same. For instance, as for the Catalan identity, Catalan-Gypsies (Andalusia) ambivalent identity as a whole should be investigated by micro-scope perspective. On the other side, Catalan general identity as a whole should be investigated by macro-scope perspective. By considering the peculiar case of Catalonia, Buxó Rey (1973: 37) studied the Catalan naming behavior in two different periods, the post-war and the pre-war in Barcelona and emphasizes the "concrete ethnography," which will define and establish the forms of action which are relevant for the systems' rules. That is to say, an ethnographer of language must perceive what is meaningful for the subjects, speaking produce social action and it is the reflection of historical ethnic backgrounds.

2.2 Interviews: Hammersley and Atkinson (1994:158) points out, "the differences between participant observation and interviews are not as great as sometimes it may seem." And the both cases, we need to take into account the context and the effects of the researcher and the necessity of creating a rapport. For my case, I have had no difficulties to make some rapports with the informants and many of the informants are willing to answer the general inquires thanks to the complete participation. At the same times, some methodological questions arise: interview to whom, when, and how? The interviews have been held as the style of informal before and after the classes or during the activities. Some of the interviews have been done at the coffee shops in the relaxed environment for the informants. Interestingly, all elder informants took the sugar packets home with them, which came with the coffees for free. They say "during the civil war, sugars were valuable." I have repeated several interviews to the same informants to ask for some clarifications or further questions. The second interviews are commonly rich in the contents, which tend to involve the informant's sentiments more than the general narratives from the first interviews. Through the participant-observation in the classrooms, I could prepare some working hypothesis with the lists of the

questionnaire before the interviews. The questionnaire is about language usage (study motivation and language competence for each category), basic data (age, birthplace, school) of the informants, and narratives caused by the language barrier. Most of the questions are open and indirect questions, which are to avoid "yes" or "no" answers and to make the narratives more empirical and personal. My posture of listening is active to the respondents and to limit the distortion of the stories during the interviews. To make the informants speak freely, the interviews has been done informal ways. And if necessary, I have led the talks towards what listed in the questionnaire, tried to minimize interrupting the informants while talking, and listened carefully without losing the meaning. To avoid any prejudice or distortion of information, I have always asked the informants about the historical backgrounds of individuals (impact of the ban of Catalan language, the Franco regime and so forth) even though I have acknowledged well though the previous other interviews. During the interviews, I have focused on mainly two purposes: One purpose is to get as many as personal narratives regarding the motivation of language acquisition to compare with Catalan bilinguals who have already recovered the language in the early period after the Franco regime. For the other purpose, I have recorded the corpus of speaker's language usage to find some certain norms and any code-switching point from Catalan to Castilian or the reverse. With a sense of these purposes, the interviews became informative for both individual backgrounds and conversation analysis to investigate certain types of interactional speech acts. A group interview was held as a consequence of personal interview (From one to one interviews in the beginning but some other informants participated in the discussion and became the group discussion.) The group interview became disorganized when people talk at once. However, the intermingled conversations provided abundant speech acts and code-switching clues. As mention Hammersley and Atkinson (1994:162), "In a group, the interviewer will find it harder to control the interview. On the other hand, the group interview can encourage informants each other to speak." At the same time, some ordinary conversations among the semi-speakers have encouraged my working hypothesis. They produce some particular ways of speaking when they interact with each other, and it has facilitated me to conceptualize the language behavior. "For linguistic anthropologists, the interview might be a time to obtain

background cultural information that is crucial for understanding particular speech exchanges." (Duranti 1997: 102) Some neighbors of mine, monolingual Castilian speakers (never studied Catalan), have accepted to be interviewed the personal narratives and experiences that allow finding the boundaries of speech community between monolingual Castilian speakers and Catalan-Castilian bilingual. The contribution of various interviews has revealed that people have a different perspective towards a shared history. After the interviews, I have broken down the stories meticulously by the similarity and the difference between the informants, and from each particular story, I have tried to make a representative social unit of semi-speakers. More important, the principle is to approach the level of "beyond words" or "language outside of language" regardless the language barrier and reveal informant's feeling towards the fact that they have spent many years without mother tongue. The individual interviews became more personal history involved, and the narratives are reflected some significant historical modification points of individuals, for instance, immigration, mobilization, urbanization, or bilingualism. In consequence, these modifications influence in everyday life (e.g. job opportunity, ethnic conflict, language-code switching and so forth.)

2.3 Date-collection, documents, and date analysis: Besides the participant-observation and interviews, it was indispensable to gain knowledge of individual narratives and wide historical view. To cover this, I have analyzed online narratives of the Catalan newspaper called *Ara,* the online articles collected under the title of *"Tell us about your history: how you learned to read and to write in Catalan when school is not in teaching?"* Over 400 individuals' shorts narratives help to reach to the date saturation for capturing the meaning of language acquisition and language motivation for the people who have or had failed to develop full fluency and normal adult proficiency. More important, the existing narrative analysis is a part of constructing hypothesis regarding semi-speaker's identity. Therefore, I have referred to the various related studies: Woolard (1989), Buxó Rey (1973,1993,1999,2002) Botey (1986), Bastons & Busquets (2015) and Candel (1964). In the field of sociolinguistic, referred the date mainly from Vallverdu (1990) and Siguan (2009). The theoretical construction is based on the domain of anthropology and linguistics, Duranti

(1997), Chomsky (2006) and Lévi-Strauss (1963). I established the Catalan nationalism concepts based on the work of Gellner (1983). Lastly, I developed the discussion towards the field of social psychology to approach psychological processes of the collective group mind at the reference of Goffman (1981, 1959) and Inoue (2007). I have collected all field notes, classified by similarity and difference and described collective speech act and behavior sorted by possible identity category. The analyses are dependent heavily on human utterance and language behavior so that I encounter the obstacles of generalization or nomothetic. However, to maintain the emic view of my research, all language practices should be considered equally valuable.

2.4 Radio talk analysis: Among the various research methods, I have chosen the radio talk analysis because the abundant corpus is available online and the accessibility. Moreover, according to Goffman in *Forms of Talk*, radio talk or announcing are suitable for ethnographic or sociolinguistic research in order to find "ritualization" of speech act with open-accessibility.

> "The key contingency in radio announcing is to produce the effect of a spontaneous, fluent flow of words – if not a forceful, pleasing personality – under conditions that lay speakers would be unable to manage." (Goffman 1981: 198)

The radio corpus helped to collect the effect of a spontaneous speech act under self-conscious. Moreover, semi-speakers are unable to follow this ritualization of speech act in radio announcing so that many speech lapses occur such as faults. With these individual speech faults, failure feeling and ashamed feeling arise in the mind of speakers, which contribute constructing the hypothesis. Methodologically, first, I examined in which radio program I could collect as a corpus of Catalan semi-speakers among the different available radio programs. Second, I focused on a mainly audience-participation radio program for a reason that this kind of program is convenient finding a corpus of Catalan semi-speakers compares with other kinds of programs. The conversation reveals the dissonance between ordinal language user and professional speakers like radio jockey or announcer who talk under the routine conduct on the air with self-conscious. Finally, among various available corpus, I have picked up one

corpus to be analyzed as accurate as possible, which represents the Catalan semi-speaker speech act and behavior. To determine who is the semi-speakers relies on some significance tendencies of their speech act, such as *Castilianism*, the intonation, or any pauses occurred by hesitation.

2.5 Transcription: The transcription is adapted in various formats: translation only (from Catalan to English), translation of original texts (the both Catalan and English), or parallel translation (the both original Catalan and English) including original grammatical errors in order to maintain a horizontal understanding between speech action and beyond words. As linguistic anthropologist or ethnolinguistics, one side of the fieldwork is to describe precisely linguistic practices and phenomena of subjects. On the other hand is to transcript their experience and narratives. Therefore, I accommodate several formats of transcriptions to highlight the each aspect of the analysis. I have adopted the both of analogical methods and dialogical methods for the transcription of informants. Among the speech corpus and the writing samples, I dedicated to analyzing more speech acts than writing for some specific reasons. First, people are inclined to utter unconscious rather than the acts of writing because the writing gives you some time to think during the act, which may be biased. Second, speech acts provide some additional aspects (e.g. pause, a tone of the voice, overlapping and so forth), which allow us to investigate further the feature. Third, the code-switching seldom happens in writing, which is one of the remarkable language acts of semi-speakers. The recording of actual conversations is articulated based on the original dialogues or utterances (included overlap, pauses, emphasis or false) of the subjects with the careful transcription in order not to omit the actual language usage. Moreover, the most members of the informants are in the language acquisition process so that many times, they have difficulties to vocalize or write in proper ways. In other words, they are unable to follow the proper grammar. In consequence, the congruent language phenomenon (Barbarism) emerges as language behavior, which is a spontaneous speech act and should be articulated precisely. As mentions Duranti (1997: 144), "A transcript that only shows what people have been saying may leave out some important aspects of what was happening at the time among the participants." Therefore, I employed the bold characters,

underscores or parentheses to emphasize the meaning or implication of the linguistic practices and added some notes to enrich the transcriptions.

2.6 Non-native speaker as a researcher: The fact that my mother tongue (Japanese) is different from the informants (Castilian or Catalan), as a language researcher, there are some advantages and disadvantages, which should be considered. Unlike the Romance language of Castilian and Catalan, my first language belongs to the different language origin. Therefore, the first year of the fieldwork, I educate my ears to be in the speech community of Catalan and Castilian. Among Catalan semi-speakers; I could easily establish a rapport with them who tend to show difficulties to catch up the classrooms because we share the experience together having the same problem with them. Moreover, sometimes, it turns to be a sympathy because they perceive that I have more language obstacles to overcome to become fluent in Catalan. However, regardless the different possession of the first language competence between the informants and me as a researcher, sharing the same time and space facilitate me to approach subjects' sentiments. Occasionally, I encounter difficulties to capture the topic of conversations and become isolated due to the lack of shared experience and culture (common jokes or perspectives). However, at the same time, this experience barrier became my advantage of ethnography to capture the psychoanalytic contrast of Clifford Geertz's (1983) distinction between experience-near and experience-distance to balance between subjectivity and objectivity. The perspective differences from the observer reveal the unified viewpoint of the group studied. Duranti (1997: 160) points out that non-native speaker often starts from the wrong assumptions and a native speaker has privileged access to theory building and hypotheses. I agree with him because I presupposed that only Castilian monolingual speakers who have low-competence of Catalan employ Barbarism, which was the wrong assumption. The language usage of Barbarism is everywhere, and everyone even Catalan regular speakers employ it in the Catalonian speech community. However yet, thanks to the peculiarity of the subjects that they are also non-native of Catalan, permit me to approach and comprehend the subjects although there have been some barriers.

2.7 The Informants: The number include some dropouts students of the language schools, and as there are a high number of Castilian speakers from South America. Remarkably there are no Catalonian origin students in the elementary class, where students learn from how to pronounce the letter of Catalan alphabets. The elementary class is still high-level for no-Romance languages speakers so that mainly the dropouts or suspends the exam are from no-Romance languages origin (e.g. Chinese, Russian or Pakistani). Commonly, Catalonian-born Castilian monolingual speaker starts from the intermediate class. Among Catalonia-born speakers and Spanish-born speakers, their habitual language is Castilian. The students in the advanced class, the motivation of learning differs between non-Catalonian-born and Catalonian-born. Non-Catalonian-born students are to obtain an official certificate. On the contrary, Catalonian-born students are to recover the Catalan language, they are the age group above fifty or retired. In the conversation class, students who have difficulty speaking Catalan and they are mainly the age between 40-50 only females. In the orthographic class, all of the students are the retired age, the oldest age is 84, the majority is females (two males). They strive to write proper Catalan orthography. The interviews have done the informants with the age group above 40 from Catalonia-born and Spanish-born outside of Catalonia. They are the generations who have experienced the language repression during the Franco regime or the language instability after the post-Franco. The names of informant mentioned in the resource to be kept anonymous, and it states as informants or given the pseudonyms names.

Elementary class
Catalonia-born: 0
Spanish-born outside of Catalonia: 2 (Bilbao and Madrid)
Castilian-speaking origin: 6 (Argentina, Colombia, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela)
Romance language origin: 2 (Italian and French)
Others:5 (Chinese, Ukrainian, Polish, Japanese and Danish)

Basic class
Catalonia-born: 1 (Barcelona)
Spanish-born outside of Catalonia: 2 (Seville and Madrid)

Castilian speaking origin:3 (Guatemala, Ecuador and Venezuela)
Romance language origin:1 (Brazilian Portuguese)
Others: 2 (Ukrainian and Japanese)

Intermediate class
Catalonia-born: 4 (Barcelona and Lleida)
Spanish-born outside Catalonia:1 (Madrid)
Castilian-speaking origin:2 (Guatemala and Ecuador)
Romance language origin:0
Others: 3 (Japanese, U.S. English, and Polish)

Advanced class
Catalonia-born: 8 (Barcelona and Lleida)
Spanish-born outside Catalonia:2 (Granada and Galicia)
Castilian speaking origin:3 (Guatemala, Ecuador and Venezuela)
Romance language origin:1 (Brazilian Portuguese)
Others: 2 (Japanese and Polish)

Conversation class
Catalonia-born: 2 (Barcelona)
Spanish-born outside Catalonia:1 (Madrid)
Castilian-speaking origin:3 (Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia)
Romance language origin:1 (French)
Others:2 (Japanese)

Orthographic class
Catalonia-born: 7 (Barcelona, Zaragoza)
Spanish-born outside Catalonia:2 (Palencia, Bilbao)
Others:1(Japanese)

The informants outside of the language schools
Catalonia-born: 4 (Barcelona, Majorca)
Spanish-born outside Catalonia: 3 (Granada, Malaga, and Salamanca)

3 Language, Culture, and Cognition

> *"For the notion of culture as learned patterns of behavior and interpretive practice,*
> *language is crucial because it provides the most complex system of classification of*
> *experience. Language is also an important window on the universe of thoughts that*
> *interest cognitive scientists." (Duranti 1997: 49)*

> *"The language is not limited to a culture, but has intercultural competence."*
> *(Buxó Rey 2002: 32)*

3.1 Nature of language in relation to culture and cognition: It is to highlight
my discussion and necessary to consider a theoretical consideration, nature of
language with culture and cognition. The remarkable passage of Edward Sapir
(1921:1) in *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*, "It (language)
seems as natural to man as walking, and only less so than breathing." Sapir
describes the action of walking as an organic function or instinctive, on the
contrary, the act of speech is a non-instinctive or cultural function. This leads us
a principal question of whether if the language is a social and cultural
construction. If not, what is the nature of language? From the perspective of an
anthropologist, Philippe Descola develops an existing notion of a distinction
between culture and nature towards a differentiation between interiority and
physicality. Here interiority refers to the attributes associated with the soul, the
mind, or conscious. Descola (2013: 91) points out the differences between
human and animal in relation to language; "thanks to language, he (man) has
access to introspection, inferences, and generalizations; his knowledge grows
and, surpassing animals in the use and development of the capacities that they
nevertheless share, he ends up by distancing himself from them." It seems that
language is the part of natural human science, at the same time it stands out
the uniqueness in the discipline. The notable linguist, Noam Chomsky (2006:90)
considers the aspects of human language and animal language from a different
perspective; "the ability to acquire and use language is a species-specific
human capacity, human does not learn it by experience but rather as innate
organ, that there are very deep and restrictive principles that determine the
nature of human language." That are rooted in the specific character of the
human mind. That is to say, human language has a clear principle to express

human mind compare although the fact that the linguistic dimension is abstract. In short, language does not exist alone, and it is uttered or afforded naturally and culturally by a human through the cognitive structure of the human mind. Therefore, interdisciplinary field studies are a necessity to approach human language as a cultural practice, a phenomenon, a social act and so forth. The structural anthropologist, Claude Lévi Strauss (1963) states that the relationship between language and culture is an exceedingly complicated one in anthropology and linguistic disciplines, and strives to approach this problem in various ways. For instance, language is a condition of culture in two ways. First, "language is a condition of culture in a diachronic way because it is mostly through the language that we learn about our own culture." (Lévi Strauss 1963: 68) Second, in a structured way, culture is built the same type of material out of which language is built. Moreover, Lévi Strauss considers language as a social phenomenon. "The structural linguistics with particular reference to phonemics meets a requirement of condition for a valid mathematical study among all social phenomena thanks to the possession of the greatest degree two fundamental characteristics which make it susceptible of scientific study." (Lévi Strauss 1963: 57) For one hand, most of the linguistic behavior lies on the level of unconscious thought. For the other hand, we are not ordinarily conscious of the phonemes that we employ to convey different meanings. Therefore, when we speak, we are not conscious of the syntactic and morphological rules of our language. Furthermore, the theoretical knowledge never corresponds completely to the experience of the speaker itself. We may enable to interpret a way of speaking of individuals but unable to interpret fully individual's mind. According to Lévi-Strauss, the human mind is universal, everywhere the same included "primitive thought", and cultures perform in different ways which are shared by all humans and adapted to specific living conditions.

3.2 Language and mind, beyond words: Chomsky (2006) questions what contribution the study of language can make to our understanding of human nature. What is the nature of a person's knowledge of his language, the knowledge that enables him to make use of language in the normal or creative fashion? A person who knows a language has mastered a system of rules. For the daily language users, knowing the rules of language is indispensable to

express their mind unless using sign language. Once the users reach to the proficiency, they dominate the sounds and the meaning, which allow them to structure the sentence in a definite way. "Of course, the person who knows the language has no consciousness of having mastered these rules or of putting them to use, nor is there any reason to suppose that this knowledge of the rules of language can be brought to consciousness." (Chomsky 2006: 91) In this context, the key term is human cognition between conscious and unconscious, and this is what linguistic anthropologists are interested in what speakers *do* with language. Chomsky classifies two aspects of language; competence and performance in *Aspects of Theory of Syntax* (1965). Competence is the ability of language or the knowledge. Competence is mostly unconscious that a native speaker has of the principles that allow for the interpretation and use of a particular language. By contrast, performance is the actual use of a language and is not only based on competence but also following principles such as attention, perception, and memory. For Chomsky, the function of performance is a surface level of language (surface structure). On the other hand, the ability of language as competence is the language acquisition device. The principle question is here as a linguistic anthropologist, if competence is the knowledge of a language that an ideal speaker should have, what will happen for a semi-speaker with low-proficiency and what kind of performance they play upon their competence?

Chomsky strives to reach human mind through language by the notion of "deep structure". The deep structure is a formal structure that relates directly not to the sound but the meaning. On the contrary, the "surface structure" corresponds to sound or phonetic interpretation as the function of performance. The deep structure is related to the surface structure by certain mental operations in the modern terminology of "grammatical transformations." Each language can be regarded as a particular relation between sound and meaning. Therefore, the deep structure lies on rather close to human thought than an utterance. It is no exaggeration to say that the deep structure may work as another different language, which stays outside of real existed language. That is to say, it works not only as a language but also as the mind. Therefore, knowledge of a language involves the ability to assign deep and surface

structures to an infinite range of sentences, to relate these structures appropriately, and to assign a semantic interpretation and a phonetic interpretation to the paired deep and surface structures. This outline of the nature of grammar seems to be quite accurate as a first approximation to the characterization of "knowledge of a language." The surface structure determines the phonetic interpretation completely and that the deep structure expresses those grammatical functions that play a role in determining the semantic interpretation, although certain aspects of the surface structure may also participate in determining the meaning of the sentence in ways. (Chomsky 2006: 27) For instance, the sentence of "Flying planes can be dangerous.", meaning either the act of flying planes is dangerous, or planes that are flying are dangerous. We comprehend the meaning by using the terminology of grammatical transformations in our mind. In short, the deep structure is meaning and the structure of the mind. The process is the following: the words come out on the surface as language, this is the implication of what we have in our deep thought, and the grammar constructs a language as the norm. This process contains cognitive activities, regarded as mental: thinking, planning, interpretation, evaluation, and so forth.

> … if we are ever to understand how language is used or acquired, then we must abstract for separate and independent study a cognitive system, a system of knowledge and belief, that develops in early childhood and that interacts with many other factors to determine the kinds of behavior that we observe; to introduce a technical term, we must isolate and study the system of linguistic competence that underlies behavior but that is not realized in any direct or simple way in behavior. (Chomsky 2006: 4)

Duranti admits the influence of the deep structure of Chomsky, it is a level of linguistic categorization that it is not directly visible or audible but nevertheless necessary to explain why a language behaves in a certain way. If the deep structure of human mind is "Language outside of a language", it may be no longer exists as language; however, language is a natural phenomenon and certainly relates to the deep structure of Chomsky, which is focusing on not only what humans say, but rather it relies on what humans think. (Duranti 1997: 59) For Chomsky, deep structure is universal, however, cannot deny that this

is based on the standard average European language. It is against the theory of Sapir, which supports the uniformizing force of human language when we consider the "linguistic relativity hypothesis" or the "Sapir-Whorf hypothesis":

> "No tribe has ever been found which is without language and all statements to the contrary may be dismissed as mere folklore […] language is an essentially perfect means of expression and communication among every known people. Of all aspects of culture it is a fair guess that language was the first to receive a highly developed form and that its essential perfection is a prerequisite to the development of culture as a whole." (Sapir 1933:155)

3.3 Language in the scheme of conscious and unconscious: For Lévi Strauss(1963), the conscious models are known as norms, which are social phenomenon, suitable for structural analysis, however, norms are not intended to explain the phenomena of the cause of custom or belief but rather it's meant to perpetuate them. Therefore, clear conscious models or norms become the paradox for researchers as the inaccurate conscious. Despite these difficulties, Lévi-Strauss emphasizes that "even if the models are biased or erroneous, the very bias and type of error are a part of the facts under study and probably rank among the most significant ones for the anthropologist." (Lévi Strauss 1963: 281) In other words, the cultural norms are not of themselves structures. But rather, they supply an important contribution to an understanding of the structures. Above all, the most difficult but important value of conscious models it that they could help us to approach to human unconscious mind as long as they are tied with the structures. Furthermore, there is the importance of stating the clear distinction between unconscious and preconscious, what we call subconscious. In response to this argument, Descola questions against to Lévi-Strauss the following:

> "But what is the nature of this structural subconscious? Is it present in each mind in the form of cognitive imperatives that remain tacit despite being culturally determined, or is it distributed among the properties of the institutions that reveal it to the observer? How is it internalized by each individual and by what means does it act such a way that it may

determine recurrent behavior patterns that can be translated into vernacular models?" (Descola 2013: 56)

Those questions might be discussed in psychoanalysis discipline. However, anthropology such a discipline of knowledge, it should not make a separation of disciplines between science and non-science or human and non-human likewise many authors argue Descola (2013), Chomsky (2006) or Lévi-Strauss(1963). Especially, the disciplines of cognitive anthropologists rely on the knowledge of linguistic categories. For instance, Lévi-Strauss's typology of kinship naming system, the terms and concepts of "uncle" in Chinese kinship system may differ from the Indo-European kinship system. Kinship naming may mean nothing from the perspective of *Animist* or *Totemist* because the propositional knowledge and the rules may imply differently. Just like we as for Western, the concept of "shaman" or "totem" may sound sort of mystical categorization compared to their standard kinship system. Therefore, as suggested by Descola, we should construct cognitive schemas, which are rooted from a particular acquired language or culture experience in order to situate human cognition. This seems the most significant and the complicated work that we should strive to research as linguistic anthropologist.

