

**Language Ideologies and Language Practices in France and Spain: The  
Case of Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician**

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## **Title: Language Ideologies and Language Practices in France and Spain: The Case of Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician**

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate the situation of minoritised languages in France and Spain, by developing a comparative framework for the analysis, and taking into account the theoretical and empirical sociolinguistic research context with regard to language planning and language ideologies. To date, theoretical and empirical studies have tended to focus on one region, have adopted a comparative approach that focuses on individual languages without an explorative comparison of the regimes behind those languages, or have preferred to adopt a generalised theoretical approach that does not discuss in great detail the specifics of any one region. In my comparison of languages spoken in France and Spain that are not the state language, I explore the impact of contrasting political regimes on language planning to discover if state regime is an important factor behind the long-term survival of minoritised languages.

The subject matter for this investigation concentrates on two languages from each country: Breton and Occitan for France, and Catalan and Galician for Spain. The empirical data for my investigation consists of questionnaire responses by native, non-native and non-speakers of the languages in question that covers an age-range from eighteen to eighty-five, rural and urban dwellers and lifelong residents and incomers. In addition, I have obtained data from language planners and I have analysed language plans and surveys via means of the Internet. The Internet has formed a key part of the research for this PhD, so that the methodology has taken advantage of new technology that could provide a change of direction for future research programmes.

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to John Arthur Donneky, who always believed in me.

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## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

### **1.0 The purpose of the dissertation**

In this dissertation I shall compare the situation of minoritised languages in France and Spain. ‘Minoritised language’ is a term I propose to refer to languages that have a reduced status politically and ideologically in the country concerned. I use this term interchangeably with ‘non-state language’ in order to emphasise the fact that these are languages that are not politically enshrined as the official language of that state. The focus of this dissertation is influenced by pre-existing theoretical and empirical-led research into language policy (political decisions that govern the right to use certain languages in specific situations) and language behaviour/beliefs (feelings towards certain languages at all levels of society that govern language use).

As far as research into the status of minoritised languages is concerned, scholars have tended to adopt a theoretical or empirical focus. The theoretical line of research concentrates on the definition and refinement of theories without a detailed discussion of specific cases. The following is a selection of authors, to whom I refer in this dissertation, that have adopted such a theoretical methodology: Anderson (2006), Annamalai (1989), Baker (2001), Coulmas (1989), Fishman (1991 & 2001) and Joseph (1987).

Empirical-led research utilises case studies to highlight theoretical discussion. As far as my field is concerned, empirical research concentrates on language policy, language behaviour and beliefs, or a mixture of language policy and language behaviour/beliefs. Academics who have influenced my research from the point of view of language policy are Costa Casas (2007), Galanes Santos (2005), Hélot & Young (2005) and Saint Robert (2000). Key works, from the point of view of language behaviour, are by Assémat (2006), Milroy (1987) and Paulston (1994). However, the line of research that has directly influenced my work is the combined empirical observation of language policy and language behaviour/beliefs. The key influences are Beswick (2007), Howard (2007), Jaffe (1999), Mar-Molinero (2000), McDonald (1989) and Woolard (1989 & 2008).

The researchers who have observed language policy and language behaviour/beliefs have researched one region or one inter-linked series of regions. Their agenda was to align the two areas of language policy and language behaviour/beliefs.

However, through the course of my French and Spanish studies I noticed there were marked differences in the political structures of France and Spain that impinged on language policy. As a consequence, I felt that an alignment between language policy and language behaviour/beliefs was one that could be developed through the following research question: Is state regime an important factor behind the long-term survival of minoritised languages?

Subsidiary points that arise from the above question focus on the direct comparison between the two countries, language ideologies, the fact that these are member states of the European Union, and the future of minoritised languages. Questions concerning why and whether minoritised languages are faring better in one country than the other, and whether one country should adopt the other country's policies concentrate on the direct comparison. The subject of language ideologies is addressed through a question that considers whether the situation of minoritised languages depends on language attitudes. Meanwhile, questions that pose whether European-wide policies could help and what implications there are for the future cover the remaining subsidiary points.

A dissertation of this scope requires careful methodological considerations. The first consideration concerned the selection of minoritised languages. Too limited a selection could lend a biased slant to the research but too large a selection would limit the focus. I decided to concentrate on two languages for each state, and these languages would have an important historical presence. The languages that I have chosen from France are Breton and Occitan, while the languages for Spain are Catalan and Galician. Catalan posed an additional problem in that the political and ideological situation of this language varies according to the region of Spain in which it is used. I decided to focus on the region in which it has the greatest presence: Catalonia.

The range of data needed to support my analysis posed difficulties exacerbated by personal problems (see methodology in section 4.1). I overcame these difficulties through the use of online technology: email correspondence and the utilisation of Internet documents. Through email correspondence I was able to delegate the distribution of questionnaires to intermediaries who were also able to read questions to those who were unable to respond directly (the elderly) and transcribe their answers. This allowed me to have a data-set that covered a variety of sociolinguistic backgrounds: all stages of adulthood, rural and urban backgrounds, life-long residents

of a particular region and incomers, and native, non-native and non-speakers of minoritised languages. To discover the native language of my informants I needed to define mother tongue. I decided to concentrate on language origins; this is the first language of which my informants were consciously aware. There are other features that define mother tongue, such as individual identification, identification by others, competence and use (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 106).

The methodology alongside the analytical content forms the basis of the subsequent chapters. This chapter has three aims. Firstly, a section on terminology explains the rationale within sociolinguistics for terms used to designate languages that are not the official state language and terms used to describe language minoritisation. The second section establishes the themes that form the theoretical framework for this dissertation, while the last section is a summary of the subsequent chapters.

## **1.1 Terminologies**

There are a variety of terms used by political leaders, language activists and scholars to refer to languages that are not politically enshrined as the official language of that state. A common term is ‘minority language’, but this is not simple to define. The dictionary definition for the word ‘minority’ is ‘the smaller part or number’; yet, while some languages, such as Breton, are minorities in their respective regions as well as in their state, there are languages like Catalan that are spoken by a large majority within their region and are official in that region. Sociolinguists use the term minority in a numerical sense (see Valdés 2006). However, critics of this term, such as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 160) are of the opinion that the use of the word minority by researchers can undermine the affected group because it denotes a sense of inferiority which in turn can mean no right to ‘self-determination’.

The pejorative connotation of ‘minority’ is also apparent in other terms, such as ‘heritage language’ and ‘regional language’. A criticism, supported by Fishman (1991: 362), of heritage language, popular within and outside academia in Canada (Bourhis 2001: 116), is that it has a passive connotation, that the languages in question belong to the past and are museum pieces rather than living languages. Meanwhile, regional language, especially prevalent in France, is the term employed by the state leaders to demote other languages and promote the ‘state language’. The state language has political backing and has been used by political leaders to unify one group of people or

nation. The speakers of regional languages either view their speech variety as a national language to imbue themselves with their own group cohesiveness or as a dialect (see section 1.2). Beswick (2007: 31-2) and Holt and Gubbins (2002: 6) explain that 'regionalism' is a state-coined expression, but those to whom the state refers as regionalist consider themselves as nationalist.

An alternative strategy to the adoption of expressions that are not readily accepted by the language speakers is to apply a graded scale to classify a language. Kincade, for example, proposes the following classification for what he describes as 'safe' and 'unsafe' languages:

1. **Viable** languages: have population bases that are sufficiently large and thriving to mean that no threat to long-term survival is likely;
2. **Viable but small** languages: have more than c. 1,000 speakers, and are spoken in communities that are isolated or with a strong internal organisation, and aware of the way their language is a marker of identity;
3. **Endangered** languages: are spoken by enough people to make survival a possibility, but only in favourable circumstances and with a growth in community support;
4. **Nearly extinct** languages: are thought to be beyond the possibility of survival, usually because they are spoken by just a few elderly people;
5. **Extinct** languages: are those where the last fluent speaker has died, and there is no sign of any revival. (Kincade 1991: 160-3 in Crystal 2000: 20-1)

Meanwhile, another graded language scale from the same source is proposed by Wurm:

1. **Potentially endangered** languages: are socially and economically disadvantaged, under heavy pressure from a larger language, and beginning to lose child speakers;
2. **Endangered** languages: have few or no children learning the language, and the youngest good speakers are young adults;
3. **Seriously endangered** languages: have the youngest good speakers age 50 or older;
4. **Moribund** languages: have only a handful of good speakers left, mostly very old;
5. **Extinct** languages: have no speakers left. (Wurm 1998: 192 in Crystal 2000: 20-1)

The problem with both scales is that these terms are also not used by the speakers themselves and they do not convey the causes behind a reduced linguistic status. A possible solution is proposed by Joan (2005) in the use of the terms ‘minorised’ and ‘minoritarian’. ‘Minorised’ languages are widely used in their regions – Catalan and Galician, for example – but are sometimes viewed by the state leaders and consequently members of the general public as inferior to the state language. ‘Minoritarian’ languages are minorities within their regions – Breton, for example. Minorised and minoritarian are still, though, derived from minority. However, these definitions highlight the fact that minority means reduced status as well as reduced number. The following definition confirms the idea of reduced status:

*Una lengua resulta minorizada como consecuencia de restricciones de sus funciones institucionalizadas o carencia de funciones que requerirían institucionalización.*

A language becomes minoritised as a result of restrictions on its institutional functions or a lack of functions that require institutionalisation. (Cobarrubias 1986a: 190 in Alvarez Cáccamo 1991: 66)

In this dissertation, while mindful of negative connotations, I shall refer to languages that are not the state language of the country concerned as ‘minoritised’ or ‘non-state’. This covers languages that are official in their regions but are not official in their state, and minoritised stresses the fact that these languages have been marginalised through political and ideological pressures (see chapter 2) so that there is a reduction in the number of speakers and/or in the status of that language.

The use of the term minoritised means that it can be linked to the process of language minoritisation. As other sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated (Woolard 1989, Jaffe 1999, Mar-Molinero 2000, Beswick 2007, Howard 2007), the underlying influences on the minoritisation process are changes in sociological structures (living conditions and employment, for example) and ideology/belief systems that underpin attitudes towards different languages throughout all the layers of that society.

The terminology used to describe the minoritisation process is as varied as the names for non-state languages. Two such terms are ‘Language death’ and ‘language genocide’. It could be merely a question of semantics: ‘genocide’ as a more emphatic expression. However, there is debate about the use of these terms, because death lacks an agent but genocide denotes responsibility. A keen adherent of the term language genocide is Skutnabb-Kangas. She thinks that analysts who view the disappearance of

languages as language death take a Darwinist view of natural selection: ‘languages are organisms with a natural life span’ (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 371). Language genocide recognises that people are responsible for the fate of languages, while ‘language suicide’, as suggested by Denison (1977: 21) denotes a human element; it is ultimately the people themselves that stop speaking a language.

As a counterpoint to Darwinism, there is a growing area of research within the field of sociolinguistics in which languages are analogous with biodiversity. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) is a key proponent of what is termed by these researchers as ‘ecolinguistics’. Other important contributors to ecolinguistics are Joan (2005) and Mühlhäusler (2000). Joan describes a direct correlation between the loss of flora and fauna and the loss of languages. Meanwhile, Mühlhäusler (2000) argues that, based on his research in regions of high linguistic diversity, people use languages in a similar fashion to the way flora and fauna adapt to their environmental habitat. Altering language behaviour is to him as damaging as altering nature. The differing habitat in which a person lives and the people with whom that person speaks is a reason for variation in language behaviour. Language diversity is a theme I develop in section 6.2.3 in order to see how languages can work in harmony (also see 6.1.1).

Ecolinguistics alongside active terms for language loss (language genocide and language suicide) does not mean that the use of the term language death implies a *laissez-faire* attitude to linguistic analysis. This is where I differ in opinion from Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 371) who believes that scholars who refer to language death do not provide a detailed analysis of the power relationships between dominant and dominated languages.

A database search produces a long list of published works with language death in the title. To comment on two notable works – *Language Death: The Life Cycle of A Scottish Gaelic* (Dorian 1981) and *Language Death* (Crystal 2000) - there is no lack of analytical discussion. Dorian’s work is a thorough analysis of the relationships between Gaelic and English, while Crystal is as critical as Skutnabb-Kangas of a *laissez-faire* approach. This is not to deny that some researchers adopt an approach that encompasses some of Skutnabb-Kangas’ criticisms, but that the adoption of the term language death does not automatically mean a reductive argument.