3.4 Language behavior, bilingualism as a cultural cognitive phenomenon:
In the bilingual or multilingual community, M. Jesús Buxó Rey (1978: 180) states that the internal organization of the human being and the external environment constantly interact to produce cognitive structures governing socio-cultural behavior. Moreover, culture is dynamic to the extent that is the cognitive ability of the individual, and language is also dynamic to the extent of culture. Furthermore, bilingualism as a cultural cognitive phenomenon in linguistic basis and asserts that we should aim to get the cultural interpretation of bilingual language behavior because the mental activity of an individual is a process of constitution of culture. According to Buxó Rey, the acquisition of language is fundamental in the bio-cognitive development of the individual. The acquisition of the first language feedbacks in the maturation and the complexity of cognitive structures; It is thus a fundamentally bio-cognitive-cultural process. However, on the contrary, learning a second language is a cultural phenomenon a result of historical conditions that motivate learning and are such as an adaptive

measure to the development of new communication needs or impositions. Buxó Rey (1988: 44) also discusses from the perspective of language behavior; cognitive processes involved the constructive action of mind on cultural experience, whether this perceptual, or any other language. Furthermore, in acts selectively in constant contact with the sense of social structure, and depending on the characteristics of the factors involved in the perceptual interaction: sex, age, topic, location, context, motivations, values, attitudes and so forth. In this sense, the deep levels of cultural knowledge are coded in terms of social relations.

3.5 "Vulgar language" in time and space: The work of Dante Alighieri in "*De Vulgari Eloquentia*" in the fourteenth century is still remarkable to consider the real human use of language. Among the same ethnic groups, it is natural that language changes when time flow because it cannot stand still as always. Moreover, it changes in various ways depends on the original of those who live far there. This modification flow of language is just like when folklore manners and customs change in many ways due to the human sentiments and the necessity of lands. On the contrary, Latin language as a language of the elite, require time spending to acquire grammars and no alteration beyond the differences of time and space. For Dante, such language is no longer natural language because human minds are equally dynamic regardless the possession of literacy. Therefore, until the appearance of Castilian dialect in the late fifteenth centuries, the ordinal language speakers, commonly peasants who were unable to leave behind their labor for daily survivals and they employed the vulgar language. Also they had own grammar but dismissed, and categorized as barbarian language. The discussion accounts for the conception of "drift" in language of Sapir (1921). Language flow and change as if time flows.

> "no language can be spread over a vast territory or even over a considerable area without showing dialectic variations, for it is impossible to keep a large population from segregating itself into local groups. The language of each of which tends to drift independently. Languages can change at so many points of phonetics, morphology, and vocabulary that it is not surprising that once the linguistic community is broken it should slip off in different directions." (Sapir 1921:150)

3.6 The case of Japan, *Katakana* phenomenon as sociohistorical context:

The Japanese language has transformed due to sociohistorical reason likewise Catalan language. In cognitive discipline, Japanese language behavior as phenomenon shifted to a unique tendency towards the international language of standardization and the aggregation of English language after the Meiji period. In Japanese theories so-called *Nihonjinron*, Japan has been already acknowledged as monoethnic-nation and monolinguistic country although there are few ethnical minorities: *Ryukyuans* or *Ainu* that dominates 2.5 percent of the total percent of ethnic-linguistic minorities in Japan. Contemporary Japanese language is composed of three distinctive types of words (*Kanji*, *Hiragana,* and *Katakana*) and combines these three words in order to construct a sentence. Commonly, *Kanji* function as norms or verbs; *Hiragana* as conjunctions and *Katakana* are the words previously called as "*Gairaigo*" that were the words originally imported from Western countries. *Katakana* mainly is used and translated directly from foreign language including foreign technology words, i.e., the Internet or Online. More precisely, the first *Gairaigo* dictionary contained 6,800 words in 1915. With the times *Gairaigo* converted into *Katakana* in Japan and then by 2010 *Katakana* Dictionary contained 56,300 words[1]. Blai Guarné (2014) argues regarding the use of *Katakana* in Japan and finds some peculiar ambivalence and hybridization of language between Western words and Japanese words. Guarné concludes that Katakana words incline to be integrated semantically correct but dissimilar in translation, and the phenomena access linguistic and cultural intersections of global nature. The Japanese language behavior of *Katakana* has developed in their mind, and the lexical meaning tends to be twisted by Japanese via the daily usage. In cognitive linguistic discipline, Katsumasa Shinozuka and Mikio Kubota (2012) investigates that *Katakana* is regarded as the most difficult among three distinctive types of Japanese writing system for Japanese language users. The following are the brief models of their research.

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[1] *Consaisu Katakana Jiten* (Concise Katakana dictionary)
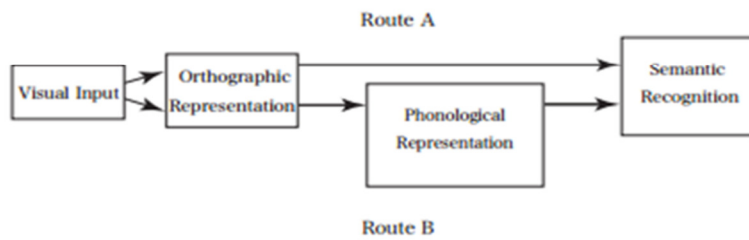
Kadota Model (1998)
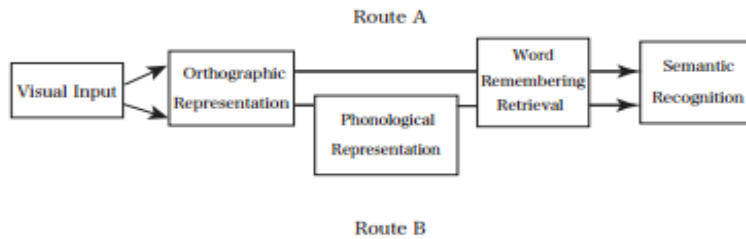
Meyer Model (1974)

Shinozuka & Kubota referred to Kadota (1998) and Meyer (1974) theories of the cognitive process. Kadota theory is that when we input a word (Visual Input), there are simply two ways to reach an understanding (Semantic Recognition). First, the both ways need to pass the orthographic representation (i.e. Japanese speaker: *Kanji*, *Hiragana,* and *Katakana*, and English speaker: alphabets). Second, the word goes through either the Route A or the Route B. The Route A is going through an inner speech (subvocalization) in order to reach an understanding, which is lexicon repeat in the brain. By contrast, the Route B is going through the phonological representation, which is the recognition of sounds. Meyer theory is to pass and add the Mental Lexicon (Word Remembering Retrieval), which is a remembering process by using an own dictionary (memory) to reach an understanding. The recent study of Eriko Ando and the other authors (2015) investigate the *Katakana* phenomenon for Japanese-English bilinguals in the cognitive discipline. Japanese-English bilinguals are affected lexical decision latencies caused by *Katakana* as recognition memory or implicit memory in a store shared by both Japanese and English. The emergence of *Katakana* has changed Japanese ordinary usage of language. Moreover, the effect is remarkable in the domain of cognitive ability. From a different approach to Japanese language behavior, the Japanese folklorist, Kunio Yanagida criticized in "*Kagyūkō*" (1930) about the phenomenon of the transformation of the Japanese language. Since the Meiji period,

Japanese had devoted chasing foreign theories or knowledge small piece by piece, and had omitted to pay attention to the radical change of own their natural language (including some banished dialects such as the *Ryukyuan* languages). As well as the increase of *Katakana* language due to the import of Western lexes, ordinary language users are taken their natural language away. In consequence, the abundant foreign words impose them but they hardly understand in meaning. As a result of the phenomenon, Yanagida argues that it created the society that honest individuals should be silent in everyday public life under the language repression. Moreover, these whose are being forced to fall in silence, they should be released from such a language pressure. In response to Yanagida's argument, we find a large number of allusive phrases regarding the Japanese linguistic behavior as follows:

> "*Iwanu wa iuni masaru* " - The less said, the better. - Few words are best.
> "*Iuta son yori iwanu son ga sukunai*" - Silence is better than speech. - The loss is bigger when you speech than silence.

In short, language acts upon the human mind, and these language behaviors, both conscious and unconscious, are variable dependent on sociohistorical time and space. Moreover, language behavior is a cultural cognitive phenomenon when congruent languages act upon.

3.7 The aim of linguistic anthropology: How can we know about reality or influence other peoples' thoughts and actions? Linguistic anthropologists rely on mental states explain what we mean by language as influenced by these beliefs. Descola (2013) criticizes that the Lévi-Strauss's structural model (1963) is insufficiently concerned in cognitive as it is lacking the point of view of a physiologist and develops the construction of mental schemas, which progress itself results from a change of perspective in the study of human cognition. This led to an interest in the nonlinguistic dimensions of the acquisition, implementation, and transmission of knowledge. Also, all perspective and cognitive processes throughout neuronal networks, which face the situation partially so familiar with the kind of situations od ethnologists, in which people appear to regulate their actions as if these were dictated by cultural imperatives that they are nevertheless not able to express. Cultural anthropology strives to

find the difference of human interiority, but on the other hand, physical anthropology does its similarity of human exteriority or physicality. When it comes with dimensions of language, we need to surpass the boundaries between the disciplines with either both micro and macro perspectives. M. Carme Junyent (2000: 46) proposes the following process for linguistic anthropology 1: To make a list of behaviors "natural" and behaviors "cultural." 2: To look for terms of one particular area that also is used in everyday language. Moreover, check if they are isomorphic in both contexts. 3: To search for examples of objects, habits, animals, and so forth. Moreover, categorization clearly depends on the language and not their actual characteristics. Duranti (1997: 3) also articulates, "the position of linguistic anthropology is an inherently interdisciplinary field, it relies on and expands existing methods in other disciplines, linguistics, and anthropology in particular, with the general goal of providing an understanding of the multifarious aspects of language a set of cultural practices, that is, as a system of communication that allows for interpsychological (between individuals) and intrapsychological (in the same individual) representations of the social act." This attributes Bronislaw Malinowski's argument of the importance of linguistic research for an anthropological understanding of human societies as well as the theory of *ethno-linguistic* as follows:

> "There is an urgent need for an ethno-linguistic theory, a theory for the guidance of linguistic research to be done among natives and in connection with ethnographic study." (Malinowski 1920:69)

The discipline of linguistic anthropology plays multiple roles at once. Language is a socio-cultural phenomenon, which is a result of historical conditions. If culture and language resemble each other in structure, the role of the linguistic anthropologist is valid in many ways. Language behaves upon the human mind. In other words, without the human mind, there is no language. The construction of mental schemas is assigned as the aim of linguistic anthropology.

4 Sociohistorical and sociopolitical problems

4.1 The dilemma of bilingualism:

"As we move into the study of conflict in modern complex society, we must come to terms with the highly politicized character of our research problems. The political nature of research itself becomes clearer than ever, with both positive and negative consequences for the study. On the one hand, there is no difficulty in getting people to talk about the topics of language and ethnicity in Barcelona. But on the other hand, there is a heavy layer of conscious, received political ideology – expressions of what ought to be the case – coating more quotidian attitudes and behaviors."

(Woolard, 1989: X)

As mentions above, Kathryn A. Woolard did fieldwork for the bilingual situation in Barcelona in 1979 and who has well recognized the complexities of this research in anthropological discipline because anthropologists focus on stable and unconscious social process. In this chapter, I address how the Catalan language has shaped under the repression and the immigrant waves.

4.1.1 Linguistic variety: In sociolinguistic discipline, it is important to distinguish between "language" and "a language". According to Duranti (1977: 69), "the former refers to the human faculty to communicate using particular types of signs (e.g. sounds, gestures) organized in particular types of units (e.g. sequences)." On the contrary, the latter refers to a particular sociohistorical product, identifiable with a label (e.g. English, Catalan). Moreover, the contrary word of "a language" can be "a dialect". This distinction has to be clear in my argument because the peculiar case of Catalonia, Barcelona has become a multilingual speech community due to the political and social change in Catalonia. Commonly speaking, people tend to regard the Catalan language simply as a dialect of Spanish, notwithstanding the Catalan language is an officially codified language. This dichotomy between "a language" and "a dialect" can simply be due to social stigma or to a political decision to give one particular dialect the status of the standard language. John J. Gumperz (1972) argues that linguists do not agree on a technical definition of a language as opposed to a dialect, and the distinction is often political as linguistic. Woolard also mentions that this common popular impression of which Catalan is a dialect of Spanish and continues the following:

"One facetious definition of a language relevant in the Catalonian case is 'a dialect with an army'. In strictly linguistic terms, then, it is not of interest to insist on the status of Catalan as a language. To avert common misconceptions, however, it is important to do so, since Catalan fits none of the usual definitions of a dialect." (Woolard 1989: 13)

As linguistic anthropologists, we cannot always trust members' characterization of linguistic differences and groupings. Therefore, instead of employing the word of language or dialect, we should employ the terminology of linguistic variety or repertoire. For Gumperz (1964: 137), the linguistic repertoire is "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction." More important, Duranti (1997: 72) mentions that "although repertoire is different from what is usually understood as 'grammar,' it makes similar assumptions about norms and expectations. One of its advantages in that it does not have the same presuppositions about 'speaking proper'." All speakers should have a language repertoire whether if they acquired it at school or not. Regardless the possession of a repertoire, for researchers, we focus on how speakers act upon the repertoire. Despite the fact the new emergence of linguistic varieties recent years in Catalonia due to the immigrants outside of Castilian speaker's territory, there are two main and classic linguistic repertoires: Castilian and Catalan, these are the legitimate languages as bilingual. Therefore, at this point, we may presuppose that an individual born and raised in Catalonia, the person should have language competence at least Castilian and Catalan as linguistic varieties. However, there are some exceptions for the rise of linguistic diversities in Barcelona in recent years. Furthermore, some questions arise, what's kind of linguistic variety or repertoire exist in Catalonia? For what reasons an individual choose one language or the others from his linguistic varieties? Is there any similarity or difference between in particular time and space?

4.1.2 Speech (linguistic) community: When we discuss the linguistic variety, it is inevitable to argue the speech community, in other words, is a linguistic community that is a social group that can be monolingual or multilingual, united by the frequency of forms of social interaction deficits communication lines. More important for linguistic anthropologists, "we do not work *on* a language

variety but the language variety (or varieties) spoken *in* a particular community."
(Duranti 1997: 72) That is to say, the definition of a speech community is a
group of people, sharing a unified way of speaking among them, and at the
same time, it can be a social unit of psychologic, and they create language
phenomena which are worth investigating. For Duranti, linguistic anthropologists
start from the assumption that any notion of language variety presupposes a
community of speakers. Such a community is a point of reference for the
individuals who use a given variety as much as for the researcher who is
interested in documenting such usage. For Bourdieu (1991), a linguistic
community is a product of the political domination that "is endlessly reproduced
by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant
language, is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic
domination." (Bourdieu 1991: 46) Moreover he continues, "to speak of *the*
language is tacitly to accept the official definition of the *official* language of a
political unit. This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that
unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language."
(Bourdieu 1991: 45) In this context, the remarkable linguist, Mikhail Bakhtin
(1981) also argues that the concept of the linguistic homogeneity is an
ideological construction to establish a national identity through a national
language.

> "We are taking language not as a system of abstract grammatical
> categories, but rather language conceived as ideologically saturated,
> language as a worldview, even as a concrete opinion, insuring a
> maximum of mutual understanding in all spheres of ideological life. This
> kind of a unified notion of a language has no necessary relation to real
> language use." (Bakhtin 1981: 270-272)

Bakhtin classifies linguistic variety against the continuing tension above
historical forces that serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world.
The centripetal forces of language impose speakers to adapt the
standardization of linguistic identity, which is represented as a "unitary language"
and "centrifugal language" or better explained as a system of language norms.
Commonly it is to overcome the heteroglossia of language or opposed to the
realities of heteroglossia. The centripetal forces of language are the historical

processes of linguistic unification and centralization. On the other hand, the centrifugal forces of language push speakers away from a common center towards different language functions both as the process of decentralization and disunification alongside the process of verbal-ideological centralization and unification. Catalonia as multilingual speech community, these forces evidently affect directly with the ordinal speakers. The title of a legitimate language or an official language has significant meaning for language survivor. How has the Catalan language shaped as a political domain or ideological construction?

4.1.3 Catalan as territory language: The argument of nation and state in Catalonia seems an infinite debate. Although many authors have discussed regarding Catalan nationalism, Manuel Delgado (1998) argues that nationalism is nothing in itself, but affirms that nationalism has been there at least so far in Catalonia. Nationalism is ideological and emotional power both pluralistic and inclusive. Some degree, it establishes the ethnic identity and its depends on a personal choice rather than on the acceptance of the concept of nation. (Delgado 1998: 199) Delgado suggests that we should resign the notion of Catalan as a "territory language" or the idea that Catalan is a natural language of Catalonia. Miguel Siguan (2009: 103) states that the classical theory of Catalan nationalist as a national project, which incline to consider the language as an essence of nationalists. Moreover, they include all the Catalan-speaking territories. Joan Fuster proposed in his essay of "Nosaltres, els Valencians" in 1962 that since the Valencians share the same language with the Catalans, Valencians should share the same language with the Catalans. According to the Catalan textbook of "*Gramàtica pràctica del català*" (2011), Valencian language is considered as one of the geographical linguistic varieties of Catalan language among the Balearic Islands (*Balear*), North-Western (*Nord-occidental*), and Northern (*Septentrional*). According to the date of Francesc Vallverdú (1990: 78), in Valencia, there was 25 percent of people who did not understand Catalan in contrast to the percentage of the Balearic, it was 10 percent. Catalan nationalism is a political project of *Catalanism* or *Catalanitza*, which has always been the object of the territory. The Basque Country is apt to be contrasted to Catalan due to its peculiar complex nationalism. The founder of the Basque Nationalist Party, Sabio Arana considers Catalan nationalism with strong tied

with language because Catalan people is in favor when a immigrant learns the Catalan language, and thus he or she converts in Catalan. The process of *Catalanitza* will complete when they dominate the language. By contrast, Basque nationalism is based on the genetic race that continues throughout the centuries. (Siguan 2009: 105) Catalan nationalism promotes the cultural unity of Catalans as the political project. Moreover, to some extent, Catalan nationalism has been there as territory language for the unification.

4.1.4 Chronological change in speech (linguistic) community in Catalonia: Francesc Ruiz (1996: 17) articulates when a language community abandons the language itself does not ever natural causes but as a result of political actions. Catalan linguistic community is a complex story. I have addressed some linguistic terminologies (linguistic variety and speech community) because those are of particular importance to highlight the case of Catalonia that has been facing to multiple language conflicts. The socio-political history of the Catalan language is extremely complicated to address in this limited work. However, it is yet important to comprehend the background of individuals. Therefore, I point out briefly the chronological change and the language transformation. The situation in the nineteenth century, it is well known that the situation in Catalonia had been in the situation of *diglossia* bilingualism for a long time. It was the situation that the "language A" (Castilian, high language) represented formal language, which tended to be employed in literature, education, Church, administration and so forth. On the contrary, the "language B" (Catalan, low language) was informal language such as for colloquial language, family or friends use. For this reason, standardization of Catalan language was a necessity.

- ***From Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (1914-1925) *to the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera* (1923-1931)**

During the twentieth century, one of the principles political changes for the impact of the Catalan language was the establishment of the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* in1914. It was the first governmental body in Catalonia. At the same time, Pompeu Fabra's Catalan language grammar, *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*, was published in 1912, and Sebastià Bonet (2012) asserts that it was

undoubtedly the most important grammatical treatise published in Catalan throughout the twentieth century. Moreover, thanks to this work decisively settled the foundations were established and largely limits grammaticalization of modern Catalan. The following year, the *Normes ortogràfiques del català* was published by *l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* in 1913. The dictatorship of the Primo de Rivera disbanded the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* and prohibited the use of Catalan language in 1923. In consequence, the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* was to be forced to suspend and lasted until 1925. The first dictatorship of the Primo de Rivera (1924-1930) is not well recognized as much as the second dictatorship of Franco (1939-1975). In any repressive regime, the oppression of national freedom and Catalan culture has nothing but exacerbated/intensified catalán identity.[2] (Vallverdú 1979: 34) Therefore, the more being repressed and antagonize Catalanism, the more Catalan people feel more Catalan.

- ### *Generalitat de Catalunya* (1931-1939)

The undergoing project of standardization (normalization) of language came back to the topic since it was the subject and suspended during the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya.* The subject to replace the situation of Catalan as language B to establish as language A. It finally happened in 1931 when *Generalitat de Catalunya* approved the both Catalan and Castilian as co-official (*cooficialitat*) language[3]. The use of Catalan was extended in these periods although there were some gaps between oral usage and writing usage. Habitual oral usage in Catalan was the majority in Catalan. By contrast writing usage in Catalan was a minority. It was because it was not the fully bilingual situation in institutions until 1936; finally two languages were obligated in schooling. (Vallverdú 1990: 23) However, the language autonomy lasted only in the short period from 1931 to 1939. Francisco Franco declared the following statement:

> "*Spain is organized in a wide totalitarian concept, through national institutions to ensure full, its unity and continuity. The character of each region will be respected, but without prejudice to national unity, that we*

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[2] En tot règim repressiu, la persecució contra les llibertats nacionals contra la cultura catalana més aviat exacerbà els sentiments catalanistes.

[3] Article 3 of the Statute of Interior in 1932 proclaimed: << The language of Catalonia is Catalan >> .

want absolute, with one language, Castilian, and a single personality, the Spanish." [4] (Franco, 1939)

- ***Franquisme, the Dictatorship of Franco (1939-1975)***

The ban of Catalan language drastically became strict than the dictatorship of Rivera. (Bastons & Busquets 2015: 137) The Franco regime and the prohibition of Catalan language were continued almost 40 years until he died in 1975. Vallverdú divides these periods into three: the period of the defeat resistance from 1939 to 1944, the period of a long fight against genocide from 1945 to 1961, and the period of the moderate liberalization from 1962 to 1975. The public use of Catalan language was totally prohibited even the name of the street in Catalan was replaced and renamed into Castilian. For instance, the street named as Antonio Gaudi was renamed back again to the street of Primo de Rivera (The street renamed two times for the dictatorships). Vallverdú shows the difficulties to give numbers the actual use of Catalan speakers during the first period from 1939 to 1944 although many Catalan speakers continued employing the Catalan language for informal use among family and friends. (Vallverdú 1990: 24) During the second period from 1945 to 1961, some cultural manifest appeared little by little. The verbal use of Catalan was frequent especially in petit bourgeoisie or popular environment for some private and public schools. Vallverdú (1990: 28) himself documented his personal experience at the University of Barcelona in 1952 when he was in a queue at the registration office. He saw a poster was labeled inside "Speak the language of the empire" and he felt a strong madness. A student behind of him shared the madness with him and screamed: "We must take this poster out." This narrative is one of the examples of the social change that many individuals especially among young generation started losing their fear towards the dictatorship and claiming their freedom of speech. A Catalan magazine, the "*Serra d'Or*" was published in 1959, which was a significant advance because many individuals gave testimony to recover the Catalan language by reading the magazine.

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[4] España se organiza en un amplio concept totalitario, por medio de instituciones nacionales que aseguren su totalidad, su unidad y continuidad. El carácter de cada región será respetado, pero sin perjuicio para la unidad nacional, que la queremos absoluta, con una sola lengua, el castellano, y una sola personalidad, la española.

During the third period from 1962 to 1975[5], the use of Catalan become widened. However, the situation was so-called passive bilingualism.[6] The number of Catalan speakers declined during this period due to the increase of immigrants. During this period, Francesc Candel's famous argument of the other Catalans, "*Els altres Catalans*," was published in 1964. Candel's argument represented the immigrant's sensitivity of exclusion from the society, and his work was recognized later by many authors (Pujol 1976, Mas 2014, Siguan 2003, Woolard 1989, Bastons & Busquets 2015, and Botey 1986).

> *"The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera came to Catalonia with his sons; the sons later had some children; who will doubt that they are not Catalans? It is not of custom but birth. They form the generations here, and they are all will be "the other Catalans."* (Candel 1964: 34)

- **Post-war, democracy (1975-) Normalization/Standardization (1983-)**

The Law of Linguistic Normalization was passed in 1983. It was a jurisdiction over education, and all Catalan children would be educated in Catalan language, regardless of their maternal language. In other words, it is the recuperation, reform or reconstruction of Catalan language. It was a modernization of Catalan language because of the necessity of adapting to the industrial society in order to reconstruct the national liberty and to reestablish national language. (Vallverdú 1979: 116) It indeed affected Castilian-speaking immigrants settled in Catalonia as per the argument of Candel in 1960's. Here emerges the new polemical problem, the right of Castilian speakers, so to speak monolingual Castilian speakers who do not have language competence of Catalan.

Above all, even though this small limited chronological catch up describes how the speech communities in Catalonia has drastically changed in terms of socio-political and socio-historical context. From 1930 to 1975, Catalan speakers increased from 2.1 million to 3.4 million and at the end of the Franco regime, the metropolitan area of Barcelona carried more Castilian speakers than the other major cities (Girona, Vic, Berga), where the majority were

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[5] Article 2 of the Statute of Interior in 1965, : << The Catalan language is the same as the Spanish, the official language in Catalonia. >>

Catalan speakers. (Vallverdú 1990: 33) Once the language autonomy comes back, the social situation was changed dramatically, and the uncertain situation was continued as per Candel argues.

4.1.5 Immigration Explosion (the Catalans vs. the others): During 1900-1950, an average increase per year was 25.000 immigrants, during1950 - 1981, it grew to 90.000 immigrants. (Termes 1983) 38.1 percent of the populations was emigrants mainly from Andalusia occupy in 1975. Catalonia in 2000, there were 250.000 immigrants and it occupied 5.8 percent of the population. In 2011, the expansion of a number of 1.300.000 immigrants and 27.8 percent, the immigration impact aggravate the multilingual situation, especially in Barcelona. (Ortega 2013) The president of Catalonia 1954–1980, Josep Tarradellas stated "*Catalonian citizens, I am here now*" in 1977[7]. The president of Catalonia 1980–2003, Jordi Pujol (1976: 42) stated: *"Catalan is everyone who lives and works in Catalonia, and with all their efforts to help to become Catalonia."* These famous passages are to include consciously these immigrants, who feel being excluded from so-called the Catalan society. Despite the fact of the political encouragement towards citizens, the boundary of two ethnic identities got bigger. Vallverdú (1979: 167) claims to respect to the immigrant culture. Any policy that encourages the eventual crystallization of ethnic minorities stable was wrong and dangerous policy because it bases on a superficial vision of Catalan society and cultural interests of actual immigrants. Moreover, it helps to perpetuate a linguistic conflict among ethnic minorities.

4.2 The question of Nationalism:

> *"Nationalism should be enough "open" to welcome the others without losing their identity and enough "close" to maintain it without excluding… They fail to understand that language is more than a sum of signs, letters or semicolons to communicate... Catalan is the clearest sign of identity. Touching Catalan is to touch feelings."* (Carles Bastons 2015:14)

The major migration waves in Catalonia can be divided into three periods: between 1916 and 1920, between 1966 and 1970, and between 2001 and 2005. In the modern Catalan society, the question of nationalism started

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[7] "Ciutadans de Catalunya, ja sóc aquí." In Catalan.

during the twentieth century when Catalonia was in the period of industrialization, and it was a decisive period to increase inequality of economic development in different regions in Spain. Moreover, the postwar period of immigration explosion accelerates the so-called Catalonian nationalism. Nation and State concept in Catalonia is a unique because "nation is a word mired in political assumptions in Western usage, and it can be fighting word in Spain." (Woolard 1989: viii) In general, the word of "nation" and "nationalism" refer to the sentimental community of Catalonia or *Catalanism*. By contrast, "state" will refer to the central Spanish state. Ernest Gellner (1983: 1) states that "nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones." Gellner admits the complexity to define the nation compare to the state, which could be defined as order-enforcing agencies (nation) or the central political authority (state). Gellner points out that some conditions that the problem of nationalism only arises when there is the state, but not every state. In other words, only some states has the problem of nationalism and it is necessary considering nationalism and nation/state in parallel. We find difficulty to answer the fundamental question: what is the nation? Gellner strives to define it by contrasting with a "contingency" because neither nations nor states exist at all times and in all circumstances. Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency. In order to clarify this complex concept of the nation, Gellner (1983:1-7) simplifies it as two conditions. One situation is that two men are of the same nation under the condition of that they share the same culture. Another situation is that two men are of the same nation under the condition of that they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. A mere category of persons (e.g. occupants of a given territory or speakers of a given language) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly "recognize" certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-membership.

4.2.1 The mechanism of nationalism: According to the typology of Gellner, the mechanism of nationalism is understood by dividing three stages of human

history (hunting-gathering, agrarian and industrial). Nationalism provokes the transition from agrarian to industrial. The principal changes of the conditions in the agrarian age illustrate the contemporary nationalism in which was engendered in the industrial age later. For the first change, the majority of the population was peasants or agricultural producers, and the minority was specialists. For the second, they were affected by the great two innovations, which were the centralized government (politic) and the discovery of writing (culture). Gellner's theory (1983: 106-108), in an agrarian society, there were less congruent points in where to meet both cultural and political boundaries contingently in a social structure. On the contrary, industrial society impels these boundaries are on the whole congruent. In other words, the agrarian age the limits of the culture were the limits of the world, and the culture often itself remained "invisible". Industrial age with mobility, it has become "visible" of inequalities of politics, economic and education, at the same time, new culture-congruent political bodies are emerging. Therefore, people have cause to feel unjustly treated, and that he can identify the offender as being of another "nation." If he can identify enough of the victims as being of the same "nation" as himself, nationalism is born, on the moment he recognizes as a victim being of the same nation, or rather the same identity. In sum, the nation is "now important thanks to both the erosion of sub-groupings and the vastly increased importance of a shared, literary-dependent culture." Therefore, it is inevitable "the state is charged with the supervision of an enormous social infrastructure." (Gellner 1983: 62) In other words, nationalism has been defined as the striving to make culture and political body congruent, to provide "a culture with its own political roof, and not more than one roof at that." (Gellner 1983: 42) Nationalism is a recognition of "sentiment", the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle. At the same time, Nationalism is an action of "movement", one actuated by a sentiment of this kind.

4.2.2 Nation without State in Catalonia: According to the transition to an age of nationalism of Gellner, early industrialism means population explosion, rapid urbanization, labor migration, and also the economic and political penetration of previously more or less inter-turned communities, by a global economy and a centralizing political body. Marina Subirats (1988) points out that Catalonia has

passed a major industrial development in the second half of the nineteenth century, at that time, the industrialization was almost nowhere to the rest of Spain, except for the Basque Country. Throughout the twentieth century, what contributed decisively to the formulation of a Catalan national question is this difference in the rates of penetration of capitalism between regions. Because it formed a middle class and an industrial working class modern and maintained a state that impedes the expansion of the middle class, which create tensions among their specific culture. It was the processes of bourgeois revolution. The nation in question was set in the twentieth century, which has primarily as a basis of economic inequality in different regions of Spain during the period of the bourgeois revolution. According to Subirats, modernization and rationalization of institutions could not come from a central state without prestige, but depends on the possibilities of democratization based; and this necessarily implied a democratic form of political autonomy for Catalonia. The universal values of equality and liberty are mixed with an affirmation of small particular culture against the extension of homogeneity with occidental culture. However, when it comes to the case of Catalonia for political projects, it becomes faint because they are prone to associate with *antifranquista* as a symptom.

4.2.3 The typology of Catalonia nationalism: According to Gellner's typology of nationalism (1983), we can find the Catalonia nationalism situation. The typology was divided by eight degrees of nationalism (or non-nationalism) situations by the various possible combinations of a two principal factors within two cultures (culture A and culture B). One factor is the power-holder. The other factor is access to education. These factors help us to define whether if non-nationalism or nationalism, we may rely on the differentiation of culture A and culture B. If there is no culture difference or shared culture between two cultures (culture A and culture A), the situation will be non-nationalism. On the contrary, nationalism emerges in a situation of two different cultures (culture A and culture B). Gellner (1983:18) Furthermore, the keyword is "high culture", which means standardized, literacy and education-based systems of communication. Under the situation, states that a high culture diffuses the whole of society and needs to be sustained by the political body. Among the typology of his

nationalism, the classical liberal Western nationalism is the closest type of the modern Catalan society; a situation of two different cultures (culture A and culture B). More precisely, the situation in which one of the cultures possess power and some do not, and they co-exist in a single territory, but there is no significant difference when it comes to access to education. The complex case of Catalonia is that the power-holder has been switched various times mutually or sometimes partially between two cultures. It historically marks that it is not only nation-state boundaries but rather Catalan-Castilian boundaries, which have been symbolized by language for a long time. That is to say, having such a particular socio-historical background of Catalonia contributes to creating nationalism as a sentiment and as a movement. Furthermore, Catalonia as a nation has been surviving against the central political force of state without downgrading as a local low-culture thanks to the prestige of Catalan and keeping the status as a local high-culture. (Delgado 1998, Duranti 1997, and Woolard 1989) We should consider the diachronic sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia, which illustrates the relationship with the state. It is plausible that the Catalan as a nation against the state carried out from the fifteenth century. Enric Prat de la Riba, the president of the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* from 1914 to 1917(until he died), documented that there were some initiations of political unification towards Catalonia during the period of King Felip II (1556-1598). Upon the establishment of the Spanish "Cortes" in Madrid by Felipe II in 1561, Catalonia became effectively and virtually subject to the domain and ideology/political thought of Castilian. (Bastons & Busquets 2015: 32) Therefore, King Felipe III (1598-1621) imposed over the regime of the absolute power of the sovereign characteristic of the Castile. His slogan was only one law of Castile, for everyone. Bastons and Busquets (2015: 46) affirm that since then, the Catalan history became the history of the fight for the survivor. This response to the Gellner's statement (1983: 113), "in the industrial age, only high cultures in the end effectively survive." The Catalan as a high culture has barely survived against Castilian including the decadence of Barcelona September 11th in 1714; the fall attributed to the high prestige language of Catalan. The fact in Catalonia, there is a reversal of the usual power relation between majority and minority languages. The minority language, Catalan is not the low

prestige language, but the language of the economically dominant bourgeoisie. (Duranti 1997 & Woolard 1989)

4.2.4 Catalan high culture and prestige language: The leading Catalan intellectuals of the eighteenth century did use Castilian for their work. (Woolard 1989:21) However, many nobles and bourgeois elites carried out their correspondence in Catalan. In the nineteenth century, the sociolinguistic situation was *diglossia* in Catalonia. That is to say, Castilian was for formal (*de jure*) domains as a high "language A." On the contrary, Catalan was for informal (*de facto*) domains as a low "language B." (Vallverdú, 1979: 15) Only literary shifted to Castilian, but oral or informal usage remained as Catalan though a significant portion of the population was illiterate. However, the key point here is that the majority of bourgeois (the liberal bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie) were Catalan speakers. This is a valid scheme particularly in Barcelona, as the rural areas the situation is somewhat different, as are naturally all farmers even conservative forces have in common with the liberal forces small bourgeois or agrarian their Catalan demands. Woolard (1989: 22) points out that "in the eighteenth century unity of purpose between Madrid and Catalonia dissolved in the nineteenth century as the structural differences between a more industrialized and bourgeois Catalonia and a still essentially agrarian Spain became aggravated." The story of nineteenth century Catalan nationalism has most often been understood as the story of the frustrated attempt at bourgeois revolution by industrial elite. (Hansen,1997) "The Catalan industrial bourgeoisie was unable either to gain control of the instrument of the state or to identify its interests as those of Spain as a whole; only then did Catalonia become the nation and Spain the state. (Woolard 1989: 22) Alejandro Lerroux was the leader of the Radical Republican Party though the period of the Second Republic, who against Catalan nationalism. His name became the symbol of *anticatalanism*, which was spread out as *Lerrouxisme* that attracted the working-class immigrant workers from the south of Spain beginning in the 1920's. According to Vallverdú (1979: 15-16), as for the bourgeoisie trader and industrialist, who obtained to power, was ideologically passive with regard to the linguistic conflict and resigned to the new bilingual situation. However, the petit bourgeoisie and the progressive forces soon understood that it was necessary

to recover the Catalan if they wanted to play a leading role in the face of classes (in their majority illiterate). This scheme involves the Catalan case of convergence of interests between the bourgeoisie and the feudal forces against the popular centralist oligarchy, which took place from the late nineteenth century a large mass nationalist movement. Gellner (1983: 105) writes "the industrial order requires homogeneity within political units, at least sufficient to permit fairly smooth mobility, and precluding 'ethnic' identification of either advantage or disadvantage, economic or political." In this line, Delgado (1998: 197) claims that the ethnic or national identity is not the cause but the result of complex dynamic historical, social, political, economic, and so forth, and that cannot be understood apart from the way human groups with specific interests and objectives used as a source of legitimacy. Thus, we should not be the nation which gives rise to different nationalisms: they are the various nationalisms, which literally invent the nation and advocating on behalf which claims to fight. Gellner also warns us to perceive nationalism with cautions because nationalism tends to treat itself as a manifest and self-evident principle.

4.2.5 Present Nationalism - Independence movement: The recent independence project explains by the ability of the nationalist discourse to expand the idea of a nation to demand democratic civic participation and political regeneration that is beyond the traditional identification between language and identity. The following discourse of Artur Mas, the President of Catalonia from 2010 to 2016, pursues the independence under the name of own identity, culture, and language or all together as Catalonia's personality:

> "Catalonia is at a historic crossroads, […] Catalonia, our country, is a nation. A nation that, in order to maintain its identity and move forward, needs tools of state. This nation has existed for many centuries. It has its own identity, culture and language, and its own institutions. Catalonia wants to follow, and indeed must be allowed to follow, its own path. […] We have repeatedly tried to help transform the State to make it ours. We had hoped that Spain would be understanding, tolerant, and above all, respectful of Catalonia's personality, of its culture and its language, and of the hopes for progress and well-being of the Catalan people. […] But

what do we find has been the answer from the State over these past three decades?" (Mas 2013: 10)

On September 11, 2012, on the Catalonia's National Day, 1.5 million people demonstrated and marched in favor of the independence of Catalonia and to be the next new state in Europe. The following year of 2013 on the same day, estimated from 1 million to 1.6 million[8] people demonstrated again remarkably so-called the movement of the Catalan Way (*Via Catalana*.) The recent work of Judith Butler (2015: 73-75) remarks the importance of the dimensions of the bodily action or "performative act." Mass demonstrations are "bodily actions" and create spaces. Space and location are created through the plural action of individuals. Butler calls it as the "assembled bodies.", which is the bodily actions, "together they exercise the performative power to lay claim to the public in a way that is not yet codified into law and that can never be fully codified into law." Moreover, this performative act is not only speech, but the demands of bodily action, gesture, movement, congregation, persistence, and exposure to possible violence. Furthermore, the vulnerability of languages such as hate speech acts like physical harm. In this argument, Butler (1997: 81) articulates "the performative power of hate speech is figured as the performative power of state-sanctioned legal language, and the contest between hate speech and the law becomes staged, paradoxically, as a battle between two sovereign powers." The current independence movement in Catalonia illustrates the inclination of movement, rather than sentiment.

4.3 Speaker's language competence as a remnant of history: The definition of nationalism has a weakness, which is language. "Culture, an elusive concept, was deliberately left undefined. But at least provisionally acceptable criterion of culture might be language." (Gellner 1983: 42) One hand, the unstable definition of nationalism can only rely on the stable definition as a common language. But the other hand, the nationalism weakens when we only rely on a language. If we presuppose different language is a cultural boundary, we may estimate the number at around 8,000 languages (a rough number), and this number does not correspond to the number of states, which can be estimated as 200 national

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[8] 1 million (Carles Bastons, Lluís Busquets, 2015: 175)

languages. Therefore, Gellner (1983: 43) regards these language number boundaries as "potential nationalism". From the perspective of language, to become a legitimate national language is enough polemic for linguistic survival. In this line, language survival is enough discussed in Catalonia. The sociolinguist, Miquel Siguan (2009: 129) alarms not only from the perspective of identity discrepancy but also from the language discrepancy of individual's competence because the use of Catalan language for Catalans had a serious limitation because the education was practically all in Castilian. Therefore, Catalans did know neither how to read nor how to write. There are some statistical data from the *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* for the years between 1994 and 1999, which demonstrate this problem more precisely.

Competence in Catalan:

Speak in Catalan	79'1%
Do not speak but understand	18'3%
Do not understand	2'7%

Ability to write in Catalan in terms of age:

18-24 years	88'1%
25-34 years	65'7%
35-44 years	35'7%
45-54 years	38'1%
55-64 years	29'1%
Above 64	33'2%

Primer language in terms of age:

	18-24 years	35-54 years	above 54
Catalan	31'3%	41'4%	49'2%
Fully bilingual	23'9%	15'4%	9'6%
Castilian and speak Catalan	31'9%	22'7%	10'8%
Castilian and do not speak Catalan	13'0%	25'5%	29'7%

From the number, it is relevant that majority of the young generations from 18-34 said that they have a capacity writing in Catalan in contrast to the older

generations, who perceive the Catalan language, however, they do not know writing due to the absence of schooling in Catalan. The use of Catalan language for the older generations is remarkably limited because the education was given in Castilian. In consequence, the emergence of the Catalans knows neither reading nor writing in Catalan. On the other side, thirty years after the Law of Linguistic Normalization, it is clear that the Catalans with the competence of Catalan language as the first language not only speak it but are capable of writing Catalan although most remain the Castilian as the first language, that is to say, they are fully bilingual. Siguan (2009: 129-142) points out concerning this statistics that the younger ones are bilingual. By contrast, people over 40 years old tend to have the language barrier that prevents them from being bilingual. The majority of the older people have low proficiency of writing in Catalan although they may speak fluently. Moreover, we must note that the statistic is in Catalonia and the results in the metropolitan area of Barcelona are unfavorable to Catalan due to the high proportion of monolingual Castilian speakers from the immigrant wave. Ortega (2013: 173) mentions the monolingual Castilian speakers influence the statistic of the use of Catalan because there is a generation (Catalan-born between 1963 to 1977), who have Castilian as the first language at a disproportionately high rate and this age group will continue conditioning the statistic of the use of Catalan.