The key consideration is the appropriate term for the languages under discussion in this dissertation. It will be seen in the chapters that follow that the language speakers have decided, through their own volition or as a response to outside pressures, whether to use a language, so that language loss would lend itself to the terms language genocide and language suicide; yet, language death is all-encompassing. There is, though, another aspect: the afore-mentioned terms suggest a finite outcome. ‘Language shift’ acknowledges a process of language substitution, but it offers a chance for revival or reversal in line with Fishman (1991, as discussed in section 1.2). Language shift suggests a dynamic, fluid process of language substitution (see Gal 1979, Baker 2001, Fishman 1991 and Ager 1990). I, in line with these sociolinguists, shall use the term language shift to refer to the minoritisation process of languages in France and Spain.

## **1.2 ‘Is state regime an important factor behind the long-term survival of minoritised languages?’: Theoretical framework**

This question provides the over-arching framework for this dissertation, which is based on a comparison between the political structures of France and Spain in the early twenty-first century from the angle of linguistic policy and its impact on minoritised languages within those states. State political structure is what I consider as state regime. First, I shall discuss the historical context of language minoritisation in France and Spain before I focus on the contemporary period. This historical discussion is influenced by the works of historians that include Pollard (2003), Jones (1994), Mayne (1998), Anderson (2006) and Gellner (1998) who define socio-historical shifts. I have applied this principle to describe a historical overview of political structure in France and Spain that fulfils my framework of a comparison of regimes. This allows me to briefly contextualise, although I concede that periods of time are not neatly packaged, as common ideals filter through from one era to another. I have named my regime eras as the monarchic regime, the nation-state and the deconstructed nation-state (see section 2.2 and sub-sections for the discussion of these regimes in relation to France and Spain). The monarchic regime is in line with Gellner’s (1998) description of pre-industrialisation and Anderson’s (2006) description of shared kinship; the nation-state is a transition towards a homogenous society which Gellner has defined as cultural change, and the deconstructed nation-state is how I define the transition from centralisation to decentralisation in France and Spain.



A major theme of language minoritisation is the relationship between minoritised languages and state languages. As part of a competition for resources, the languages acquire different roles or functions. In describing the different functions of state languages and minoritised languages, I join a well-established debate which was started by the sociolinguist Ferguson when, in 1959, he coined the term ‘diglossia’ to refer to the spread of different varieties of the same language, such as written and oral Arabic (Ferguson 2003: 345-7 citing 1959). According to Ferguson, the language varieties complement each other, so that one variety is used for formal occasions (an H variety) and the other variety is an everyday language (L variety).

Ferguson’s definition of diglossia was extended to include the relationship between different languages, which was initially done by Fishman in 1967 (Schiffman 2010, citing Fishman 1967). The refined definition of diglossia has extended to the way in which that diglossia functions. Ferguson’s initial findings revealed diglossia as a stable scenario with no conflict. Sociolinguistic findings since then have shown that conflict is a possibility as ideologies about prestige levels develop, so that one language is increasingly preferred by the society in which the languages are spoken. Some academics prefer to term diglossia with ideological conflict as ‘societal bilingualism’ (Hudson (2002) is a prominent supporter of this distinction). In Spain, the term ‘*bilingüismo armónico*’ [harmonious bilingualism] has been promoted by politicians since the end of the Franco dictatorship to promote freedom of linguistic choice (González González 2004). Critics of this term believe that the outcome is no different from societal bilingualism in that deference is shown to the state language (see sections 4.3.2 and 6.3 and sub-sections).

I propose the terms ‘compartmentalisation’ and ‘de-compartmentalisation’, as part of my contribution to the debate on diglossia. Compartmentalisation refers to clearly demarcated roles for language that covers both stable diglossia and societal bilingualism, while de-compartmentalisation concerns language use that is not clearly demarcated (in line with the official definition of *bilingüismo armónico*, as mentioned in section 2.2.4). There are two main features that form part of my discussion on compartmentalisation and de-compartmentalisation: domains and alternations between languages (code-switching and code-mixing). Domain is a term first coined by Fishman (Fishman *et al* 1971, cited in Fishman 1991), to refer to locations, participants and topics. Network is an alternative term to domain that I use in relation to my own

findings in chapter 6. As far as topics are concerned, Jaffe (1999) noticed topic defined domains applied to Corsican usage where a conversation might start in French but switch to Corsican for discussions about sheep herding and farming, and a reverse switch might happen if the topic turned to academia (Jaffe 1999: 108-109). This type of switch is what Scotton (1986: 405 in Jaffe 1999: 108-9) defines as ‘sequential unmarked choices’ to mean an unconscious switch between languages.

Another aspect of diglossia is the distinction at all levels of society between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’. Debate among linguists is whether to define speech varieties along linguistic or sociolinguistic lines. Weinreich (1953: 105-6) coined four sets of criteria to distinguish between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’: degree of difference, stability of form, breadth of function and speakers’ own rating. Degree of difference, is what Edwards (1994: 24) defines in terms of ‘mutual intelligibility’. Stability of form, meanwhile, is when a speech variety maintains its own features. Since Weinreich coined the criteria for determining the difference between a language and a dialect, sociolinguists have tended to reject the first two sets of criteria, which focus on linguistic features. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 8) argues that mutual intelligibility and stability of form work to define languages that belong to different family groups, such as the difference between English and Chinese, but not for closely related languages, such as Swedish and Danish. As far as dialects are concerned, she (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 8-9) explains that neighbouring speech varieties are possibly mutually intelligible but further along the dialect continuum intelligibility is lost. Beswick (2007: 111) states that the definition of languages and dialects are determined by political leaders. This is in line with my discussion in section 1.1 on terms used for minority languages and the fact that state leaders use terms such as regional language to relegate certain speech varieties. In addition to regional language, state leaders may use dialect as a pejorative term. This is apparent in France (sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2) where the term *patois* has been used, which means dialect but has pejorative overtones (Hawkins 1993: 57-8)<sup>1</sup>. The terminology employed by state leaders is consequently employed by the speakers themselves, so that speakers’ rating is a key criterion in the definition of a language. The speakers of minoritised languages who do not employ the term dialect are group leaders in language recovery, new speakers or use their speech variety in a wide breadth of functions (see extract 6.9).