All in all, the case of Catalonia, it is plausible to suppose language matter to find an own identity at least for the generation that has experienced the drastic political changes the last hundred years. To be clear, it is evident that the current problem is not only the issue of bilingualism but also multilingualism. The use of Catalan is decreasing with the progress of immigration from outside of Castilian-speaking origin. The immigrants tend to acquire Castilian instead of Catalan. However yet, due to this particular socio-historical background of Catalonia, the language phenomenon of semi-speakers of Catalan language in this specific age group is worth investigating as a remnant of history.

5 Ethnographic Findings

5.1 Learning motivation of individuals

There are various reasons to initiate learning Catalan language. Individuals' narratives and backgrounds are somehow unified. Over the 400 short narratives are listed online of the Catalan newspaper in 2014 under the title of "*Tell us about your history: how you learned to read and to write in Catalan when school was not teaching?*" The following narratives are from the individuals, who had learned and recovered the Catalan language with the voluntary will in the post-Franco regime.

Teima (Estimate age group: between the ages of 60 and 70)

"My father was Murcian and my mother, Catalan. My father arrived when he was 3-year-old and went to the school of *Generalitat* in 30's and my grandparents with six children. With my uncles and aunts, I have always spoken in Catalan. My parents always spoke to us in Catalan when we were born, and my grandparents were speaking in Murcian (Neither Castilian nor Andalusian, but a "rehash"). When I went to school, I did not know Castilian, and it was not at all traumatic, although there were words I did not know how to tell them, for example, "*safareig*." It is because at home there was a *safareig* and I did not know that it was called as "laundry room" in Castilian. But I did not bring any trouble to speak Catalan at home and school in Castilian. I went to a public school of Franco (the end of the 60's), every morning with my arm lifted and sang songs of *Falagintes* [9](Arrg !!) From the age of ten; I began to write a diary like most people my age did. I had no idea how to write in Catalan, but could not do it in Spanish because in my mind, I thought and spoke in Catalan. I just wrote as sounded with incredible errors. With the age of 13 years I went to Boscan (the end of the 60's), then I went to classes "*Clandestine*[10]" in Catalan. I was lucky."[11]

Teima's father came from the south of Spain to Catalonia. Teima is so-called the second generation of the immigrant as the stereotype of kinship after the

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[9] Ideology of the Spanish Falange political organization.
[10] During the regime, some institutions or monasteries taught Catalan in secret.
[11] (My translation, see the original in Appendix)

immigrant wave. It is remarkable that Teima mentions not only her frustration towards the regime but also towards her capacity of language skills. Teima's language competence is a consequence of the linguistic repression, which is an external factor as an experience and that attributes to the mind, which is an internal factor. Many of this generation talks about "I was lucky." because the opportunity of learning was limited, and few organizations, institutions or monasteries were giving some classes unofficially. Therefore, the environment influenced and conditioned the opportunities of learning for these generations.

Prats (Born in 1957, 59 years old)

"I did my first class of Catalan the year of 1978-79 when I was 21 years old. I went to the *Estudi Lul·lià* and I paid by myself. I think I remember that it was 3.000 pesetas for all courses. When I said that I was going to sign up for the Catalan class, people told me that it was not a wise decision. They advised me to study in English, which would be useful at that moment. In the Catalan class, I was surrounded by school teachers who were to make the recycling classes in Catalan. As a narrative, I remember that a female teacher told me to analyze a grammatical sentence on the board. I'd always been pretty bad, and my syntactic analysis was elementary bachelor level so that the result was a disaster. The teacher with an indignant tone rebuked me harshly:

— Are you a school teacher?
— No, I am not a school teacher; I work at a printing press as an administrative assistant.

— Why do you want to study Catalan?

— To stop being illiterate with own my language.

The female teacher was a little speechless, since that day she dealt with great deference. Thanks to the Catalan, I entered the government." [12]

Prats mentions here that what motivated him to study was to recover his language rather than the escalation of social status and reconciled with the professor since he confessed his spontaneous will of learning. A proportion of

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[12] (My translation, see the original in Appendix)

motivation of learning is not only the voluntary will of individuals but also the improvement of living conditions like Prats' most colleagues (teachers) in his class. There are some reasons to initiate learning, and these reasons depend on the personal environments such as the influence of family member, social status, or the help of social services and institutions.

Jaume Barberà (Born in 1955, 61 years old, Journalist) [13]

Spoke Catalan full of errors (Barbarisms) because the school did not teach the language and reading in Catalan. Jaume put so much effort as always he did in Castilian until the day he could manage to move the consciousness. Jaume started reading books in Catalan on his own when he was 19 years old and signed up a class at *la Institució Cultural del CIC*. He explains "Have had the necessity of learning how to read and write any language they had spoken, but even more if it was mine." Without political conscience, he would not have taken the decision. He participated in the activist against the Franco regime (*Antifranquista*), and "cultural oppression" imposed by the regime. He studied Catalan as "confrontation and rejection of linguistic and social Darwinism." This way was his resistance to a dictatorship that was "trying to eliminate Catalonia as a nation." [...] When he was a kid, he had been physically punished many times by speaking in Catalan likewise his classmates. He does not understand why there are people who deny the fact that the Catalans have suffered in a situation where prohibited their language. "If we would ask now the statewide, whether if Catalonia have endured the repression or not, it would certainly be no. However, if we would ask whether if Catalan is a language, probably it might say no" This, he says, "because it is not taught in schools Spain as diverse but Spain as only, and this helps to create this sociological *Franquisme*." (My translation, the original in Appendix 3)

Miguel Puig (Born in 1954, 62 years old, Economist) [14]

Lost identity on a journey between the land where Miguel was born, Tarragona, and the city where he grew up, Madrid. Moreover, it took 17 years to speak Catalan and return to their land. [...] When he was 17 years old, he could

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[13] Interviewed by Carla Fajardo and excerpted the part. (see the original in Appendix)
[14] Interviewed by Carla Fajardo and excerpted the part. (see the original in Appendix)

say that he "decided to be Catalan" and bought a grammar book of *Artur Martorell* to learn the language. Miguel said, "Being a teenager, what I wanted was to find the way to identify myself to find my identity and my roots rather than revolting against the regime." [...] He likes Catalonia because it is a modern more than the rest of Spain because "Spain, at that time, was embarrassed and now also beginning to do…" and he finds it fascinated with the mythical character, the fact that it was a small country fighting for its identity.

Jaume and Miguel are the same generations having similar backgrounds and currently positioned in a higher social structure. Jaume clearly states the learning motivation was due to the political reason in order to confront to the regime. On the contrary, Miguel speaks about identity and language was a method to be Catalan. As I have discussed in the previous chapters, more important here is that the problems seem the outside of Catalan language, but the language is used as a scapegoat for the problems in Catalonia against the other culture. For Jaume and Miguel, language acquisition is to pursuit the political release or the self-determination of identity. That convinces us to believe that language is a sociocultural and sociohistorical phenomenon in this context. I presuppose two categories of semi-speakers in this age group: one group of individuals may be Teima, Prats, Jaume, and Miguel, whoever acquired the Catalan language after the Franco regime but in the early period. The other group of individuals is currently learning to recover the Catalan language in the later period 40 years after since Franco died. The following transcription is a conversation between two students in the class of orthography. Mercè (Born in 1943 from Barcelona, 73 years old, worked in the textile company but retired now), the parents are both from Argentina. Ana Maria (Born in 1943 from Barcelona, 73 years old, housewife)

Mercè: It is even harder because I don't know the Catalan.

Ana Maria: It's hard...

Mercè: I practice with my nephew because I like him and he also has the
problem of Catalan. I do because I like it and it helps my problem of
Catalan. I don't know Catalan...**I do not know Catalan!**

Mercè: Look, you know what happen? When the teacher makes you to do reading dictation.... then true... I guess what understand... and I write what she reads.... so that I make a mistake with the letters...

Ana Maria: For me... I love reading. I read more books written in Catalan than books in Castilian.

Mercè: I used to speak but it was difficult (the use of Catalan was prohibited in public at the moment).... for me, the Catalan language, is hard to read...

Ana Maria: But... you must find books that easy to understand... Because there are books, especially those which are translated... you will be surprised because the translation has translator... it's beautiful and also there are words that you have to (Barbarism: *tens d'anar*) look up the dictionary to find out the meaning. This is what is happen with books in Catalan. Now, if a Catalan (the author) writes that, not a translator, a Catalan who writes, is much more comfortable being able to read it. Now I'm reading and it is really nice.

Mercè: I find it difficult to pronounce... I operated the neck ... because I had an accident ...

Ana Maria: Well, it is good to read aloud.

Mercè: My theater professor told me ...... (Castilian / code-switching) "what you have to do is to read aloud, go ahead!" (Catalan / code-switching) and I was embarrassed because I had some words in Castilian that I could not even pronounce well and started ... (Castilian/ code-switching) It is that I do not want to because they laugh at me .. But when you do theater you know from memory. (Catalan/ code-switching) I was 32 years when I started doing theater at Educación y Descanso[15]. It was stable theater.

Ana Maria: (Castilian) **Educación y Descanso...?!** 32 years...
(Catalan / code- switching) then how old are you?!

Mercè: I'm 73 now and will become 74 years.

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[15] It was a recreational organization during the time of the Franco dictatorship in Spain.

Ana Maria: Well you have the same age with me... but for me... Educación y Descanso, already there were no...

Mercè: Yes, but there were.. they put you in the middle... we did an only one play in Catalan, I was playing a Catalan but, **I did not know how to pronounce!!**

Mercè: I'm going to the next year the reading class in Catalan and you make a comment about the book…

Ana Maria: I'm also signed up... we are a group of women then (Barbarism: llavorans) we read a book and coment... that is really nice....

The transcription reveals the difficulties and the motivation of learning the Catalan language without schooling in Catalan. They can manage to have the smooth conversation although they employ consciously or unconsciously the alternation of code-switching between two languages and the Barbarism. Moreover, the individuals try to recover Catalan at the age of 70. As well as Mercè and Ana Maria, most semi-Catalan speakers are unable to write in Catalan despite the fact that they can speak fluently in Catalan. According to the date of Vallverdú (1990: Appendix), the level of knowledge of Catalan by age and sex in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, the age group of Mercè and Ana Maria has the highest percentage with the low-proficiency of language competence in Catalan when they were the age of 35-55. Particularly for women, less than 20 percents did know the both how to speak and write, and around 30-40 percents could speak Catalan but did not know how to write during the year of 1990. The major part of learning motivation for Mercè and Ana Maria seems attached to own their culture. Genis, a colleague of Mercè and Ana Maria, is from Barcelona the age group of 70 is taking a reading class in Catalan besides the orthography class. Although Genis speaks fluent in Catalan but struggles writing a proper way and the motivation is to read books in Catalan. Catalan cultures (theater, chorus, literature and so forth) fascinate and motivate them to learn, in general, they are so attached with the Catalan cultures regardless the language competence. The advantage of this age group of students that they are all retired so that they have sufficient time to dedicate learning. However, they must work hard inputting the grammatical theories and

methods, which heavily rely on the memorizing process. A load of cognitive abilities is grave for them. Commonly, learning a second language in adult age require tremendous efforts and time-consuming. Despite the fact that there are always a high proportion of dropouts during the courses due to these difficulties, it is remarkable that there are few dropouts among the older age group of semi-speakers. Of course, many mono-Castilian speakers learn Catalan as an instrumental motivation (the desire to get ahead in some way) rather than integrative motivation (the desire to be accepted by another group). They tend to be the age group between 30-50, the generation seeks for a certificate to be able to work at public institutions or social sectors where require the Catalan language as a second language or to get some benefits as an extra advantage of skill. However, learning opportunities of Catalan language keep declining even during my fieldwork. For instance, the elementary class was abolished, and the tuition has become a double since the past three years. Individuals who decided not to learn Catalan, they tend to say that Castilian is enough for living so that they will not initiate learning unless having strong determination or reason. This tendency often seems in a particular group of students among monolingual Castilian speakers who are mainly from the South America or Romance language speakers. Although there are some dropouts due to the jobless situations but they show less difficulty learning in the Catalan language in basic and elementary class because of the resemblance of lexes and grammars. However, from the upper level (intermediate class,) it is remarkable that only a few motivated students remain whom can sacrifice time and effort. Rudolf Ortega (2013: 141) claims that the system for a host language (*llengua d'acollida*) for new arrivals in Catalonia is not enough such immigrants from an origin outside of Romance language speaking countries (e.g. Marroquin, Pakistanis, Russian or Chinese.) Social status as well unifies the learning motivation among speakers origin outside from Romance language. I have picked up three informants to illustrate the variety and diversity of the multilingual community in Barcelona.

Ana: a middle age Ukrainian female (native in Ukrainian and fluent in Russian and basic level in Castilian) has been over ten years in Barcelona and started to learn Catalan to integrate into the Catalan society, and her domestic

partner is Catalan speaker. Ana lost her job at a restaurant and faced with the serious jobless situation during attending the course of the second year of Catalan so that she decided to abandon it. Ana explained that she arrived in Spain from Ukraine without possession of a valid visa. For Ana, Spain was the easiest country to enter among EU countries to leave Ukraine and country did not matter. Ana explained that there were many merchants hiring immigrants without a valid visa due to the bubble economy in Barcelona during that period. Not only Ana but quite many students from non-Romance language origin speakers abandoned the classes during my fieldwork because the classes are organized and prepared mainly for Castilian speakers. Individuals like Ana with low-proficiency of basic Castilian language or Romance language, the load of work is double comparing to other Castilian speakers, and it is hard to maintain the motivation of learning, said Ana.

Xiao: a Chinese working mother with two children and married with a Catalan-born husband. Xiao directly started to learn Catalan when she moved from Hong Kong three years ago, and her motivation for learning Catalan was to integrate to the Catalan society. Moreover, Xiao's husband who is "*Catalanist*" in her words, asked her to learn Catalan in order to give a "Catalan education" to their children. Xiao speaks in Chinese (native Cantonese), fluent in English and Catalan but not in Castilian. Xiao admits the difficulties of Catalan language, but she has a positive impression of the Catalan language. Xiao is not planning to study Castilian at that moment. Therefore, Xiao's language choice in Barcelona is mainly in Catalan and alternatively employs in English. Xiao is a middle-class foreigner with a high "cultural capitals" or "the accumulation of cultural capital" in terms of Bourdieu in *the Forms of Capital* (1986:48), which will widen the opportunity of Xiao: which language to speak, what education to give to the children or which identity to have among many.

Amir: a young Pakistani male, who works in an Indian restaurant in Raval, Barcelona. Abdul has been learning the Castilian language for three years at an official language school to get a certificate. Amir has never thought to learn the Catalan language instead of Castilian because he is working all the time when he is not attending the class. Moreover, being able to get the opportunity to study at the official language already means a lot to him. In the restaurant, Amir

does not like selling alcoholic beverages because of his religion and sometimes Amir advises clients not to drink alcohol. It seems a distant future that Amir learns Catalan one day although living in bilingual community because language is not only cultural boundary that he must overcome. Working-class immigrants from the origin the Far East like Amir is the new immigration in Catalonia. Siguan (2003: 13-15) argues that the cultural shock and boundary should be minimized for them because they are more culturally vulnerable for integration than the old immigrants from Eastern Europe or emigrants from Spain.

As a summary until here, the learning motivations are somehow unified when we breakdown to the meticulous categories (age, gender, social status, race, geography, time and so forth). In consequence, we can reach to individuals' difficulties or barriers behind of their motivations. Being motivated enough to learn the second or third languages rely on individual voluntary will. The point of giving up or keep on learning divides language variety of individual as language competence. The language varieties determine linguistic choices of individuals in given situation, and it creates a speech community. As a bilingual community, it seems difficult to maintain the balance between two official languages. Barcelona is currently facing the divergence point of language varieties to become a multilingual society, mingled individuals with ethnic and cultural characteristics different from each other.

5.2 Language Norm of Code-switching in Barcelona

In the bilingual and multilingual community, a remarkable trait of language norm is code-switching. The word of code here refers to language or dialect in the linguistic discipline. In this chapter, I aim to find certain patterns of semi-speaker's code-switching phenomenon in Catalan-Castilian bilingual situation. Code-switching phenomenon under the terms of "language etiquette" or "accommodation norm" often occurs consciously by individuals' choices or unconsciously from individual's experience or discipline. Speakers follow their cognitive sense (memory, experience, perspective or intuition) to shift language from one to the other by managing the various patterns. According to Woolard's typology (1989: 67-69), the code-switching patterns can be determined by the

following traits; interlocutor choice, location, physical cues and accent. These patterns seem still valid and were observed many occasions during my fieldwork even though some updates may need for adapting to the contemporary accommodation norms. The accommodation clue of interlocutor choice is largely based on assumption. Therefore, on many occasions, it is safe to accommodate conversation in Castilian to avoid misleading or conflict due to the increase of speech community in Barcelona. The multiple linguistic varieties accompany the diversity of ethnic varieties. In other words, it is appropriate to speak Catalan only when one knows that a person is Catalan from experience or only with who has a clear sign of the Catalan identity. These patterns clearly depend upon the choice of the bilingual speaker because Castilian monolingual speaker will not be given any choices to choose. However, is seems not only because of the matter of competence but also the matter of language attitude. Woolard (1989: 69) clearly states "The rule for which language to speak in this system is very simple: Catalan should be spoken only between Catalans." Moreover, describes the peculiar language phenomenon of Catalan-Castilian bilingual:

> "A very high percentage of Castilians are passive bilinguals (93.5 percent of my experimental sample claimed to understand Catalan at least fairly well); nonetheless, according to the traditional norms, bilingual conversations are avoided. Interchanges in which the participants each use their own language are not considered by traditionalists to be proper, and one language must be elected for the conversation. A person who uses Castilian in response to Catalan, even when giving every indication of perfect understanding, traditionally provokes an automatic shift to Castilian on the part of the Catalan speaker." (Woolard 1989: 69)

In my years of fieldwork, I witnessed this bilingual norm on many occasions as language behavior of Catalan-Castilian bilinguals. Why Catalan-Castilian bilingual take it for granted that they behave as a switcher? To support Woolard's argument, I refer to the following transcription, which is a typical daily conversation among a family mixed with Catalan-Castilian bilingual speakers and Castilian monolingual speaker:

1: <u>Speaker</u>, mother (bilingual) – <u>interlocutor</u>, son (bilingual): *Marc, què vols fer el proper cap de setmana?*

   (In Catalan: Marc, what do you want to do this weekend?)

2: Son – mother: *No ho sé…com vulgueu, pregunta-li al pare.*

   (In Catalan: I don't know…whatever you both would like to do, ask it to dad.)

3: Father (monolingual Castilian speaker) – son: *Oye hijo, es tu cumpleaños asi que tienes que decidir tú.*

   (In Castilian: Hey son, it's your birthday, so you have to decide.)

4: Son – father: *Donde sea papá! Al Camp Nou? Messi va a jugar este fin de semana.*

   (In Castilian: Wherever Dad! At the Camp Nou? Messi will play this weekend.)

5: Mother – father and son: *Uf.. estoy harta de fútbol.* (In Castilian: Ugh .. I'm sick of football.) *Fill meu, a qualsevol altre lloc que no sigui el Camp Nou si us plau!* (In Catalan: My son, elsewhere but not the Camp Nou, please!)

This conversation is a stereotype of code-switching among bilingual speaker and the semi-speakers of Catalan (or monolingual Castilian speaker) in everyday life. Alternatively, they complete the conversation without code-switching, which means all in Castilian except for the fact that child is bilingual. The mother and the son, who are bilinguals, use Catalan between them (sentence 1 and 2) and shift to Castilian when they speak to the father (sentence 4 and 5). However, at the same time, the father understands cognitively the conversation between the mother and the son but the father responds in Castilian (sentence 3). This language behavior of the father constructs stereotypes of mind of monolingual Castilian speaker. Moreover, the mother employs in Castilian first and shifts to Catalan (sentence 5). In this context, we can consider either way: the mother implies that she utters specifically towards the father who is monolingual or employs in Castilian in order to reach the both interlocutors. Although the transcript has a limitation of comprehension of the non-linguistic dimension (speaker's mind or human action), code-switching also can be used as a connotation language to express beyond words or meaning outside of language. For semi-speakers, crossing the boundary of code-switching from Castilian to Catalan needs a firm

determination and courage. They hesitate to switch not only because of low-proficiency of competence but also because it is psychologically difficult to change the language, which is accustomed. This tendency is remarkable for semi-speaker of Catalan age group of 40-60 who tend to have low-proficiency of the both speaking and writing. On the contrary, semi-speakers with the age groups above 60's display less hesitation to provoke the code-switching at the higher competence of speaking skill compare to the age group of 40-60. The grammatical or lexical errors of semi-speakers may cause Catalan bilingual interlocutors to switch to Castilian as language etiquette. Alternatively rather, they do not even try to initiate speaking Catalan towards semi-speakers. Such language behaviors of Catalan bilingual segregate two speakers mentally and stay in semi-speaker's unconscious mind as an experience. From this conversation, it is not visible neither superiority nor inferiority of language status between Castilian and Catalan among speakers. However, in the depth level, they carry inferiority feelings as a barrier.

A recent investigation of Hernandez and Kohnert (2015) regarding code-switching with older adult (age 65 years and older) and young adult (18-24 years) bilinguals in a blocked-language or mixed-language condition, it revealed that older adults showed much slower reaction times in the mixed condition which involves sustained switching relative to young adults. Therefore, for semi-Catalan speakers of the older age group in cognitive ability, the both Catalan and Spanish activated overlapping areas of the brain and led the lateness of response. The result could be a significant barrier for older age of Catalan semi-speakers in order to overcome the difficulties and become fluent in Catalan by controlling two languages. By contrast, the code-switching among the younger generation (fully bilingual) in Barcelona has different trait compare to the older age group of speakers because the younger generation is well trained the bilingual accommodation norm by experience due to the law of linguistic normalization settled in 1983. Moreover, they are surrounded by speakers who belong to multiple speech communities. There are some specific tendencies of the young generation was found among bilingual of Catalan regular speakers. They tend to ask for permission or declare which language to employ before the speech act. Moreover, they become more apologetic when they choose Catalan.

Here is a case when a regular Catalan speaker (the young generation / fully bilingual) makes a speech at the University, where to oblige students and professors to choose one language or the other:

> (In Castilian) I'm going to do my presentation in Catalan... well, I feel sorry but in reality, I feel much more comfortable talking in Catalan. I hope you all understand.... (Code-switching into Catalan)

Generally speaking, the permission of code-switching from Castilian to Catalan barely happens in Catalonian speech community because people tend to presuppose the possession of Castilian as competence. Above all, it seems that we should also take account of the burden of code-switching for bilingual of Catalan regular speaker. In Barcelona, Catalan regular speaker of bilingual inevitably encounter a forced situation to employ in Castilian, and they sometimes struggle to find a specific word in Castilian. They apologize again, "Sorry but I don't know this word in Castilian…" and partially they alternate into Catalan. Here is another problem found that younger generation of bilingual is not practically bilingual. Personal thought or environment still bias habitual language choice among bilinguals, and it is rather a language-determined identity. Carme Junyent (2016) comments in the radio broadcasting[16] that the cost of code-switching of young generation is graver than ever before because of the current complex bilingual situation. The actual use of Catalan language is getting decreased in contrast to the period of the dictatorship of Franco. Junyent lived 20 years in the Franco regime, and Junyent used to speak more in Catalan when she was the same generation than the young generation now that lives under the pressure of bilingual. Junyent explains her lived experience with her grandmother, who was monolingual Catalan speaker and they only could speak in Catalan, and the use of Catalan was rather natural than now during the Franco regime. Pere Comellas (2010) and Rudolf Ortega (2013) discourse the crisis of current Catalan language because there are speakers who possess neither Catalan nor Castilian due to the new linguistic diversity from the new immigrants, who are outside of Castilian-speaking country (see the previous chapter). Therefore, there are potentially the traditional code-switching as

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[16] "*El Suplement.*" *L'estat De Salut Del Català. Catalunya Ràdio*. Carme Junyent and Ricard Ustrell. (March 28, 2016)

language phenomenon may take place in different ways in near future. In order to widen the perspective of language practice in the bilingual situation, the city of Quebec tends to compare with the case of Catalonia. Monica Heller (1982) argues the political implications of code-switching in Quebec, Canada.

1: WAITER: *Anglais ou français?* "English or French?"

2: BILINGUALS: *Bien les deux...* "Well, both…"

3: WAITER: *No, mais, anglais ou français?* "No, but, English or French?"

4: BILINGUALS: It doesn't matter, *c'est comme vous voulez.* "Whatever you want"

5: WAITER: (sigh) OK, OK, I´ll be back in a minute. (Heller : 1982: 116)

In bilingual communities, the choice of a particular language over another can determine one's ethnicity. At the same time, it can imply a particular political stance towards the relation between language and ethnicity. The actual technical code-switching was determined at 2 when the bilingual guest replied in French. However, the language choice was in the hand of the waiter at 5 by the interlocutor, who renounced to decide it by own his/her own and let the waiter choose by employing the word of "vous / you" at 4. Additionally, the pronoun "vous / you" could imply the power balance between the interlocutors. In short, the result of code-switching does not only rely on individual's language choice but also it may be the result of political intervention as the case of Quebec. What I would like to emphasize here is that the code-switching phenomenon in the bilingual area, it often occurs consciously by individuals' choices under the name of language norm or language etiquette although many different patterns exist. In relation to language-determined identity, the study of Desjardins (2000) reveals that the French and English speaking groups were originally called "Canadian" and "English." On the contrary, when descendants of English settlers began to identify as "Canadian" and French speakers become the "French Canadians." In such commonly occurs a language phenomenon that a daily usage of the linguistic practice of vocabulary and syntax are mixed with two languages according to the context of speech acts. This phenomenon is known as *Franglais* for English-French mixture or

Spanglish for English-Spanish mixture. In response to this language phenomenon, Buxó Rey (1999: 34) points out the concept of "interlingualism" to generate new meanings, and the interculturalism contributes to constructing new narratives and ethnic identities. In such speech community, emerge the hybrid and complex formula of code-switching, which is not only subtle grammatical mergers but also a speech with complex cross-cultural allusions. Furthermore, "Bilingualism is one of the external problems of pluralistic societies in terms not only of ethnic conflict but also of educational policies." (Buxó Rey 1999: 34) As a result of the bilingual situation, the language phenomenon of code-switching emerges in various ways. For instance, Martínez (2009) studies the motivations for code-switching from Castilian to Catalan and affirms that the emblematic alternation of two languages is a common phenomenon in any speaker within Catalonia linguistic community also among speakers of the habitual language as Castilian. In this regard, it is plausible the emergence of Catalan language is according to the social norms of a bilingual community. Moreover, indeed the speakers are alternating Castilian into Catalan by processing various factors: sociolinguistic, psychological and so forth. Furthermore, Martínez well notes that the tendency of actual use of two languages can differ between the age group: the age group above 55 years old, they do not possess the competence of Catalan language, by contrast, the age group below 26 years old is fully bilingual. Therefore, the degree and frequently of alternation phenomenon may differ according to the age group. In relation to the competence gap between older generation and the younger generation, it triggers polemic situations in everyday life, which affects ordinary language usage of individuals.

The Catalan Broadcasting Corporation passed a new rule of the media communication (*Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals*). The law imposes the media communication employing the Catalan language during broadcasting within Catalan linguistic community even though there are included the speakers, who have the low-competence of Catalan language such as Castilian monolingual or semi-speakers of Catalan; except for the situations where the individual respondent does not understand the Catalan language. Occasionally, journalist establishes common ground with the interviewer and

show flexibility for alternating at the time of communication in Catalan or Castilian when there are misunderstandings by some phrase or expression in Catalan. However, the majority of the time, conversation on TV or Radio affiliated sponsors continue broadcasting in Catalan regardless the speaker's ability of Catalan. The *Catalunya Ràdio*, a public radio station in Barcelona, has approximately 614.000 audiences per day according to the statistic of *Estudi General de Mitjans* in 2013. A radio program called "*El suplement: Tapias Variades*" is a daily cooking program and invite several participants from radio audience to share their home recipes on the Air, and this program has a high proportion of elderly audiences because of the schedule and the topics of cooking. I choose this program because the audience's age group and geographical location meet my subjects' criteria. The following radio talk represents a form of talk of semi-speakers of Catalan language.

The participant name is Terresa, a female, estimate age by voice is 50 years or older, from *Matarò*, Barcelona.

1 Announcer: Anem cap a Matarò, Terresa, bon dia!

1 Announcer: Let's go to Mataro, Terresa, good morning!

2 Terresa: Hola, bon dia.

2 Terresa: Hello, good morning.

3 Announcer: Hola, Terresa.

3 Announcer: Hello, Terresa.

4 Terresa: Mira, un lluç al forn,…ehh… que tregui… la… l'espina… o sigui tot sencer… treu l'espina de dintre… el poses a la bandeja (safata)… sal i un xic de pebre, hi poses una mica de d'oli.

4 Terresa: Look, bake a hake,… eh…. that remove… the… the thorn or removes entire the thorn from inside… put it in the tray (Castilian)… a little salt and pepper, and put there a little bit of olive oil.

5 Announcer: uh-huh (nod)

5 Announcer: uh-huh (nod)

6 Terresa: *Una mica de cava, eh,* <u>*més o menos*</u> *(més o menys) u… una copeta de cava, i* <u>*llavorans*</u> *(aleshores / llavors) el suc* <u>*de una*</u>

6 Terresa: A little of champagne, eh, more or less (Castilian) a…a glass of champagne, and then (Barbarism) the juice of an orange,

(d'una) taronja, i llavorans (aleshores / llavors) al sobre (a sobre) hi poses atmetlla lam... llam...

and then (Barbarism) above you put sli….slic… slic… almonds. (hesitation)

7 Announcer: laminada!

7 Announcer: Sliced!

8 Terresa: Això!... i al forn i està bonissim.

8 Terresa: That's it!... and be baked and it's delicious.

9 Announcer: Molt bé… gràcies Terresa, graciès per trucar!

9 Announcer: Really good… thank you Terresa, thank you for calling!

(Catalunya Ràdio, 09/01/2016)

The underlines are the language behaviors, which we can presuppose that Terresa is a semi-speaker of Catalan language and her language behaviors are biased by Barbarism (see the following chapter). Of course, some clues of individuals' intonation or rhythm of talk are difficult to describe in the transcript. However yet, speaker's intonation and rhythm of talk are the important clues as well. Moreover, those vary from person to person regardless their language competence. The case of Terresa, she has some obvious clues to prove her low-proficiency in Catalan (vocabulary errors, the pitch of talk and stopped when she could not find the word of *laminada* at sentence 6). We assume that she is monolingual Castilian speaker because all vocabulary mistakes were replaced in Castilian instead (*bandeja* at sentence 4 or *más menos* at sentence 6). These are important clues for all speakers in Catalonia in order to accommodate their talk by employing an appropriate code-switching. In real conversation without the broadcasting norm, Terresa might have expressed more fluently in Castilian by applying code-switching. As long as one has the capability to express own one's way just like the case of Terresa, the code-switching will not occur from the presenter on the Catalonian broadcasting. In sum, this particular case of the Radio talk, code-switching (from Catalan to Castilian) does not emerge under the broadcasting norm. From a different perspective of psychoanalysis, we approach the mental status of Castilian monolingual speakers (the semi-Catalan speakers) who are regular audiences

of the Catalan Broadcasting (Radio, TV). If an individual is not willing to understand or listen to Catalan in everyday life, he will avoid listening to the radio or watching TV in Catalan and chose other mediums in Castilian. Therefore, it is credible that Terresa is favorable towards Catalan regardless the competence. Such Catalan favorable audiences are potentially having a positive attitude towards the image of so-called the Catalan culture: included language and its traditions (food, music or literature). Still Terresa has the low competitive level of speaking in Catalan. However, the will of Terresa surpasses her language competence. In the Catalan language class, where to encourage students to listen to the Catalonian Radio (*Catalunya Radio*), to watch the Catalan TV broadcasting (*TV 3*) or to read newspapers written in Catalan to practice the Catalan language. In general, a radio program in a particular language is a closed speech community, where only shared identity and language audience can enjoy listening. More important, Catalan language speakers whoever affected the language repression during the Franco dictatorship, they are having the same potential problems with Terresa. Furthermore, the immigrant from the Castilian language origin may have the same problem as well. Goffman (1981: 197) recommends working on the radio announcing talk to "try to bring sociolinguistic concerns to ethnographic ones, all in the name of microsociology" in order to consider the talk mainly from the perspective of what audiences can collect by merely listening closely. "For the student of talk, the broadcast kind has much to recommend it. It is everywhere available, particularly easy to record, and, because publicly transmitted words are involved, no prior permission for scholarly use seems necessary."(Goffman 1981: 197) The value of research here is that there is no question of the subjects modifying their behavior because they know or suspect they are under study; announcers are normally very careful to act their best. Their routine conduct on the air is already wary and self-conscious. The key contingency is radio announcing is to produce the effect of a spontaneous, fluent flow of words under conditions that lay speakers would be unable to manage. Goffman's (1981: 208-218) theory of speech faults: *Influencies*, *Slips*, *Boners* or *Gaffes*, are also considerable to apply the case of Terresa, semi-speakers, they are unable to manage appropriate their speech acts under such conditions. In other

words, her speech acts and faults are the resistance, or rather the obedience towards the existing norms.

During the Franco regime, the public use of Catalan was prohibited, and the code-switching was one of the brave actions in public at that moment. According to the online article of Ara.cat (2014), the majority of Catalan bilingual speakers, who accomplished to get the competence of Catalan earlier period of the post-Franco, they were habitually using Catalan at home with their family during the dictatorship of Franco. Interestingly, in my fieldwork, some informants shared some clues how to accommodate their habitual language outside of the home when they were children with other classmates under the language repression. Marga, a female age of 50's, used to ask with whisper voice to her classmates; "Do you speak Catalan at home?" and whatever the response from the classmates, it determined the further language choice between them. However, Marga added that she was lucky, and the repression was not that strict in her youth. For children like Marga, it was natural to ask and doubt why they spoke the different language at home and school. This secret exchange of code determined the future language choice between children speakers and spoken in Catalan at school yard like hiding away during the break. Since then, Marga still keeps the same language among the friends regardless the possession of competence. By contrast, Mercè from Barcelona, 73 years old, her experience of Catalan language is a bit difference from Marga's age group. Mercè repeated that there was punishment for children who employed the Catalan language at the school, and she remembered those as fear experience for her childhood. The experience of Mercè coincides with Jaume's narrative; they both remember well the punishment at the use of Catalan language in public. In the case of Jaume, the experience has converted into anger feelings against the regime rather than fear feelings in the early stage of his life. On the contrary, Mercè's memory occupies the experience of fear rather than anger. We may presuppose that the anger feeling stimulates Jaume to initiate learning Catalan to resist the power. Therefore, not only the level of language capacity but also the socio-historical condition of individuals influence to human language behavior such as language choice, code-switching, speech community and so forth.

5.3: The question of Barbarism

"The person who has acquired knowledge of a language has internalized a system of rules that relate sound and meaning in a particular way. The linguist constructing a grammar of a language is in effect proposing a hypothesis concerning this internalized system. The linguist's hypothesis, if presented with sufficient explicitness and precision, will have certain empirical consequences with regard to the form of utterances and their interpretations by the native speaker. Evidently, knowledge of language – the internalized system of rules – is only one of the many factors that determine how an utterance will be used or understood in a particular situation. The linguist who is trying to determine what constitutes knowledge of a language – to construct a correct grammar – is studying one fundamental factor that is involved in performance, but not the only one." (Goffman 1981: 23)

As Goffman states above, the linguists determine and construct the language acquisition process. If the linguists approach the language what was created by humans, the linguistic anthropologists focus on the humans who produce a particular language. "Barbarism" is a remarkable language behavior of the semi-speakers of Catalan although the phenomenon is observed among Catalan habitual speakers. What is Barbarism? In terms of linguistic, it defines as an exceptional usage of language or a grammatically wrong usage. According to the Catalan dictionary (*Institut d'Estudis Catalans*), Barbarism is the lexical form of foreign origin, which is not considered assimilated to the language. For Catalan and Castilian speakers, they simply tend to translate Barbarism as *Castilianism.* Speakers recognize the phenomenon of Barbarism the both conscious and unconscious, which has described in the transcript of the Radio talk. In this chapter, I attempt to discuss further the language phenomenon of Barbarism in relation to psychological effect. Is barbarism a vulgar language? In the fourteenth century, the work of Dante Alighieri in "*De Vulgari Eloquentia"* is still remarkable to consider. Dante argued the importance of vernacular language as the natural human language in contrast to the national language (Latin language based on grammars). Vernacular language is the first language or mother tongue, which the mass employ in everyday life. Moreover, vernacular language is universal although it differs from pronunciation or words. Sapir (1921: 22) states that "fundamental groundwork of language is the development of a clear-cut phonetic system." Therefore, Barbarism may occur the misleading or mixture of the phonetic system. When a monolingual Castilian

speaker starts learning Catalan, the first thing she/he will be alarmed to pay attention is the use of Barbarism to use a proper Catalan. A notable comment from a teacher, Marga said "You just need to organize your memory because the Catalan language has been a part of your life until now. Only you need to gather your memory and organize well by using theory and method that you are going to learn." Marga continued "Do you know the word '*legumbre*' in Catalan?" and a student responded as "*llegum.*" "Yes, you must have seen the word of *llegum* in the market or when you cook them everyday life. Now, you try to remember what a label of the jar or a signboard of the store says…'*llegum cuita*' or '*llegum cuit*'?" *Legumbre* carries the feminine article in Castilian but *llegum* with the masculine article in Catalan. In this way, Marga attempted the students releasing from Barbarism or *Castilianism.* The method only works for monolingual Castilian speaker who grew up in the Catalonian language territory. The uniqueness of learning methods some parts rely on individual's memory and experience with the Catalan language.

The striking language phenomenon of Barbarism is everywhere in everyday usage, among family conversation, during university lecture and among teachers at Catalan language school. A middle-aged female Catalan language teacher is aware of the phenomenon; she explains with a distressed look that international students (non-Castilian speakers) in general employ grammatically and orthographically correct Catalan because there is no disturbance of Barbarism, unlike Castilian speakers. Moreover, the phenomenon of Barbarism may decrease among a young generation with schooling under the *Law of Normalization*, which started in 1985[17]. Moreover, we should take into account of the uniqueness of the city of Barcelona, where has more influence of Castilian language than the other cities in the Catalonian territory due to a high volume of immigrants from outside of Catalonia. Furthermore, the most of the times, speakers employ Barbarism quite unconsciously. I informed the interlocutors (Catalan habitual speakers) about the incorrect usage, and they responded "Really? I did not know," they seem not even notice or rather, not even care. However, the semi-speakers of

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[17] I should note here that Castilian language has also own their Barbarism such as called laismo or leismo, which should be observed among Castilian speakers. e.g. Spanish Castilian or South American country Castilian.

Catalan are strictly trained to speak "proper" in the classrooms. No doubt that "*Haber de*" in Catalan vs. "*Tener que*" in Castilian is one of a common Barbarism among Catalan speakers. They employ "*Tenir que*" in Catalan instead of "*Haber de*" as a replacement of "*Tener que*" in Castilian. Likewise, the language class, the educational institutions struggle to fix this daily usage of Barbarism. Here is the instruction of the correct usage of "*Haber de*", which was distributed in the classroom:

> *En català la combinació "tenir que" no és correcta i s'ha d'usar la combinació "haver de" en la forma que s'escaigui:*
> (Translation: In combination Catalan "tenir que" is incorrect and should use the combination "haver de" in the manner appropriate.)

> (Incorrect usage) *Tinc que anar-hi molt aviat perquè encara em falta acabar el rètol de l'entrada.*
> (Correct usage) <u>*Haig d'*</u>*anar-hi molt aviat perquè encara em falta acabar el rètol de l'entrada.*

The incorrect usage of "*Tenir que*" instead of "*Haver de*" is a typical colloquial error. Teachers harshly instruct the students to correct the Barbarism and use a proper Catalan. Commonly in the conversation class, every moment the student mis-utter carelessly "*Tenir que*" instead of "*Haver de*", the teacher stops the entire conversation to make them aware of the error. Such experience, being pointed out the mistake by employing the wrong usage, which accumulates in students mind and arises the feeling of failure. In consequence, the students become shy and hesitate to speak out. More important, the students seem that they are totally unconscious of the error until being mentioned. I have witnessed on many occasion that even Catalan habitual speakers employ this types of Barbarism. People seldom recognize the mistake unless you are a school language teacher. Above all; it is possible that the Barbarism biases mainly the elder group of semi-speakers at the socio-historical change as a consequence of confused in their cognitive mind.

What is the effect of the human mind, caused by employing Barbarism? Fina (65 years, Catalonia-born and Castilian monolingual speaker) expressed her struggle that Barbarism is the biggest barrier in order to acquire the Catalan

language. Being Castilian monolingual speaker for a long time without schooling education in Catalan, Fina's competence of Catalan language was full of accumulated Barbarism, and it is hard to correct her mistakes unless putting effort consciously. Not only Fina but also many colleagues of Fina in the same age group, they share the common disturbance of Barbarism. What makes more difficult is the age. They are above 60 years and returning to study from the basics, which require the ability to memorize the theory and rules. To be a proficiency in Catalan, they must overcome these barriers. For Catalan semi-speakers, most of the "Barbarism" words or grammars were part of their natural language for a long time. However, the semi-speakers of Catalan will be astonished the fact that they have been employing the incorrect usages. It is inevitable not to show frustrations and difficulties. In contrast to "Barbarism," there will always be the "correct" usage. Barbarism is the result of natural human language against to an artificial national language, which is decided by certain grammars. Therefore, the misuse of language occurred against to the correct norm, and it is an unconscious effort towards the norm.