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<sup>1</sup>My discussion on ambivalence in section 6.1.2 details however that *patois* does not necessarily have a negative connotation.

A theme underpinning speakers' ratings on speech varieties is power-based ideology, which allows one speech variety to assume a position of superiority or dominance (see historical background in chapter 2). Gramsci's observations on language dominance and power are coming to have some influence on critical sociolinguistic analysis. A Sardinian living in the early twentieth century, and a political prisoner of a fascist regime, he observed at first hand the way in which one language could acquire an association with power (see Ives 2005). Gramsci's observations were realised through the coining of the term 'hegemony' to describe the way in which ideology/belief systems can influence behaviour, such as language choice. There is debate as to how closely Gramsci's 'hegemony' is allied to Marxist theory on capitalism. According to Gramsci, the Marxist term 'false consciousness' is the influence of learnt or borrowed values on the sub-conscious and the subsequent effect on actions (Femia 1981: 43). Gramsci developed this concept to describe the force behind ideologies – hegemony, which he has distinguished from 'coercion' as follows:

The phase of coercion [is one that can be] expressed by legislative or executive powers, or expressed through police intervention, and, the phase of "hegemony" [is expressed through] consensus and cultural leadership. (Gramsci 1975: 235)

As far as Ives (2005) is concerned, Gramsci thought people's association with any aspect of culture, such as material possessions and language, is subject to divisiveness and power imbalance. Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 66-7), however, do not perceive hegemony as an expression of class struggle, so that for them it differs from Marxist theory on capitalism.

A strand of hegemony that I have observed in relation to my own findings (chapter 6) is what Gramsci termed 'pragmatic acceptance' to refer to a shift from a dominated language to a dominant language for practical considerations (cited in Femia 1981:40). This theory is developed by Blommaert (2004) in what he terms as a search for 'upward mobility'.

Hegemony is one way in which ideology can function. As a term, ideology was first used by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (cited by Woolard 1998: 5) in the late eighteenth century to describe a 'science of ideas' which would be a branch of zoology used to gain a complete understanding of humans and play a pivotal role in the Enlightenment project. Napoleon thought this philosophy was based on unreality, and as

such a negative connotation has been assigned to the term ideology. This negative connotation is what Karl Marx has described as ‘false consciousness’.

According to Silverstein (1998: 125), ideology is a mental characteristic that pertains to a society and an individual as long as the individual is part of a group or community. Thompson (1984: 5), like Silverstein, believes that ideology can be both a shared experience and an individual experience. Meanwhile, Woolard (1998: 5) links ideology to the senses, personal experience, Gramscian ‘hegemony’ and Marxist ‘false consciousness’. Language ideology is no different from any other ideology in that it is people’s thoughts versus actions. Spolsky (2004: 14) defines the difference between language ideology and language practice as, ‘what people think should be done’ against ‘what people actually do’

Language ideology is a key feature of the formation of group identities. Nationalist ideology in the nineteenth century promoted the idea of one nation-one state bound by one language. Nation-building sought to create a single community with a common history and culture (see Smith 2001: 13). The nation is similar to *ethnie* in that both groups are bound by shared characteristics, such as language; however, the nation goes beyond blood ties.

One of the main reasons for nation-building, applicable to both France and Spain, is cultural change, such as urban expansion (see Gellner 1998). Anderson (2006) refers to a constructionist form of nationalism in which people are connected through the medium of the written language as part of the printing revolution. It was now possible to share a common tie with another individual without face to face contact, so that Anderson refers to this group of people as an ‘imagined community’.

The nation-state, nation and *ethnie* form a hierarchy of group identities. The nation-state has complete political control but may include nations with some political control, and the nations may have ethnic ties. As Llobera states, the nation-state is unlikely to consist of a single group identity:

...The history of western [*sic*] Europe is the history of the qualified failure of the so-called nation-state. ... The fact of the matter is that the *nation*-state is far from being hegemonical [*sic*]; in other words, most western European states are, to a varying degree of consciousness, multinational. (Llobera 1989: 248)

The tension between the nation-state and nations is one that has continued into the twenty-first century; it is a tension where language is at the forefront. Minoritised language revivalists have adopted the same strategies as nation-state builders to bind a common group identity. In forging group identities, there has also been conflict between nation-based ideology and *ethnie*-based ideology. The nation-based ideology copies the strategy of the nation-state in which language is linked to territory – ‘geographic nationalism’ – in order to spread the language through all domains and spoken by all inhabitants. The *ethnie*-based ideology links language to ancestral ties – ‘ethnic nationalism’ – in order to preserve a language for its speakers. The problem with geographic nationalism, a point that Myhill (1999) has raised, is that it reproduces the same conditions that have been imposed by state leaders in that incomers are made to feel obliged by language activists to speak the minoritised language. On the other hand, the problem with ethnic nationalism is that some language revivalists feel that not imposing the minoritised language upon incomers is detrimental to the safeguarding of the threatened language.

The overriding aim of the language revivalists is to counter the hegemonic control of the state. However, the wishes of the revivalists may not fully reflect the society as a whole. In Femia’s discussion on Gramsci, he states the following on how hegemony functions:

[Hegemony thrives] because the masses [...] lack the conceptual tools, the ‘clear theoretical consciousness’, which would enable them effectively to comprehend and act on their discontent [...] Femia (1981: 44)

Counter-hegemony is, thus, realised by those who have a ‘clear theoretical consciousness’, which more often than not is a minority of the people within that community. The group leaders adopt a proactive role to shape events, whereas the rest of the community for a variety of reasons such as perceived and real obstacles, both ideological and concrete measures like laws, has a reactive role. The ability to adopt a proactive role is termed as ‘agency’, whereas ‘social structure’ refers to the regulations in place that constrain society (Barker 2003: 435 & 449).