The particular case of Catalonia, having the idiosyncratic sociohistorical background and existing two official languages, it is natural that the speakers mix the two languages. In this sense, we can perceive that Barbarism is an actual use of natural language among them and, Barbarism always exist there as a vernacular language. Goffman (1981: 208) states that "in our complex society, the imperfection of speech produces two categories of faults." Knows better faults are *Influencies* and *Slip* and doesn't know better faults are *Boners*[18] and *Gaffes.* In this context, the semi-speakers of Catalan may suffer from Barbarism (*Boners*) and among themselves employ a speech practice or fail to employ which they ordinarily never attend to as a fault. However, when hearer remarks their error, they became vulnerable to criticism regarding it. This incorrect use of a word for a long time carrying in silent attributes to the speaker's learnedness, or indication of a failure. Goffman (1981: 210) continues that "Nationwide schooling and media-inspired sophistication have given such faults a force in wide populations, in the sense that almost anyone breaching

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[18] "Of course, there are boners so subtle that standard-bearing hearers may not be able to specify exactly what they sense to be wrong, and only a specialist – a linguist – may be able to clearly to score the point, of which the great example is Labov's (1972) examination of phonological hypercorrection." Goffman (1981: 210)

the standards in question can be made to feel ashamed for having done so. With respect to wide forcefulness, the speaker's own hearing cannot inform him of his error: listeners must tell him – and, in some cases, prove to him with a dictionary to inform that he is wrong." Speakers cannot misspell while speaking, on the contrary, writers cannot mispronounce while writing. However, sentence grammar itself is more strict in the written than the spoken form. Accordingly is to illustrate orthographic error which is a common struggle for older age semi-speakers, who have the low-competence of writing despite the high-competence of speaking. We can see the cognitive incoherence between writing and speaking. Although there are various patterns of writing errors, yet to consider the typing error because it seems to appear more unconscious language phenomenon than a conscious one. The following text messages are from an informant who typed from the mobile phone, which describes the discrepancy in typing:

- Que **b**a**i**gi molt b**è**. (Que vagi molt bé.)
- <u>S'</u> **es b**eritat, molt bona <u>gen</u>. (Sí, és veritat, molt bona gent.)
- Tamb**è** trobo a falter casa me**b**a. (També trobo a falter casa meva.)
- No puc **b**enir. (No puc venir.)
- Ens tornarem a **b**eure. (Ens tornarem a veure.)

The bold letters correspond spelling and accent mark errors, and the underlines refer the incomplete letters. The phenomenon above is notably explained by Goffman (1981: 211) "Typing, like handwriting, displays spelling mistakes. Typing errors, in general, seem easier studied than those associated with handwriting. Typing is learned relatively late in life by learners who can report on themselves with adult sophistication, Interestingly, typing exhibits kinds of faults that are more commonly found in speech than in handwritten texts, perhaps because of the speed of production." Moreover, the sort of spelling error that corresponds precisely to phonological disturbance. Even more important, in fact, the above Catalan text typing was done by an informant, who is geographical origin from the province of Lleida, where spoken the North-Western (*nord-occidental)*, so-called "a dialect" of Catalan. In North-Western (*nord-occidental)*, there is no sound change between the letter "b" and "v", the phenomena is called the Betacism in terms of linguistics. Therefore, we

perceive that the informant just types out the text by following phonetic orders. The informant was bone in 1932, 84 years old without schooling in Catalan and speaks fluent Catalan, however, failed the class of the intermediate due to the low-proficiency of orthography (writing) competence.

The phonological disturbance occurs among the different languages, the *Katakana* usage for Japanese speaker (see Chapter 1) is also influenced by it. Generally speaking, Japanese speaker struggle spelling *Katakana* into alphabets (English letter) and employ enormous orthographic errors like Mercè at the phonological disturbance. Japanese speakers rely heavily on phonetic orders while writing in *Katakana*. For instance, there is no sound difference between the letter "l" and "r", so that Japanese speakers are often unable to accommodate the correct letter between "l" and "r." For instance, they write "*Alunau*" instead of "Arnau" in Catalan or, "*Chocorate*" instead of "Chocolate" in English. In fact, In fact, they barely see visually the original spelling in everyday life because frequently the original letters are translated into Katakana, and the phenomenon has discussed in the work of Guarné (2014).

The following summary is the individuals' barriers for learning Catalan. Profile: Semi-speakers of Catalan or/and monolingual Castilian speaker, the age group over 65 years old, and from Barcelona if not specified.

- Mercè exhibits frustrations about the spelling letters (writing) and the pronunciation (speaking.)
- Ana Maria when encountering difficulties shows a strong resistance and tries to give up by uttering, "*Qué dificil! -* How difficult!" or "*Déu n'hi dò! –* Oh my!" The teacher reprimands the attitude not to be pessimistic.
- Maria Antonia with low self-esteem always claims that she cannot speak proper because she has never employed Catalan in her entire life and never had some regular speakers of Catalan around.
- Juan often makes some general grammatical errors, which are not relevant mistakes caused by Barbarism, but often mixed up Catalan/Castilian.

- Sandra is from Zaragoza but raised her children in Catalonia, who has a basic competence in French. Therefore, she inclines to make the orthographic mistakes mixing up Catalan/French.
- Mari Carmen is originally from Basque, lives in Barcelona over 40 years, displays modest in the classrooms, and speaks fluent but struggles writing.
- Antonio always tries to follow a proper way, because of the tension, there is a pause when speaking and seems ashamed when mistakes.
- Anna from Palencia lives in Barcelona over 40 years with the highest language competence among the classmates, but when making mistakes, she always seems angry and makes some excuses to cover up her faults.

In general, semi-speakers of Catalan have inferior or failure feelings by not being able to write "proper" and speak "proper", and struggle the disparity between knowledge and recognition. In this context, Bourdieu (1991: 62) argues that "speakers have virtually the same recognition of authorized usage, but very unequal knowledge of this usage that generates tension and pretension." The prestige Catalan language exists there as a high wall and segregates speakers not only linguistic dimension but also nonlinguistic dimension. The petit-bourgeois hypercorrection is defined in the subjective and objective relationship to popular "vulgarity" and bourgeois "distinction", and it strives for assimilation (to the bourgeois classes) and dissimilation (with respect to the lower classes.) Bourdieu (1991: 64) adds, "These linguistic strategies are strictly dependent on their positions in the structure of the distribution of linguistic capital, which can in turn be shown to depend, via the structure of chances of access to the educational system, on the structure of class relations." The conscious of feeling correct or proper when they employ words, this feeling has been carried in human mind since the grammar invented in each language. Once a language or/and a dialect are designated as a national language, it imposes language norm on people and excludes vernacular language. The language phenomenon of Barbarism among the semi-speakers of Catalan has become a part of the vernacular language. At the same time, conscious or unconscious segregation generate among speakers in the same speech community.

5. 4: Ethnic identity of Catalan semi-speaker

"The construction of identities uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations. But individuals, social groups, and societies process all these materials, and rearrange their meaning, according to social determinations and cultural projects that are rooted in their social structure, and in their space/time framework." (Castells1997:7)

Double identity in time and space: Nowadays, the traditional identity group of Catalan and Castilian is less visible than before, except for some specific folklore activities. Moreover, people starts recognizing that identity is self-nomination or self-determination. However, people still act upon identity and unit in a way that is what we try to find out a collective identity. "An individual identity is constructed including the shared identity of the membership group; in consequence, a group identity orients and conditions the individual actions." (Clua & Sánches 2014: 3) In other words, identities always attribute group in which one belong to and represent the membership group. According to Pujol (1976: 119), there were two kinds of immigrants in Catalonia in the period of 1970's: one comes with the mentality of self-confident and the other comes commonly under the humble condition. The latter category of individuals is the majority of whom starving and living in a state of ignorance for a long time. From his discourse, we should consider that there are few small factor of identities inside of the category of immigrants in Catalonia: not only the entire immigrants from Andalusia but also Gypsies from Andalusia. Gypsies as a category, they are independent identity holders. In this context, I articulated the ambivalent identity of Gypsies living in Gornal, Barcelona in the class of Dr. Zino Torrazza Julio, *El Dret Viscut: Biografia i Etnografia* in 2016 at the University of Barcelona (Nakata, unpublished). A Gypsy informant, Mercedes arrived in 1966 from Andalusia and was raised in Catalonia with the identity value of Gypsies. Through the interview, Mercedes gave various "unaverage clues" [19] among Catalan standardized collective identities. For instance, according to Mercedes, the kinship system of Gypsies' relations in Barcelona

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[19] "Quantities of the "unaverage", which are bound to be relatively small, are indispensable to vital cities. However, "unaverage" quantities are also important as analytical means – as clues. They are often the only announcers of the way various large quantities are behaving, or failing to behave, in combination with each other." (Jacobs 1992: 443)

has various terms or naming (e.g. fifth grandfather, cousin-sister or cousin-brother) and they tend to have a large family by marrying within the same group or with relatives. Mercedes also repeated various times that the Gypsy value is a family and they help each other as a team. As mentions Levi-Strauss (1963: 77-78), having an indefinite number of terms of kinship name makes the system completely objective rather than subjective. Therefore, we can perceive that Gypsies were not numerous social units and organized in simple structures like the type "clan" or "lineage" rather than the "extended family" of Indo-European relationship type which has very few terms, and it tends to be ambiguous when it comes to more distant relationships. However, at the same time, Gypsies from Andalusia living in Catalonia share the same average clue of background constructions with the collective identities of ""*Els altres Catalans*", which was represented by Francesc Candel in 1964. The both group lived in the *barracas* (the type of dwelling or housing complex for immigrants or low-income people) in the city neighborhood of Barcelona. As well as individuals origin Andalusia, Gypsies in Catalonia they carry double identity: *Gitanos-Catalans*. Fainé and García (2014) argue that Gypsies in Catalonia use self-nomination of double categories strategically in order to get away from the stigma. Delgado (2016) underlines that Gypsies is just a label of nomadic group and Gypsies themselves have nothing in common. Thus, the term "Gypsies" includes arbitrarily some human groups that were until recently considered distinguishable. In this line, Mercedes as a Gypsy tried to conceptualize "Gypsy identity or culture" from her perspective. However, when it came to the definition of "what is Gypsy?" the result became ambiguous because the identity depends on self-determination and the story of Gypsy family resembles the culture of poverty of Oscar Lewis in *The Children of Sanchez, Autobiography of a Mexican Family* (1961). As argues Delgado, Gypsy is a label and it is ones choice whether if you keep the label or take it off. The discussion of Gypsy living in Catalonia induces to question, "Who is Catalan?" It is euphemism although there are plenty of the exsisting terms; e.g. *Catalan Catalan*, *Xarnego*, *Nous Catalans*, *Nouvinguts*, the *Els Alters Catalans* or *Catalans de sempre*[20]. In general, people are interested in not only who is Catalan, but also what Catalan

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[20] Catalan Catalan (old Catalan), Xarnego (Andalucian, Murcian or working class Castilian speaker), Nous Catalans (Recent Catalans), Nouvinguts (Newcomer Catalans), the Els Alters Catalans (The book titel of Francesc Candel in 1964) or Catalans de sempre (Those who have always been Catalan.)

should be. The illusion of Catalan boosts up the noble image and Catalan has existed as a high culture among newcomers for a long time. Jaume Botey gathered 54 individuals' narratives of immigrants and made the transcription of the real life of immigrants in Barcelona during 1972-1978 in *Cinquanta-quatre Relats d'immigració* (1986). In the chapter of "*Nosotros, queramos o no queramos, somos catalanes - We want it or not, we are Catalans*," the immigrants describe their impression towards Catalan people and the relationships with them. Most of them spoke about the language, which was the significant matter for immigrants to integrate into the Catalan society. The following six individuals' narratives describe how the immigrants during that period related to the Catalan characteristics tied with language. Somehow they believed that being Catalans is speaking Catalan.

Avelino was born in 1917 and emigrated to Catalonia from Extremadura in 1956, who defined the terms of "*Catalan-Catalan*" as Catalan capitalist and said, "For me that there should be a single language, because it has also cost me."

Pastora is from Sevilla and born in 1947 says, "We often hear good reference about Catalan, where was work that was far ahead of the other regions. I'm here to work, working, working and working. One of the principal problems is we don't know the language so that we (Andalusian), at least I do not consider myself *Catalan-Catalan*. So I want my children to learn Catalan, to have relations with them in Catalan. We believe that we have done enough, and we have been unable to learn because we live in the district where everyone speaks in Castilian."

Paqui is from Cuenca born in 1940 says, "We talk about Catalan or Castilian, but I think, the emigration has disintegrated us all. To integrate, what I understand is that I must be speaking Catalan although I will do not dare."

Manolo is from Cuenca and born in 1939, emigrated to Catalonia in 1964 and says, "Before we had been educating we had somehow a hate of the Catalan language. But then I realized myself that it was not right, and now I think at this point that the Catalans must be respected like others, like the Castilians, the Andalusians, and others."

Primitivo is from Zaragoza**,** born in 1920, arrived Barcelona in 1948 and says, "We feel as inferior. Came to Catalonia and the language is different and customs are different, and you get together with your family, separated from the Catalans. But gradually ... I was released from the grudge although there are still many people stay in such feeling ... my kids told me "Dad, when I learn Catalan?" and I wonder if myself as Catalan, "When I will learn?" He left me so confused. Well…of course, my kid is Catalan and must know his language."

Miguel is from Extremadura, born in 1942, and came to Barcelona in 1963. "My children although they have Extremadura blood, raised here and were born here. They are already Catalans even though they don't speak Catalan at the moment, okay, but they are Catalans. If I could get me to speak Catalan, it will be another triumph for me! I would like to acquire the language, but there are other urgent things to do in front of me now." (Botey 1986:208-225, my translation)

Interestingly, all of the individuals above employ "we - *nosotros*" or the first-person plural when they talk about themselves in contrast to the Catalans. In other words, the traditional emigrants during the period of the interview, they inclined to determine to include or exclude the ethnic groups by language between them with conscious or unconscious. A certain mental divergence emerged since then and the experience recorded as a memory among the emigrants and the Catalans. The impeccable reason that speaking the different language divided two identities. From the discourse, a question arises whether if speaking Catalan is a synonym with "*Catalanization*"? In general, emigrants or immigrants will raise children in the territory of Catalonia and eventually the children will be Catalan. How do they deal with the language problem, the term "second-generation problem"? The Catalan language is truly the fundamental element of *Catalanization* but still need other elements. The process of the assimilation into the Catalan society covers the mental separation under the subconscious. The assimilation or integration process is possible in many ways. At the classrooms, I witnessed a moment that language plays a role of assimilation. It was the moment when a student struggled to spell a phrase, and a teacher started to hum a song accordingly:

"En Panxo li va dir a en Pinxo: ¿Vols que et punxi amb un punxó? i en Pinxo li va dir a en Panxo: punxa'm, però a la panxa no."

This is a tongue twister in Catalan that helps the orthographic categories and rules. All students in the classroom followed the teacher to sing and kept repeating the song. The students are unable to spell the words; however, they are able to sing as a speech act. They recognize the song from the experience of their youth. Despite the fact that we incline to believe that schooling is the fundamental of structuring an identity, however, this particular case reconsiders us that people can be united identically when they share the same culture regardless the degree of language ability. Woolard (1989: 43) highlights that "Castilian as a language-based identity is meaningful in contrast to Catalan identity; each takes its significance from the overall pattern of opposition, rather than simply in relation to a particular homeland, or its customs." The practice of identity perceives not only by language but also traditional custom like a festival. One of the representations of Andalusian tradition festival is *Feria de Abril or Feria de Sevilla*. The festival has transferred to Barcelona since 1971 as the *Feria de Abril de Catalunya*. Delgado (1997) describes that the organization of an Andalusian culture in Catalonia is not an obstacle to the integration of immigrants into Catalan society. It is nostalgia for their homeland, which resolves the problem being transformed to Barcelona to remember the best of their homeland without going back to there; indeed, there are certain feelings of antagonism distance between near and far. Although the *Feria de Abril de Catalunya* is facing the risk of continuity due to the financial reason, the generation who used to appreciate the festival has become older. The aging is remarkable to compare with the original the *Feria de Sevilla* in Andalusia, where the younger generations have taken after the tradition, and even the traditional dress has been innovated in modern. The one in Barcelona seems like an afterimage of history (see images 3-10). There are many cultural practices like doing identity everyday life. Most of the informants participate cultural activities besides learning Catalan: Theater, Catalan traditional dance of the *Sardana*, gospel music, reading, and so forth. For them, recovering language is a tool for the approximation of their identity and culture. I accompanied some performances with a group of *Havanera* and chorus in Barcelona. The *Havanera* is a genre of music, and it is well known as *Havaneres de Calella de*

Palafrugell in Catalonia, the songs contain the memory of the Catalan sailors who immigrated to Cuba during the war in the nineteenth century and are written in Catalan and Castilian. A popular *Havanera* song called «*El meu avi*,» the lyrics start, "My grandfather went to Cuba aboard the Catalan best warship fleet overseas." Among older generation, the songs are popular as the folk song, and the audiences also sing in snatches with their hand swings.

«El meu avi»

El meu avi se'n va anar a Cuba
a bordo del "Català"
el millor vaixell de guerra
de la flota d'ultramar.

El timoner i el nostramo
i catorze mariners
eren nascuts a Calella de Palafrugell.

Quan el "Català" sortia a la mar
els nois de Calella
feien un cremat
mans a la guitarra
solien cantar: Visca Catalunya! Visca el "Català"!

Arribaren temps de guerres
de perfídies i traïcions
i en el mar de les Antilles

retronaren els canons.
I els mariners de Calella i el meu avi
enmig de tots-
varen morir a coberta, al peu del canó.

Quan el "Català" sortia a la mar
cridava el meu avi:
Apa, nois, que és tard!
però els valents de bordo no varen tornar,
tingueren la culpa els americans.

«El Cant de La Senyera»

Al damunt dels nostres cants
aixequem una Senyera
que els farà més triomfants.
Au, companys, enarborem-la
en senyal de germandat!
Au germans, al vent desfem-la
en senyal de llibertat!
Que voleï! Contemplem-la
en sa dolça majestat!

Oh bandera catalana!,
nostre cor t'és ben fidel:

volaràs com au galana
pel damunt del nostre anhel:

per mirar-te sobirana
alçarem els ulls al cel.
I et durem arreu enlaire,
et durem, i tu ens duràs:

voleiant al grat de l'aire,
el camí assenyalaràs.
Dóna veu al teu cantaire,
llum als ulls i força al braç.

On the contrary, a hymn called «*Cant de la Senyera*» is the most emotionally attached song for Catalans and based on a poem by a popular Catalan poet, Joan Maragall (1860-1911). The song was prohibited during the Franco regime so that the Catalans sing this song rigidly and proudly with the Catalan flag. Most of the songs contain the word of "Catalan" and reflect the historical background of Catalan. As a language practice, the majorities of the members

are fluent in Catalan, and they are habitual Catalan speakers and all of them are above 70 years old. Angel is one of the members of the group, who currently study at the orthography class, sings in Catalan without hesitation even though she usually has a problem of pronouncing. Angel says, "Singing or playing a theater in Catalan is entertaining." Angel failed the basic level of orthography class but repeated the class and will continue learning. I accompanied with Angel and observed her language usage one day when she was with the group of *Havanera*. Angel always initiates speaking and responds in Catalan towards her colleagues, who are habitual Catalan speakers. Angel continues speaking in Catalan for the first five minutes, however, from the certain moments, she uses code-switching to Castilian unconsciously, and in turn, the interlocutor, who is Catalan habitual speaker, keeps speaking in Catalan. This is against to the common accommodation norms between Catalan and Castilian speakers. This phenomenon occasionally happens between older age speakers. The older age semi-speakers like Angel, Merce, Montserrat or Ana Maria possess the way higher competence of speaking than writing. Even though they switch to Castilian, they have sufficient ability to comprehend in Catalan. Moreover, the interlocutor, Catalan habitual speaker, somehow knows well that the older age semi-speakers understand from experience. Code-switching of Catalan habitual speakers often employs as a good manner towards Castilian monolingual speakers or semi-speakers of Catalan. However, such a frank situation with acquaintances, it seems they care less courtesy. Considering a social group, Angel belongs to the language group boundaries in between Catalan and Castilian, however; identity group rather belong to Catalan by exercising Catalan activity in everyday life.

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1: The group of chorus

2: The group of the *Havanera*

3-6: *Feria de Abril de Catalunya* in 2016

7-10: *Feria de Sevilla* in 2011

In the typical Catalan language class, students will be taught that the "seny" is a representation of Catalonian characteristic. It is positively stereotyped that Catalan people tend to be modest, discreet, and intelligent, and stay quiet in public. It seems like their appearance and behavior rooted this *seny* mind. According to the dictionary of *the Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, the definitions of *seny* is translated as weighting mental, a wise man or behave wisely. Buxó Rey (1993: 250) refers *seny* as common sense. Woolard (1989: 46) defines that *seny* can be translated literally "sense", it refers to levelheaded, feet-on-the-ground common sense. Catalans are often characterized as ambitious, intelligent, sensible, industrious people, by both insiders and outsiders. Catalans themselves are very proud of what they see as one of their most traditional traits that are *seny*. In the electoral political campaign advertisement in 2016, the *seny* was strategically used by PP (People's Party) as "*España amb seny,*" (Spain with *seny,* see image 11) and the monolingual Castilian president of PP, Mariano Rajoy, uttered some Catalan sentences on the media campaign advertisement. In the context of the language and politic relations in Catalonia, this language phenomenon seems that it is no longer a problem of the language difference, but rather ideology difference. That is sentiment and movement which may be explained by a famous refrain of Catalan identity: "My land is Catalonia. My language is Catalan. My dance is the *Sardana*. My wish is freedom." (see image 12) That is how do they feel about their identity and how do they move towards their sentiment.

Catalan ambivalent identities refer not only between Catalan and Castilian but also between Catalan and other languages. For instance, there are some dialectal geographical variations of Catalan language: the Balearic

Islands (*Balear*), North-Western (*Nord-occidental*), Northern (*Septentrional*) and Valencia (*Varencià*). One of my informants, Montserrat speaks the North-Western. Due to these language repertories or varieties, still inside of the Catalan language, various typologies of Catalan identification exist such as *Barceloni*, *Valencian*, *Pirineu*, *Gironi*, *Mayorquin* or *Menorquin*, it totally depends on individual's self-determination, whatever they are favorable to be called. Some people are happy being identified as Catalan and others no. From my fieldwork, the older aged Catalan learners tend to be favorable towards Catalan traditions included language, customs or events. Many Catalans worthy of being called Catalan, those individuals whom may strive to "become" a Catalan who has no language-based identity of Catalan. We may categorize those individuals into "reference group", which I will discuss later in this chapter. Buxó Rey (1988: 169) articulates that the generations who experienced the language repression under the dictatorship, and they inclined to promote "Catalan folklore" as the ethnic identity of Catalan somehow forced feelings against the hostility. Many informants are in active participating such folklore activities that represent the Catalan traditions.