Sociolinguistic debate on language revival and the ability to adopt a proactive role focuses on the strategy that is likely to be most beneficial for the language concerned. Myhill (1999) has the view that too often academic discourse on minoritised languages tends to support geographic nationalism or ethnic nationalism depending on the

language, which leads to contradictions of opinion. Paulston (1994), though, is more decided in her conclusions. She has linked, as follows, identity formation to the survival prospects of languages, in which she has favoured geographic nationalism:

1. *Ethnicity*: Whereby a sense of common identity is for granted. Not goal oriented and no violence. Language shift is inevitable.

2. *Ethnic Movement*: Is a strategy in competition for scarce resources. It is cognitive, self-chosen, militant, violent, has a charismatic leader, language is a rallying point, and has a glorious past. There will be language shift but at a slower rate.

3. *Ethnic Nationalism*: It concerns territory, closed nationalism, intellectual leaders, the middle classes, a common enemy and its goal is independence and political self-determination. There will be maintenance of language as national language used as a powerful symbol.

4. *Geographic Nationalism*: The same as *Ethnic Nationalism* but has open nationalism [open acknowledgement of national identity]. In addition, there will be maintenance of language as national language. (A condensed citation from Paulston 1994: 110)

A point of consideration about the above classifications concerns the separation of ethnicity from nationalism. Skutnabb-Kangas (1990) has a valid criticism that there is a tendency within sociolinguistic discourse to view ethnicity as belonging to the margins. Also, ethnicity is another term that is not readily employed by the language speakers themselves. My issue with the classifications is that they are too neatly packaged, as in reality ethnicity and nationalism can overlap more than is suggested here. However, what is clear is that there is a difference between ethnic nationalism and geographic nationalism, as already stated. This is particularly apparent in so far as the application of language policy is concerned, such as the imposition of policies for the masses or policies for a specific group of people.

Language policy is both overt, politically enshrined decisions on language use and covert decisions made by any individual or group. As far as overt policy is concerned, language policy operates in conjunction with language planning. Calvet (1999: 154-55) defines language planning as the implementation of language policy. Language planning is in turn usually divided into three types:

1. *Corpus planning* – the development or choice [codification] of writing systems.

2. *Status planning* – promoting the status of the language and encouraging its use.

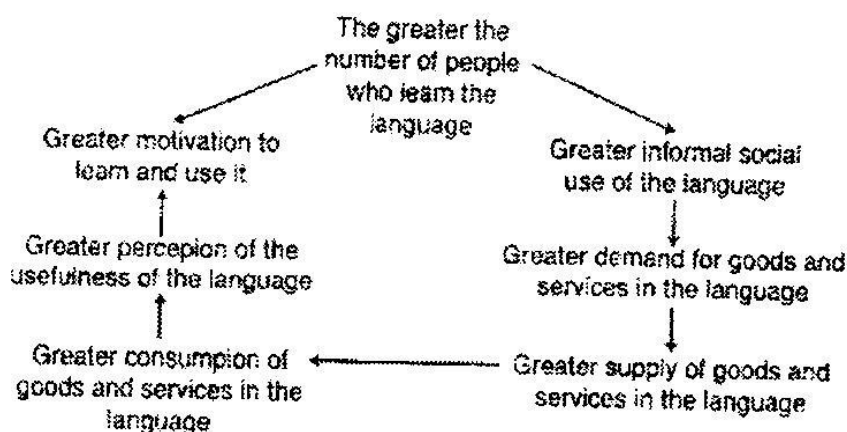
3. *Acquisition planning* – focussing on how the language can be learnt and acquired. (Mar-Molinero 2000: 78-9)

‘Language planning’, according to Cooper (1989: 45), ‘refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes’. According to Spolsky and Shohamy, the following is a typical example of the form of language policy statements:

A specified group (e.g., all native speakers of any named language, L; anyone who finishes secondary education; or any applicant for a position in the diplomatic service) should use/acquire/have the ability to read/speak/write/understand a specific variety (or specific varieties, or even, specific features of a variety) of L for at least one defined role or function (e.g., as citizens, for employment, or for community use). (Spolsky & Shohamy 2000: 9)

Spolsky and Shohamy add that the word ‘should’ is typical of language policy. Language policies and language plans thus aim to alter language behaviour. Strubell (2001) believes that good language planning should rather keep the focus on the members of what is referred to as the speech community. A speech community, according to Labov (1972: 120-1), can use multiple forms of the same language provided everyone is in agreement about the grammatical rules governing that language use. I am more in agreement with Romaine (1982b: 13-24), as I show in chapter 6, that the grammatical rules do not need to be uniform, so that a speech community is a ‘heterogeneous’ society rather than ‘homogeneous’.

Strubell’s (1998) theory that language planning should unite a speech community has seen him devise a model that he calls the ‘Catherine Wheel’ to illustrate the cyclical nature of language planning, which is the way that one decision informs another decision which in turn informs more decisions. Strubell explains that the ‘Catherine Wheel’ model can start at any of the points shown in the diagram below, although it can be seen that the key point concerns an increase in the number of language learners:



(Strubell 1998: 28)

Meanwhile, a good language plan according to Fishman incorporates the following five stages:

1. The *decision* to allocate resources [the general aims of the language plan]
2. The *elaboration* of the law in rules, regulations and guidelines [the development of stage 1]
3. The *allocation* of resources [the wherewithal to implement stages 1 and 2]
4. The *evaluation* of the programme [an assessment of the success of the language planning targets set in stages 1 and 2]
5. *Post-evaluation* interaction and cultivation [amendments to stages 1-3 based on the findings of stage 4]

(Fishman 1980: 12-18)

Language policy and language planning concerns any language, but reversing language shift refers to the recovery of minoritised languages. Fishman devised an eight stage process, intended to start at stage eight, for reversing language shift (RLS) called the 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (GIDS):

## 8. Reconstructing the [minority language]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I have used minority language instead of Fishman's term 'Xish' and state language instead of 'Yish'.



7. Cultural interaction in the [minority language] primarily involving the community-based older generation
  6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue-transmission
  5. Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education
    - 4a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under [minority language] curricular and staffing control
    - 4b. Public schools for [minority language] children, offering some instruction via the [minority language], but substantially under [state language] curricular and staffing control
  3. The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among the [minority language] and [state language]
  2. Local/regional mass media and governmental services
    1. Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels
- (Fishman 2001:466)

The GIDS will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, but to comment now, there are two important aspects: levels of RLS and decision makers. It will be seen that the stages in Fishman's scale indicate different levels of RLS, so that a language can be said to have reversed language shift before it has reached stage one on the GIDS. The scale also shows that RLS decisions are not the sole preserve of government officials. Spolsky and Shohamy (2000: 5) confirm this point in which they list NGOs, volunteers from within the speech community and government departments as some of the agents who oversee the process of RLS.

### **1.3 The form of the dissertation**

As far as the form of the dissertation is concerned, the main argument is told through five chapters: 2-6. I then draw together these issues in chapter 7, the conclusions chapter. Chapters 2-6 form two parts of a discussion in which chapter 4 is a link or bridge between the two halves. The first half focuses principally on language policy and language ideology from the perspective of those who direct language policy, while the second half is from the perspective of the rest of the affected regions.

Chapter 2 provides the historical and geographical context for the affected languages and from there establishes the comparative framework through which I pull my discussion of regime ideology and the different forms of language policy. The nature of a multi-faceted research project means it is difficult to incorporate a traditional literature review. Instead, I have incorporated secondary-source material throughout the dissertation as a whole, as a means to build, illustrate, and substantiate my argument.

Chapter 3 continues the discussion of language policy from the position of the policy makers. The chapter consists of three parts. The first part is a development of the contrast, as of the early twenty-first century, between the state structures of France and Spain from the position of language policy implementation. I discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the political regimes of France and Spain as far as the promotion or non-promotion of minoritised languages is concerned. The second section is an analysis of existing language plans for the minoritised languages under discussion to discover what is and is not included in the plans. The third and final section is in response to my research question on whether European-wide policies could help minoritised languages.

Chapter 4 marks a change in direction for the dissertation from language policy decision makers to the public as a whole. I start the chapter with a methodology, of which the focus is the collection of my primary data. I then discuss my preliminary findings to ascertain concerns about language policy connected to education (provision of language courses), language status (the presence of the language within the region through the media for example) and to establish ideological themes connected to people's feelings towards the minoritised languages and the relationship between the minoritised languages and state languages. These issues allow for discussion points to develop throughout the remainder of the dissertation. The common feature for this group of respondents is that they have been exposed to one of the four languages of Breton, Occitan, Catalan or Galician as a native speaker or a non-native speaker.

In chapter 5, I develop the themes of language education and language status. On the subject of language education I explore the concept of access to different models/types of minoritised language courses before an analysis of the effectiveness of these programmes. The topic of language status expands the idea of top-down policy from politicians to the grassroots level of volunteers (language activists). In addition, there is a discussion on competition for space, such as presence in the media, between the state language and the minoritised language. The main thrust of my argument in chapter 5 is to discover the impact of language policy towards minoritised languages from the grassroots level. I do not have a separate section for language corpus, because my data responses on the subject of language grammar and lexicology (language corpus) were intricately connected to language education on the one hand and ideological issues concerning language status and identity on the other. Consequently,

instead of a separate section devoted to language grammar policy this topic is incorporated within the discussion on the effectiveness of language courses, and then the ideological discussion is given in chapter 6.

Chapter 6 expands upon the ideological angle introduced in chapter 4 in order to complete the equation of the relationship between language policy instigators and the rest of the societies under discussion. The agenda for this chapter is to observe factors (linked to political regime, political discourse and general contact between people) that influence different members of a particular region towards use or non-use of a given language. The main subject matter for this chapter, as with chapter 5, is my primary-source respondents, who are non-politicians, although some are involved in grassroots initiatives, who have spent some or all of their lives in the relevant regions. They represent native minoritised language speakers, non-native minoritised language speakers and non-speakers of the minoritised languages. These informants have either responded to general queries about their linguistic background or have supplied responses to one of three types of questionnaires (closed questions, open-ended questions and a mixture of closed and open-ended questions). These data in chapters 5 and 6 are supported by reference to larger-scale official surveys.

## Chapter 2. Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician: A brief history

### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the historical context for the dissertation. After a brief explanation of the origins and sociolinguistic backgrounds of the minoritised languages Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician, I will explain the minoritisation process pertinent to these languages. The final section is a discussion on language planning in relation to the affected regions.

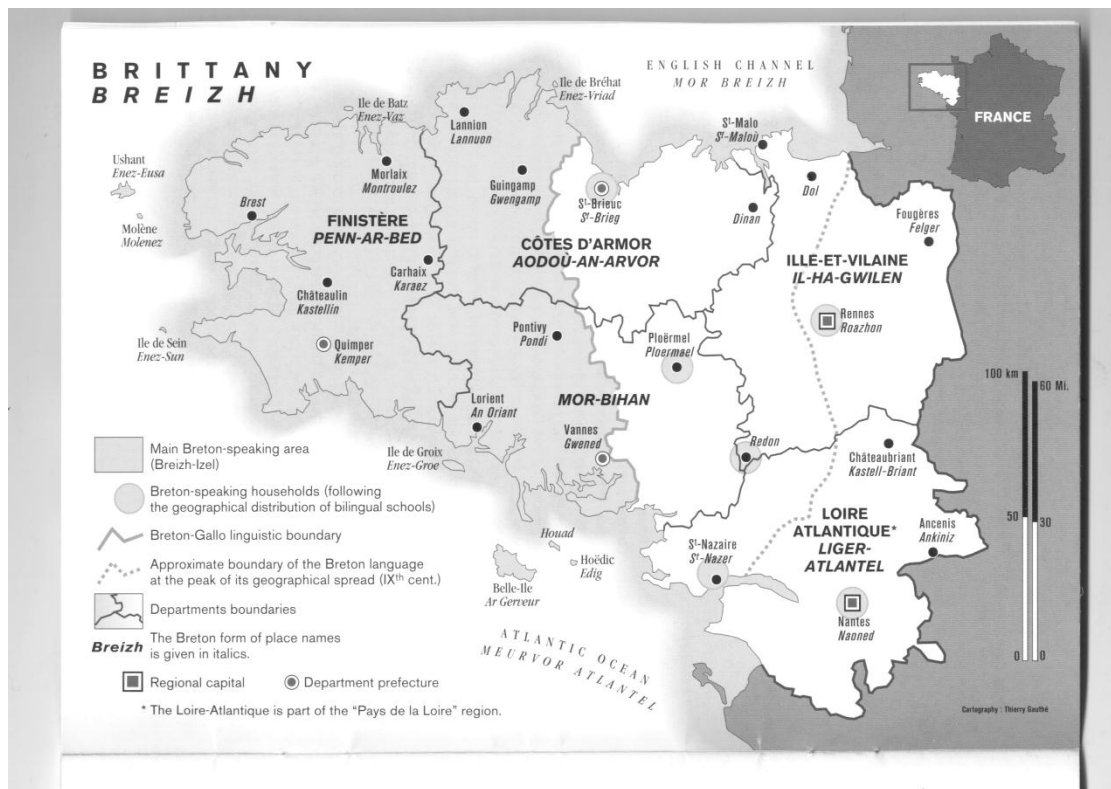
### 2.1 Language origins and speaker numbers: Breton