There is a case of Valencian identity, Rita Barberá is the Mayor of Valencia from 1991 to 2015, was born in 1948. Barberá is Castilian monolingual speaker, who was claimed on the newspaper by not speaking own her folklore language of Valencian, which represents Valencian identity, so-called "*Valencianitat.*" The article says "The fact in which Barberá had never made effort to speak Valencian for two decades and her low linguistic competence of Valencian made her no sense and feel shame to listen when she defense Valencian identity or *Valencianitat* in her Castilian discourse." Not only the Catalan identity but also the Valencian identity is also tied with the language. The illusion or obsession of Catalan language possession stains non-Catalan speaker's mind consciously or unconsciously. Moreover, sometimes it appears as the divergence point of membership group. Whatever they identify themselves plenary membership of Catalan, or they wish to be a membership of Catalan, but maybe language barrier impede them to be a plenary Catalan? In contrast to the informants of Botey's fieldwork in the 1970s, what's the semi-speaker of Catalan think about Catalan from their perspective?

Carmen was born in 1956 from Barcelona, started learning Catalan from the elementary level, and is a sales representative living in Carmel. Carmen identified herself as Catalan when she introduced herself. Carmen remarried in her fifty's with Catalan husband (bilingual) after rising three grown-up bilingual daughters. Carmen's motivation of studying was to integrate into the Catalan society. Since the re-marriage, her speech community changed from Castilian to Catalan. In a new social interaction, Carmen often becomes only monolingual Castilian speaker during conversations. Carmen felt the necessity of the Catalan language. In everyday conversation, Carmen receives an involuntary load of code-switching from other Catalan bilingual speakers. Nevertheless, she does not possess the competence of Catalan language. Carmen hesitates about employing Catalan among bilingual colleagues and inclines to change the code from Catalan to Castilian due to the low-proficiency of speaking. Carmen abandoned the class in the middle of basic class because of the lack of time for studying.

Isabel was born in 1962 from Barcelona, started from the basic level, is an administrator with two bilingual children and lives in Horta. The main reason of studying is to get an official certificate and blush up the writing skill. For Isabel, the result of lacking knowledge of grammar makes Isabel feel fear employing the Catalan language. As an anecdote, Isabel's son was going to a sleepover at the son's friend's house, and Isabel called the friend's house to exchange some greetings to the parents. The friend's mother started speaking Catalan to Isabel at the first language choice, and Isabel strived to continue speaking Catalan. However, the mother recognized that Isabel was Castilian monolingual speaker over the tone of the voice and intonation, and the mother kindly suggested Isabel switch the code to speak Castilian as a language etiquette or courtesy. Whenever Isabel employs Catalan, she becomes intense in her posture, and her face turned into red due to the lack of confidence. Isabel inclines to be nervous and blushing while talking. Isabel failed the examen of advanced class due to the low-proficiency of speaking.

Marisol was born in 1962 from Barcelona, married with Valencian, and lives in Sant Andreu. Marisol started conversation class from the elementary class and often employs *Castilianism* (Barbarism). Having a bilingual child, and

she lost her job as administrative due to the economic crisis in 2015. Marisol seems always jammed when she has to utter Catalan words in the conversation class. Marisol seems astonished whenever she found out that she has been employing so many Barbarism when the teacher made her aware of it. The social status of Isabel is representing one of the symbolical middle-aged semi-Catalan speaker's situations since the economic crisis started from 2008 in Spain. Marisol temporary works as a cleaning staff.

Carmenza was born in 1970 from Terrasa and practices Catalan with her bilingual daughter. Carmenza gets embarrassed employing Catalan everyday life because she is accustomed employing Castilian. Carmenza is talkative and speaks loud when she employs Castilian. On the contrary, she seems a different person when she employs Catalan and becomes shy.

Mari Carmen found out after an exam that her orthographic Catalan level was higher than expected and uttered, "I was not expecting that I can do this much." she expressed her contentment. Moreover, a teacher responded, "You think you cannot, but it's just at the lack of self-esteem."

The student's age between 45 and 60, all of their children are fully bilingual of Castilian and Catalan. This group of semi-speakers inclines to have low-competence of speaking comparing to the other older students (the age group above 60) and often practice speaking with their children. Semi-speakers of Catalan show certain hesitation or blushing symptoms in their face expression when they talk in Catalan. Those symptoms caused by the inferior feelings due to lack of self-esteem or self-confidence. The loss of schooling in their mother tongue of their youth is the loss of identity. In general, the language school creates negative stereotypes because of the mass correction and theory memorization. Whenever they make orthographic mistake or misuse of Barbarism, they feel stupidity, and it causes drop out or suspends. The fact that they do not dominate the Catalan language; it creates an inferior feeling, which undermines the self-determination of being Catalan.

Identity orientation between Membership group and Reference group: Human interactions in a certain built environment determine human language structure and speech act. Duranti (1997: 314) emphasizes that the challenge for

linguistic anthropologists is "to test different units of analysis to find the one that allows us to make previously unseen or undocumented connections between the micro-level of face-to-face verbal interaction and the macro-level of institutional statuses, roles, and identities." In this context, the question arises that how we distinguish the group between the membership (in-group) and non-membership (out-group)? The rough categorization of membership group cannot reach to the mentally attached group of individuals so that we cannot simply regard the high competence of Catalan language as membership and the low-competence of it as non-membership. For the case of semi-speakers, we cannot simply divide the group of membership and non-membership by self-determination of their identity because there will be a discrepancy between identity and language competence. For instance, Carmen, Marisol, and Carmenza regard themselves as Catalan without having language proficiency. To fulfill the gap, the term of reference group will help us to conceptualize the category of individuals in relation to the notion of language-mind. In sociopsychology, the term of reference group is as important as membership group. In general, an individual belongs to group in a tier of different level: such as family, relatives, community, school, workplace, organization, and so forth. This group of people is so-called membership group. However, membership group will vary some degree, and there will be some gaps between from an objective viewpoint and a subjective viewpoint. That is to say; an individual may not regard oneself in a particular membership group, which tends to be imposed by objective viewpoint. (Inoue: 2007: 97) In order to cover this gap between object and subject, we may use the terminology of the reference group. The remarkable sociologist, Robert K. Merton (1968: 318) develops a theory of the reference group as the group to which those individuals belong. Merton's research of the behavior of "the American Soldier" represented the reference group and explained its social relations within the membership group: "to the degree that the individual identifies himself with another group (reference group), he alienates himself from his group (membership group)." If we apply the reference group theory to semi-speakers, they subjectively belong to or wish to belong to the reference group of Catalan language group although they objectively belong to membership group of Castilian language.

The important distinction of the research is that the specific age group of individuals, they have only partial or no competence of the Catalan language, especially the generations born during the Franco regime (1939-1975) without schooling in Catalan or born after the post-Franco until the establishment of the Law of Linguistic Normalization in 1983. They have experienced the language repression or the language instability. First of all, we can find a primary membership of individuals sorted out individuals by a linguistic community and linguistic variety. Commonly, monolingual Castilian speakers and Catalan semi-speakers belong to Castilian language membership group. However at the same time, they mentally somehow belong to Catalan language reference group although there is some degree of discrepancies between individuals depending on the weight of sentiments. In other words, the relationship between membership and reference is like the relationship between the reality and the ideal. This is related with individual's self-awareness and cognitive dissonance.

5.5: The phenomenon of shame

"The Japanese do. A failure to follow their explicit signposts of good behavior, a failure to balance obligations or to foresee contingencies is a shame (haji). Shame, they say, is the root of virtue. The primacy of shame in Japanese life means, as it does in any tribe or nation where shame is deeply felt, that any man watches the judgement of the public upon his deeds." (Benedict 1946: 224)

Guilt and shame: This is the last chapter, and I prompt to approach Catalan semi-speaker's identity in relation to the phenomenology of shame. In the previous chapter, I have addressed that the human cognitive distinction between membership group and the reference group. I will expand how an individual cognitively perceive himself belong to a group from the subject viewpoint. In consequence, a cognitive dissonance between his ideal and his real triggers psychic conflict (the guilt and shame feeling) in his mind. First of all, a dichotomy between guilt and shame should be considered because it has been the center of arguments among some researchers although the concept of

shame itself not well defined in a discipline[21]. Despite the fact of conflict concept, the distinction of guilt and shame help us to understand to reach deep structure of the human mind. A brief summary of themes illuminates the cognitive divergence of individuals between the two terms (Table 1).

Table 1: *Summary of themes: Guilt vs. Shame*

Author	Guilt	Shame
Ruth Benedict (1946)	Internal sanction, West. Good conduct based on internal awareness of guilt.	External sanction, Japan. Good conduct based on external sanction.
Piers & Singer (1953)	The super-ego: the tension between the ego and the super-ego.	The ego-ideal: the tension between the ego and the ego-ideal.
Kenji Moriguchi (1963)	Standards of right and wrong value.	Standards of superiority and inferiority value.

Ruth Benedict in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946) points out that Japanese as shame culture in contrast to Westerner's guilt culture and describes guilt as an experience of internalized criticism and shame as a reaction to criticism from the outside. More precisely, the shame feeling, which Japanese assign to "the observing self" weighs upon them because they behave own Japanese code under strong consciousness by following the virtue of "sincerity." Therefore, self-training or "self-discipline" is for proper behavior to eliminate the self-censorship of shame. For Japanese people, this is the way to release from self-consciousness and conflict. Benedict describes the shame as the dilemma of the virtue of Japanese culture. Benedicts' arguments hit the nail on the head of many Japanese authors by stating Japan as a shame culture country and arouse anthropologist's (and non-anthropological author's) interest in examining further a theoretical context of shame. By responding the work of Benedict, Inoue (1977) argues that Westerners base on the autonomous value.

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[21] Some psychoanalysts support two terms as together. For instance, Hartmann & Loewenstein asserted that shame was so similar to guilt, both in scientific and common usage, that the two terms could be considered together. (Kinston 1983: 214)

On the contrary, Japan controls the *self*, based on the heteronomous value between internal/*uchi* as membership group and external/*soto* as the reference group. Moriguchi (1963) extends the arguments towards the structure of self-esteem by shame and guilt in the developmental stage. From a different perspective of psychoanalysis, Piers & Singer (1953), the superego relates to guilt and the ego-ideal relates to shame. In other words, the awareness of guilt arises when we break boundaries by the superego: the feeling that you have done wrong something you are not supposed to do. On the contrary, the awareness of shame arises when we cannot reach a goal by the ego-ideal: the feeling that you have done something you should have done better. More precisely, Piers refers to the relationship between parents and child: the unconscious shame is an anxious feeling by which caused not reaching internalized ideals of parents. By contrast, the unconscious guilt is an anxious feeling by which caused violating internalized prohibitions of parents. In short, it seems that the differences and the similarity between shame and guilt have been the center of interest for the psychoanalysts. However, in the anthropological concerns, the investigation is to comprehend inclusively an individual's identity by considering the phenomenon of shame although the typology will help our understanding. Moreover, as Duranti (1997: 201) illustrates, "When we get into constructing stereotypical scenes and characters, we are entering the realm of culture." In this context, I will concentrate on the construction of stereotypes of the semi-speakers of Catalan as a collective identity in this chapter.

Mechanism of shame: The psychoanalyst, Warren Kinston (1983: 213) writes, "Shame is the single experience that the individual, faced with painful self-awareness. Shame is associated with the urge to live up to parental expectations which disregard or violate a unique personal identity; but which offer a sense of closeness, love or approval." If shame is an experience, in other words, the experience of shame links with a lack of autonomy, self-direction, self-identity, and self-esteem, which induced by negative evaluation of self-images or fear of rejection. When these internal struggles appear as self-exposure, individuals suffer the humiliation or embarrassment, which is associated with the action component of shame, is represented as the wish to

hide. For the sociologist, Keiichi Sakuta (1967), this shame experience is based on the "public shame" in his terminology, which is only one side of the shame that Benedict failed to consider. Sakuta points out that the shame has two sides and develops the theory of the "public shame" and "private shame." The public shame dominates the fear of exposure of negative self-evaluation. By contrast, the private shame dominates the nerve of negative self-evaluation. Moreover, there is one condition required for the emergence of the shame feeling: People feel shame when someone watches him or when people watch himself. In other words, shame needs the eyes of someone including "the observing self". An action to be exposed or observed is a fundamental trigger of the phenomenon. Furthermore, Inoue (1977) highlights the aspect of shyness that appears as a shame phenomenon when there is a cognitive discrepancy between membership group and the reference group. According to Inoue, shyness is associated with a gaze of others. We experience "shyness" because we lose the balance between membership group and the reference group when we receive a look by the others. The following situation describes the arising of shame as a typical daily situation:

> When a girl was walking with her family (membership group), she met her friends (the reference group). The girl felt shame; nevertheless she has no hesitation to introduce her family to her friends.

Although the ashamed or uncomfortable feeling of the girl can be explained in many ways depends on the weight of shame, however commonly, we can assume that the girl experiences shyness due to a cognitive deviation between membership group and the reference group. It is because the girl was caught by her friends when she behaved herself as a member of the family, which belongs to the different group of her friends. More importantly, shyness appears not only when individuals feel inferior, which functioned by the comparison (private shame or public shame), but also some situations like when individuals receive a compliment, flattery or overdress in a certain occasion (not being inferior, but feel embarrassment) likewise the story of the girl above. In these cases, shyness raises with a shyly smile or bashful. In short, an individual recognizes the consciousness of shyness or shame through a gaze of others. This shyness

will be released or at least reduced when there are no eyes of the others. Shyness is a phenomenon within the category of shame. However, it should be considered separately by existing terminology of guilt and shame because shyness carries the both: the humiliation shame and the shyness shame. While Sakuta (1967) evaluates Benedict's insight of Japan as a genuine shame culture, but rather he regards Japan as a shyness culture. Therefore, Inoue (2007) reconsiders the distribution of shame and guilt including the mechanism of shyness (Figure 1).

Figure1: *The distribution of shame and guilt from the inner side of the ego*
(Inoue 2007:185, my translation)
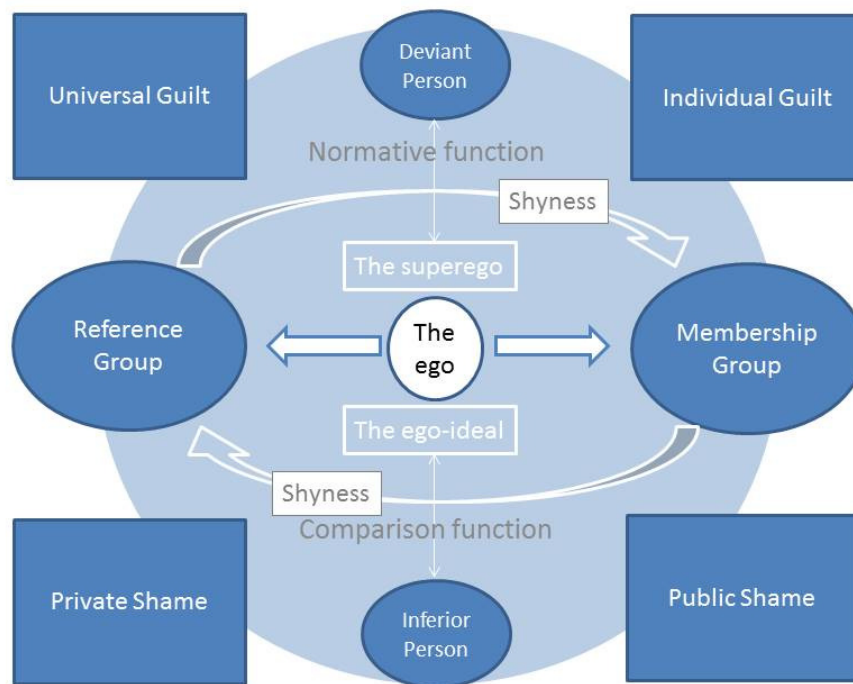
Typology of shame: In general, individuals start from belonging to a membership group of family. By experience, they learn to build their values by setting an ideal person or group to follow, and this group will correspond to the reference group. This process is a development of the ego from membership group. The differentiation evokes the ego to develop either to the super-ego or the ego-ideal. During the process, individuals will go through two functions of the reference group; the normative function or the comparison function. The two functions are introduced by the psychologist, Harold Kelley (1952). The

normative function is composed of individuals, who follow the norms of a group. By contrast, the comparison function is that basically individuals need other individuals in order to self-evaluate by comparing to the others, who will be the member of the reference group. Kelley (1952) describes as follows: "A comparative reference group is used to describe a group which individuals use as a standard or point of reference in making evaluations or comparisons of themselves and other individuals or groups." By following the typology, the normative function is based on a standard value of right and wrong whether if individuals follow or deviate from the group rules. On the contrary, the comparison function is tied to a standard value of superiority and inferiority when the ego measures himself as a superior or an inferior by comparing with the other group of members. Moriguchi (1963) considers the two values will correspond to the guilt (right and wrong) and the shame (superiority and inferiority). In short, we can presuppose that an individual regard himself as a deviant person or an inferior person from his reference group through the two functions, which based on the super-ego/ego-ideal. In consequence, the individual will experience the awareness of guilt or shame as a cognitive sanction by following his standard value. Inoue describes the typology in relation to guilt and shame:

(a) **Public shame**: The public shame is the consciousness of shame. An individual (the ego) regards himself as an inferior person inside of his membership group by the comparison function towards his ego-ideal. Through a gaze of others, he finds himself isolated from his membership group.

(b) **Private shame**: The private shame is recognition of the consciousness of shame. An individual (the ego) compare to his ego-ideal and recognizes himself that the real self is the inferior person in contrast to the ideal self. Through a gaze of himself (observing self), but just like a gaze of others, he remembers the secret personal shame.

(c) **Individual guilt**: The individual guilt is the consciousness of guilt. It is recognition as a deviant person from membership group through the super-ego, which is based on the normative function.

(d) **Universal guilt**: The universal guilt is the consciousness of guilt. It is recognition as a deviant person from the reference group through the superego.

The dissonance between language and identity - the consciousness of shame of the semi-Catalan speakers: The phenomenon of shame appears as the human nonverbal behavior: blushing, hesitation, aggression, agitation or Scopophobia, which are associated with shyness. For instance, a humiliated situation may trigger the phenomenon. The physical behaviors or symptom tell us a clue to assume the human mind. More precisely, the phenomenon of shame is to approach the deep structure of the human mind, which is constructed with the language outside of language. That is valid especially for those who have low proficiency of language competence because they are limited to express their mind in the linguistic dimension. The semi-speakers are often inclined to pause during the speech act due to the disturbance of cognitive ability. Therefore, it is important to consider the semi-speakers of Catalan in relation to the phenomenon of shame from the different perspectives from their language behaviors and their physical reactions as a result of their emotion. The informants often employed the words of "*vergonya* – shame" and "*tímid* - shyness" during my fieldwork. The shyness comes from the wish to hide their Barbarism or from the confusion because of the undefined code-switching between speakers. The both shame and shyness are rooted by the low-competence, which is associated with the emergence of shame in the mind. The sentiments remind them the wishes like, if they could manage to control the switch between two languages, or if they could speak fluently without the barrier of Barbarism. Therefore, as I discussed in the previous chapters, the problem of Barbarism and the chaotic code-switching build up the feeling of shame and make semi-speakers behave like a shy person when they are exposed to the eyes of the others. More important, for the semi-speakers of Catalan, not only language problem but also identity problem aggravates the feeling of shame. The semi-speakers suffer (or at least they are confused) from the discrepancy between self-evaluated identity and language-based identity. According to Parvis Emad (1972), the research of Max Scheler's phenomenology of shame, shame as a sense of value emotion is the human congenital specific individual basis, and it is not occurred a posteriori as a result of education. Moreover, the thing you learn from education is only the moral evaluation regarding shame. Therefore, we must distinguish the differences between the concept of shame that we obtain by education and the universal emotion of shame as phenomena.

From this argument, it is doubtful whether if the semi-speakers of Catalan are actually feeling the universal emotion of shame or their shame is constructed by the concept via education. Similarly, Inoue (2007: 220) agrees that the shame feeling exists universal as humans, however, at the same time; the consciousness of shame can be constructed and developed by education. That is to say, the self-esteem or the consciousness of value also are constructed and developed by the human condition. Therefore, from the theoretical observations, the phenomenon of shame seems to be settled as the result of conscious and unconscious human behaviors towards norms, which we develop it by education. In such a constructed human condition, the dramaturgic metaphor of Goffman (1959) accounts for the human behavior. Goffman (1959: 210) states, "Unmeant gestures, inopportune intrusions, and faux pas are sources of embarrassment." In his terminology, an individual is a "performer" in a "team", where the performer belongs to, and the performer inclines to avoid raising such embarrassment situation in front of his "audience" in his "scenes" by controlling the "dramaturgical discipline". This human behavior of the dramaturgical discipline is also explicable on a behavior of the semi-speakers of Catalan:

> A semi-speaker of Catalan (performer) belongs to the Castilian language membership group (team). In a certain situation (scenes), the speaker tries to avoid an embarrassment situation, which can be caused by his low-proficiency of Catalan when there are bilingual speakers or Catalan native speakers (audience).