The origins of Breton can be traced back to a Celtic language spoken during the third millennium BC in central Europe. The language that is known today was formed between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD when British Celts – escaping the Anglo-Saxons – repopulated the peninsular that is now Brittany. Breton is thus related to the British Celtic languages – namely Welsh and Cornish. This language group is the Brythonic Celtic group.<sup>3</sup>

Today Breton is largely confined to the west of Brittany; but, as can be seen on the map below, there are Breton communities that extend as far as *Nantes/Naoned* in *Loire Atlantique* in the *Pays de la Loire* Region. The map also shows the full extent of Breton territories prior to territorial losses:

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<sup>3</sup> See Hemon (1947), Gourvil (1968), Delumeau (1969), Markale (1985), Walter (1988) and Denez (1998), in particular, for more details about the origins of Breton.



Map 2.1 Breton (Denez 1998: 10)

The number of Breton speakers was estimated at 263, 850 by *INSEE* (*Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques*, National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies) in 1999, of which 61% were over 60 years of age (Ofis ar Brezhoneg 2008b). This contrasts with 1,982,300 Breton speakers in 1886 (Observatoire De La Langue Bretonne 2002).

### 2.1.1 Language origins and speaker numbers: Occitan

Occitan is a Gallo-Romance language that dates back to the invasion of France by the Romans in the first century B.C. Gallo-Romance evolved into *la langue d'oïl* and *la langue d'oc*. *Oïl* and *oc* were the words used for 'yes', and *oïl* became the word used in the top two thirds of France while *oc* was used in the bottom third of France, the Piedmont region of Italy and the valley of Aran in Spain. French evolved from the *Oïl* dialects, while the *oc* dialects have remained as dialects of one pan-dialectal language – *la langue d'oc* or Occitan, which is an invented term (see section 2.3.2). Many older speakers do not recognise the term Occitan, as I have discovered during my research. The term that is most commonly used is *patois*<sup>4</sup>, which, as I stated in 1.2, means dialect

<sup>4</sup> See section 2.2.2 for how the term *patois* assumed pejorative overtones, and see discussion relating to extract 6.17 in section 6.1.2 concerning no associated connotations with *patois*. For more information about the Occitan continuum see Bec (1986).

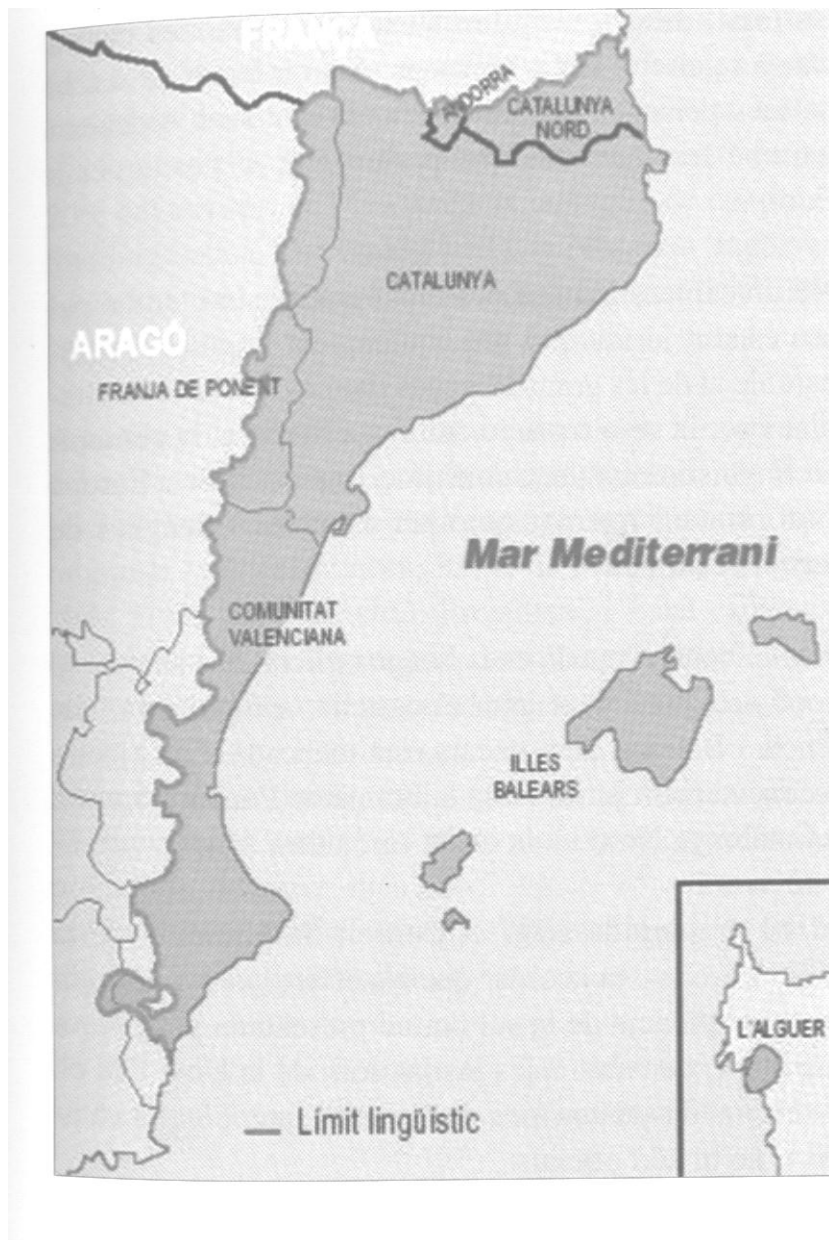
but assumed pejorative overtones for any speech variety other than standard French. As far as Occitan is concerned, the term *patois* is prevalent in the following surveys conducted in southern France: survey by the Auvergne branch of the *Institut d'Etudes occitanes* (IEO) (La Section régionale de l'IEO de l'Auvergne 2006); survey in the Rhône-Alpes (Bert & Costa, 2009) and a survey in Aquitaine (Conseils Régionaux de l'Aquitaine, 2008). In the Rhône-Alpes survey, there was a distinction between members of Occitan movements and non-members: the group members were more inclined to use the term Occitan. In the Aquitaine survey, there was a difference between awareness of the term Occitan and the name cited for the language that these respondents used (*patois*).