This performance is the reference to the techniques of impression management, and we can alternate the performer to monolingual Castilian speakers as well. According to Goffman, to prevent the occurrence of embarrassment consequent as the performer, the dramaturgical co-operation is needed by team members, who can accept moral obligations (e.g. keep the secrets of the team) and maintain the loyalty of team members. Therefore, the performer can prevent becoming so sympathetically attached to the audience that the performers disclose to them the consequences for them of the impression they are given. This behavior is an etiquette or ritual performance that all members may be

obliged to follow it implicitly. When a member is emotionally attached to one group than the others, the member may co-operate for a team to prove the belonging. To determine the belonging is subjective; however, by considering human condition, it enables us to conceptualize the belonging, especially like the semi-speakers of Catalan, who have the multiple identity and language. A group you belong to, and another group you want to belong to, the sentiment in the mind make a separation into two groups in conscious or unconscious. The dissonance between language and identity separates two groups in the mind. To build the mind map of the semi-speakers, I have developed the typology of Inoue (2007) and distributed the semi-speaker's language group and self-awareness of identity to explain the cognitive mechanism of the semi-speakers (Figure 2 and Table 2). The groups are divided by the language competence and potentially the semi-speakers can belong to the both groups subjectively or objectively. However, a group of semi-speakers with the lower proficiency are prone to belong to Castilian language membership group.

Figure2: *The distribution of shame and guilt with self-awareness of identity from the inner side of the ego: semi-speakers of Catalan.*
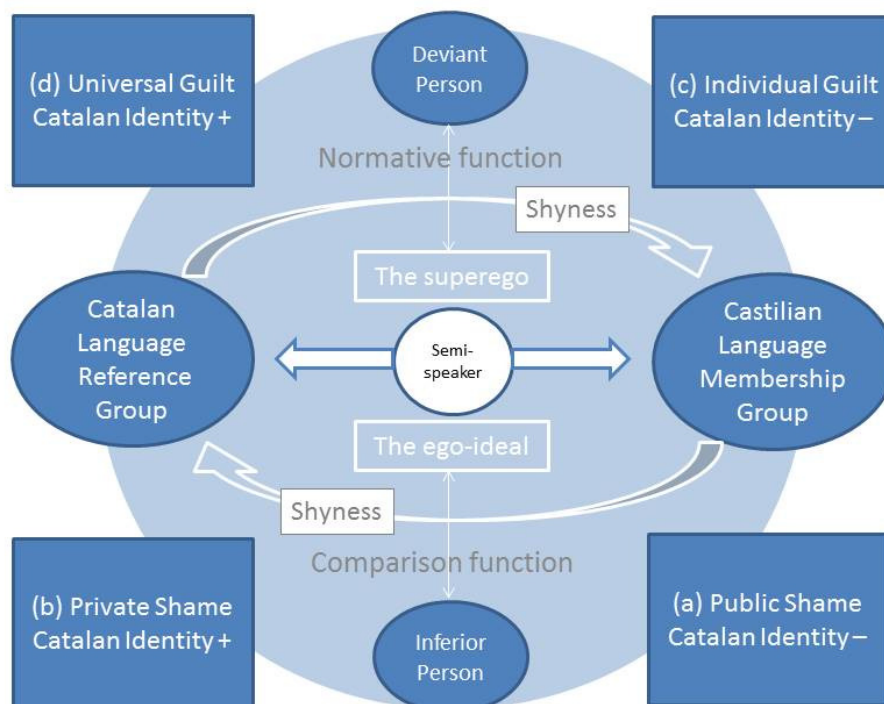
Table 2: *The typology of the cognitive mechanism based on guilt and shame*:
Catalan semi-speakers

(d) Universal guilt	(c) Individual guilt
The semi-speaker recognizes oneself as a deviant person when not meeting the norm of language competence of Catalan, though identically the one belongs plenary to reference group.	The semi-speakers of Catalan (the Castilian monolingual speakers) recognize oneself as a deviant person when not meeting the norm of language competence, and feel isolated from membership group due to the parallel or multiple identities. Often ambivalent identity.
(b) Private shame	**(a) Public shame**
The semi-speaker recognizes oneself as an inferior person, compare to an ideal Catalan fluent/bilingual speaker though identically the one belongs plenary to reference group. An individual perceives himself as having failed to live up to his ideal standards as established in the ego-ideal.	The semi-speakers of Catalan (the Castilian monolingual speakers) recognize oneself as inferior person compare to the ideal Catalan fluent/bilingual speakers and feel isolated from membership group due to the parallel identities. Often ambivalent identity.

(a) Public shame: Most of the semi-speakers of Catalan at the age of 50's who grow up in Barcelona may belong to this group (e.g. Marisol, Carmen, Isabel or Terresa.) In this generation, the language behavior of writing is higher than speaking although they often employ the Barbarism in both writing and speaking. As a physical conduct, they often blush or show hesitation meanwhile speaking. Goffman (1981:214) states regarding a pause and self-conscious overtone to one's voice, "The hesitation or pause can constitute a negative notification." In this context, the hesitation or a pause during talks implies the sign of negativity. The group of speakers belongs to this group; they show difficulties to manipulate the code-switching between Catalan and Castilian so that a pause or an oscillation often occurs. Many of them prefer to employ the Catalan language over the telephone because they fear to use the Catalan language in face-to-face verbal communication. Interestingly, they tend to practice the Catalan language with their bilingual children. In other words, they

are prone to hide their low-competence of Catalan outside of their membership group (family member). Despite the fact that semi-speakers have been surrounded by Catalan native speakers, they hesitate to ask for help to practice Catalan in everyday life because they avoid the self-exposure of their negative aspects. The aspects seem to aggravate the lack of self-esteem. They have co-habited in a double speech community for a long time and belonged to the group of low culture (Castilian) in terms of Gellner (1983) due to the low competence of Catalan. Alternatively, rather, they resignedly may have accepted the fact that they have grown up with the monolingual Castilian language family, or they have not obtained any occasions to recover the Catalan language until now. At the same time, they tend to have an ambivalence identity between Catalan and Castilian. They display less rancor or stigma between two identities than the other generation, which accounts for the equal respect the both identity. However, they regard themselves inferior compared to the fluent Catalan speakers and recognize the dissonance between identity and language so that they avoid facing with vulnerable aspects of the self. For them, it is shameful to be looked because they wish to hide from the eyes of others. The phenomenon of blushing or oscillation is remarkable. In consequence, we may presuppose that the semi-speakers of Catalan age between 40 and 60 tend to recognize more the public shame than the private shame.

(b) Private shame: The semi-speakers of Catalan age above 60's (the oldest informant is 84 years old), this generation experienced the period of the repression of Catalan language when the Catalan usage was entirely and strictly prohibited. Fina, Mercè, Ana Maria or Angel may belong here. In general, the language behavior of writing is poor than speaking. They often employ the Barbarism in both writing and speaking. By contrast, they smoothly change the code-switching between Catalan and Castilian. As a physical behavior, they show less or no hesitation meanwhile speaking in Catalan although they show agitation when writing. They suffer more the dissonance between language and identity than the other group of semi-speakers of Catalan. They are prone to have some rancor or stigma against the Franco regime and experienced some ethnic crashes with immigrants after the industrialization in Barcelona.

Montserrat explained an emigrant from Andalusia deprived her job promotion opportunity, who was a brown-noser to her boss. For Montserrat, the virtue of Catalan is "seny" and says "The Catalans don't say anything because we (the Catalans) observe well in order to evaluate whom to trust from the experience," she repeated the passage. What suffers the more for this generation is that they cannot be plenary Catalan due to the lack of language competence despite the fact that they are identically the Catalan-Catalan. Some informants employed the language at home in Catalan during the regime. However, without schooling in Catalan, the opportunities were not enough to recover plenary the language after the regime. A high proportion of individuals starts learning Catalan when they retire from the job, meaning that they finally obtain the time to study. For this generation, it has been difficult to recover the Catalan language (commonly, a lack of writing competence), unless having had some opportunities, or strong motivation and will. By considering the propensities, what dominates in this group of individuals is more the private shame than the public shame. They approach to become the person who describes in their mind as an ideal person. The semi-speakers of individuals look themselves from the object viewpoint and recognize the dissonance between identity and language. In consequence, they secretly remember the private shame feeling. That feeling resembles (d) the universal guilt.

(c) Individual guilt: In contrast to the group of (a) the public shame, there is a group of semi-speakers of Catalan, which also belong to the monolingual Castilian speaker membership group but the phenomenon of shame does not seem to appear here. Most of the members are originally from outside of Catalonian territory or the South America. Due to the possession of multiple identities, they persist less in getting a language-based identity. If they do, the reason may be more the instrumental motivation (the desire to get ahead in some way) than the integrative motivation (the desire to be accepted by another group). As for some specific cases, Rita may have multiple identities of Valencian, Catalan or/and Castilian. For the case of Mercedes, Gypsy, Andalusian, and/or Catalan. For Pastora or Manolo, Andalusian and/or Catalan. Although they often employ the Barbarism, they don't show any hesitation making mistakes or employing Catalan in the public sphere. In other words,

they do not fear the eyes of the others because they established self-image and self-esteem. They rather learn the Catalan language as an unpleasant duty, "ought to be done because I *also* belong here," which rather dominate the feeling of guilt than one of shame. At the same time, they still recognize themselves as a deviant person from the membership of Castilian language group by holding multiple identities.

(d) Universal guilt: In contrast to the group of (b) the private shame, the individuals belong to the universal guilt group, who used to be the semi-speakers of Catalan. However, they have accomplished to get the proficiency of Catalan in the early period of the post-Franco (e.g. Miguel, Jaume, Teima, Prat). Therefore, the sociohistorical background is basically the same with the group of (b) so that they might have belonged to the group of (b). In this context, the universal guilt, and the private shame resemble each other. However, I may categorize them in the group of universal guilt because they motivated themselves to learn not because of an inferior feeling, but because of a pleasant duty to be Catalan. Regardless the motivation came from political or cultural reasons, they somehow felt, "ought to be done because I belong here." In other words, they regard themselves as a deviant person (not an inferior person), who have been deprived the mother tongue by force. They may recognize the guilt feeling about it through the superego by being isolated from the corrective identity group of Catalan because of a lack of language competence. The guilt trait corresponds to Benedict's theory, a good conduct based on internal awareness of guilt. The group of individuals in (b) the private shame could have belonged to this group. However, as time passed by, the accumulated Barbarism build up the feeling of shame, and they feel the distance from the ideal person because of the inferior language competence.

All semi-speakers' position may be alternated when the speakers (the ego) move either by the superego or by the ego-ideal. The consciousness of shame and guilt is also variable from the personal experience depends on the time and space. The peculiar historical position of Catalan language, which has been represented as a prestigious high culture. This language position allows us analyzing and localizing the position of the identity at the same times

meticulously. The typology is some parts inaccurate because the phenomenon of shame is undefined, but the typology is to conceptualize the semi-speakers' deep structure when they practice the Catalan language. Language barrier of individuals can segregate in mind, and this is something that we are always striving to find out. The unified language phenomena or behavior help us to reach the human mind.

6 Conclusions

Speaking proper is a reflection of the human mind under the conscious or unconscious against norms or towards norms. Language acts upon the human mind. Linguistic anthropologists strive to reach the deep structure of human mind through language behavior and to achieve this; tremendous interdisciplinary works must be done because people's mind is enough complicated. The domain of linguistics is entitled to find a certain way of speaking or writing, which is somehow unified. On the contrary, linguistic anthropologists interests in the human conditions of language users, who produce a certain way of unified speaking or writing. We utter words with both in conscious and unconscious. If an unconscious utterance emerges as a unique language behavior, most likely it relates to human cognitive mind, which is constructed by human experience, social condition, and ability. The case of Catalonia, despite the fact of a bilingual situation, the linguistic conflict never disappears, and the language has played the leading role of identity since being deprived the language by force. Because of the uniqueness position of the Catalan language, it has been settled in the frontline as a defense of ethnic survival over the century. The Catalan language has barely survived from the various language repressions, even after the industrialization, thanks to its prestigiousness. Although the Catalan history in relation to the language is extremely long and complex, what matters for the ordinary language users, is not the history of the language itself but rather what to do with the language. This is the aim of linguistic anthropologists.

A challenge that the ordinary speakers faces in everyday life is not only the language issue caused by the bilingualism but also identity, which is constructed by the sentiment of nationalism. Nationalism is the recognition of

sentiment when you encounter an equally-literate opponent who tries to deprive your right standing over you. The sentiment diffuses to the entire territory, and it may remain in the subconscious of individuals. The bilingualism imposes the ordinary language users to choose one or the other in everyday life, which segregate the speech community and the identity group. On the other hand, nationalism as sentiment stay in individual's mind, and the sentiment plays an important role to construct identity. During the Catalan language repression, the dictatorship enforced the language users to believe as if Castilian were the one and only language. After the regime, the speakers perceive or recognize the sentiment of an absence of identity-based language. In consequence, the Catalans with monolingual Castilian try to find the way to fill up the gap of the dissonance between language and identity. The recovery of language was indispensable especially for some Catalans with a strong sense of belonging. These individuals had overcome the dissonance in the early stage of life after the repression thanks to the voluntary will against the power-holder or the urge of self-determination. The absence of language competence evokes the feeling inside of individuals; "ought to be done as a Catalan" or "ought to become a Catalan." It is motivated by the self-sanction towards the recognition a loss of identity. However, on the contrary, after the regime, some Catalans had remained in low-competence of linguistic notwithstanding the incoherence between identity and language. There is still a high proportion of individuals with the low proficiency of Catalan, and they still strive to reclaim the linguistic ability. These individuals produce a mixture language between Catalan and Castilian when speaking or writing. This language behavior often occurs when the Castilian monolingual speakers (the semi-speakers of Catalan) employ the Catalan language. The language phenomenon of Barbarism (*Castilianism*) emerges as the result of the confusion of a cognitive process. The phonetic disturbance appears remarkably in writing as a part of Barbarism because they only know the Catalan words phonetically. Moreover, the alternation of two languages (code-switching) also became a barrier under the condition of bilingual (co-official language). The speakers are unconsciously obliged to alternate two languages by using some accommodation norms, however, for the semi-speakers of Catalan, they are unable to manipulate the norms appropriately due to the accumulated Barbarism, and the overlapping occurs in

the cognitive control while switching two languages. The semi-speakers born in Catalonia and raised as Catalan, but have employed Castilian for a long time. They have suffered the cognitive discrepancy between language competence and self-determination identity. Some of them have abandoned filling up the differences due to some barriers (time-consuming and require patience and effort), but nevertheless the obstacles, some of them still pursue the acquisition of the language. The proportion of motive for learning Catalan varies depending on personal experience, but yet the experiences remain in the mind as a memory of sentiment.

Identities are social constructions, which require a process of self-determination on the basis of categories (e.g. language-based, racial-based, ethnic-based or religious-based.) Therefore, when language overlaps, identity may overlap as well. We may call it as the ambivalent or parallel identities. This concept is associated with the interlingualism that generates hybrid ethnic identity. In the city of Barcelona, the traditional ethnic boundary between Catalan and Castilian has disappeared due to the urbanization in the recent years. The masses in Barcelona may seem the disorganized city of a mixed ethnicity of individuals. However, we should perceive the phenomenon in such complex city, where the small elements get smaller than before, and the big elements get bigger than ever. For researchers in the metropolitan area, the micro-scoop and macro-scoop observations are significant. When we look closer to the mental scheme of people, we may encounter a case: the inclination of strong belonging to a subjective identity group (the reference group), which differ from an objective membership group. This inclination is not only for individuals with multiple identities holders but also for everyone. More important, this incoherence identity from the subject viewpoint and object viewpoint in the mental scheme resembles the identity discrepancy of the Catalan semi-speakers. Although the deep structure of human mind is in the domain of psychoanalysis, however yet, anthropologists should carry some parts of it as the discipline of human science. A phenomenon of human behavior accounts for the deep structure of the human mind. Language practice of the Catalan semi-speakers is united in a certain way. Moreover, the speakers inclined to have the conscious or unconscious sense of shame. When the

speakers recognize the absence of language competence, they feel ashamed because they considered themselves as an inferior person in contrast to the ideal self. They compare to someone else (or sometimes they compare to the ideal themselves) and value whether if they are superior or inferior. This evaluation is associated with low self-esteem or low self-discipline. The group of people with low self-esteem, they tend to have the heteronomous value rather than autonomous value. The accumulated Barbarism or the misusage of code-switching aggravates to emerge the failure mind or negative self-evaluation in the language user's mind. Therefore, for the semi-speakers of Catalan, the Catalan language experience may associate with painful or shameful experience.

The language phenomena of Barbarism and the mix alternation of two languages (code-switching) are the result of obedience towards the norms. The language users try to cover the loss of self-determined or language-based identity. However yet, the language barrier may seem too high to overcome. The limitation of cognitive abilities (e.g. memorizing grammatical theories, which are a heavy load for the elderly persons), and the result of cognitive confusion (the phonetic disturbance and the overlapping of code-switching) create a new language phenomenon and rules among the ordinary language users. Sometimes we dismiss the importance of phenomenon and regard as an incorrect or vulgar usage just because not yet codified in any textbook of grammar. The collective language usage and identity are the significant results of a social or cultural phenomenon that linguistic anthropologist is striving to find out. The voluntary will of individuals has made possible to maintain the language value of Catalan after the dictatorship. However, at the same time, the semi-speakers of Catalan are still there as a remnant of history.

Appendix

Teima:

El meu pare era murcià i la meva mare catalana. El meu pare va arribar als 3 anys i va anar a escola de la Generalitat (anys 30)amb els meus avis amb 6 fills. Amb els meus tiets sempre he parlat en català Quan vam néixer nosaltres, els pares sempre ens vam parlar en català, i els meus avis parlaven en murcià (no és ni castellà ni andalús, sinó un "refrito") Quan vaig anar a l'escola, jo no sabia castellà i no va ser cap trauma, malgrat que hi havia paraules que no sabia com dir-les, per exemple "safareig". És que a casa hi havia un safareig i jo no sabia que es deia "lavadero" en castellà. Però no em va comportar cap problema parlar a casa en català i a l'escola en castellà. Vaig anar a escola pública franquista (anys 60), cada matí amb el braç enlairat i cantant les cançons falagintes (Arrg!!) Des de els 10 anys vaig començar a escriure un diari, com la majoria de la gent de la meva edat. No tenia ni idea d'escriure en català, però no podia fer-ho en castellà, perquè jo pensava i parlava en català. El vaig escriure tal com sonava la nostra llengua i amb faltes increïbles. Amb 13 anys vaig anar a l'I. Boscan (finals 60) i allà vaig anar a classes "clandestines" de català. Quina sort.

Prats:

Jo vaig fer el meu primer curs de català l'any 1978 - 79, quan tenia 21 anys. Ho vaig fer a l'Estudi Lul•lià i pagant de la meva butxaca, crec recordar que eren 3000 pessetes tot el curs. Quan vaig dir que m'apuntaria a classes de català, la gent del meu voltant va trobar que no era una decisió molt encertada. M'aconsellaven que estudies anglès que em seria més útil. A les classes de català estava envoltada de mestres d'escola que feien el reciclatge per poder fer classes en català. I com a anècdota, record que un dia la professora em va fer sortir a la pissarra per tal d'analitzar una oració gramatical. A mi sempre m'ha anat bastant malament l'anàlisi sintàctic i el meu nivell era de batxiller elemental. Per tant el resultat va esser una desastre de anal·lítica. La professora tota indignada i amb un to molt dur em va increpar,

— I tu ets mestre d'escola..?

— No, jo no som mestre d'escola. Jo faig feina a una impremta, com a auxiliar administrativa.

— I per què vols estudiar el català?

— Per deixar d'esser analfabeta amb la meva pròpia llengua.

La professora va quedar un poc bocabadada, a partir d'aquell dia en va tractar amb una gran deferència. Pel català vaig entrar al Gover.

Jaume:

Parlava un català ple de barbarismes perquè l'escola no li va ensenyar la llengua i llegir en català li suposava un esforç tan gran que sempre ho feia en castellà fins que un dia el va moure la consciència. Jaume Barberà va començar a llegir llibres en català pel seu compte amb 19 anys i es va apuntar a clases al CIC, a la Via Augusta de Barcelona. "Hauria tingut la necessitat d'aprendre a llegir i escriure qualsevol llengua que hagués parlat, però encara més si era la meva", explica. Sense la consciencia política no hauria pres la decisió. Ell participava en la lluita antifranquista i, per tant, era actiu contra "l'opressió cultural" que el règim imposava. Va estudiar català com a "enfrontament i rebuig al darwinisme lingüístic i social". Aquesta va ser la seva resistència a una dictadura que "intentava eliminar Catalunya com a poble".…De petit l'havien castigat físicament moltes vegades per parlar català amb els seus companys. Per això no entén que hi hagi gent que negui que els catalans han patit una situació en què se'ls prohibia la seva llengua. "Si ara preguntéssim a tot l'estat si Catalunya ha patit repressió, segurament sortitia que no. Però és que, si preguntéssim si el català és una llengua, és possible que també diguessin que no". Això, diu, "és prequè a les escoles no s'ensenya l'Espanya diversa sinó l'Espanya única, i això serveix per crear aquest franquisme sociològic".

Miguel:

        Va perdre la identitat en un viatge entre la terra on va néixer, Tarragona, i la ciutat on va créixer, Madrid. I va trigar 17 anys a parlar el català i tornar a la seva terra... Amb 17 anys es podria dir que va "decidir ser català" i va comprar una gramàtica d'Artur Martorell per aprendre la llengua. "Sent adolescent i fent aquestes coses, més que rebel·lar-me el que volia era trobar la manera d'identificar-me, de buscar la meva identitat i les meves arrels", assegura.... Li agradava Catalunya perquè tenia una societat més moderna que la resta d'Espanya perquè "Espanya, en aquell temps, feia vergonya –i ara també en comença a fer–", i també el fascinava el seu caràcter mític, el fet que fos un país petit que lluitava per la seva identitat.

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