INSEE estimated speaker numbers of Occitan in France in 1999 as between 526,000 and 789,000 (Martel 2007). This contrasts with estimated figures of between 10 and 14 million Occitan speakers in France in the 1940s (Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana 2004b).

### **2.1.2 Language origins and speaker numbers: Catalan**

Catalan, like Occitan, is a Romance language. It is officially classed as an Ibero-Romance language like Castilian, but evolved from a more modern version of Vulgar Latin than Castilian. The linguist Bec (1986: 50) thinks that Catalan is halfway between Ibero-Romance and Gallo-Romance.

The map below shows the extent of the Catalan territories, known as the *Països Catalans*.



Map 2.2 Catalan (Pueyo 2006: 23)

An estimated 9.1 million people speak Catalan across all the *Països Catalans* (Linguamón 2009), while figures from a survey in 2003 by the *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* show that 2,742,600 over-fifteen-year-old inhabitants of Catalonia speak Catalan as their habitual language. In 1975, 3,398,000 people of all ages in Catalonia could speak Catalan out of a population of 5,663,000 (Vallverdú 1990: 130). The 1975 figure represents the lowest percentage figure for Catalan speakers in Catalonia during the period 1930-2003.

### 2.1.3 Language origins and speaker numbers: Galician

Galician is an Ibero-Romance language that has retained closer links with the Latin from which the Ibero-Romance languages have evolved. Galician has close links with Portuguese, because Portugal and the autonomous community of Galicia was once one kingdom: the kingdom of Galicia. Some linguists and pro-Galician campaigners refer to Galician and Portuguese as *galego-português* (see section 2.3.4).<sup>5</sup>

Galician is largely spoken in Galicia and parts of neighbouring Asturias and Castile and Leon. It is also spoken in some parts of Latin America as a result of emigration. The maps below show the location of Galicia and the other regions in Spain and the administrative division of Galicia into its four provinces.



Map 2.3 Regions of Spain (<http://www.map-of-spain.co.uk/>)

<sup>5</sup> See Siguan (1992), De Melo (1985), Costa Rico (1993) and Fraga Iribarne (1993), in particular, for more details about the origin of Galician





Map 2.4 Galicia ([http://www.map-of-spain.co.uk/galicia\\_maps.htm](http://www.map-of-spain.co.uk/galicia_maps.htm))

Figures from 2003 by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística* show that 61.42% of the Galician population used Galician as their main language. There are no statistics on Galician use prior to the 1990s. The 2003 survey provides the most comprehensive analysis of Galician use other than a survey produced by the *Real Academia Galega*: the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* (Fernández Rodríguez & Rodríguez Neira 1995/6). At the time of the *Mapa* 68.6% of the population used Galician. However, all the figures on speaker numbers cannot be read as fact, since human error in question response and question analysis and bias in questionnaire design is always present.

## 2.2 The minoritisation process

In section 1.2, I explained that the framework for this dissertation centred on a comparison of political regime structures in France and Spain. In order to describe the minoritisation process of the languages under discussion, I have divided the historical context into different regime eras: the monarchic regime, the nation-state and the deconstructed nation-state. The monarchic regime refers to a period when French and Castilian Spanish were established as languages of the royal court. This period lasted

from the Middle Ages to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in France and from the Middle Ages to the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Spain. During the monarchic regime, different languages were used by different sectors of society and within different sectors of society. The main feature of this period is the start of diglossia, which, as I mentioned in 1.2, has become a multi-faceted term to describe unequal bilingualism where languages and language varieties acquire different functions. During the monarchic regime, diglossia was largely stable, which according to Anderson (2006: 76-7) is because society operated on ‘shared friendship’ in that people identified themselves by class rather than by language. Consequently, people would use the speech variety for their group, so that there was minimal switching from one language to another, which is what Thomason and Kaufman (1988) refer to as ‘casual contact’. However, the languages of the royal court, in both France and Spain, became associated with power and hegemony (the term coined by Gramsci, see section 1.2) because they were the languages used by the power elite and because of coercive measures, such as edicts, language codification and territorial control.

The nation-state covers the period from the 1789 French Revolution to the Second World War in France and the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1975 in Spain. In common with all periods of socio-historical shift, there is no clear linear division from the monarchic regime to the nation-state. However, there were changes in the way France and Spain operated that I feel constitutes a new regime. The primary cause of regime change in both France and Spain was to create a single-bonded group of people, a created nation. This cause was supported by Republicans in France and, after an initial interest in national symbolism by the royal court, by intellectuals in Spain in response to colonial losses (see Jones 1994 & Siguan 1992). In France, the regime change was driven by socioeconomic grievances, cultural changes and political motivation. Meanwhile, cultural change and political motivation were behind the Spanish ideal of the nation-state during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, whereas politics and ideology were behind the period from 1939 -1975 – the Franco regime. The main feature (see Weber 1977, Mar-Molinero 2000, and Thomason and Kaufman 1988) is an alteration in the way diglossia functioned. Instead of primarily stable diglossia, power-based ideology and coercive measures developed to an extent where through intense contact language substitution took place, thus creating unstable diglossia or societal bilingualism, which has continued after the nation-state regime.

The deconstructed nation-state is in a phase of transition. France, since the Second World War, has tried to maintain the centralised regime that characterised the nation-state phase while accepting post-world war values on tolerance, while Spain has tried to recover from the Franco dictatorship. French government linguistic policy has been both ‘protectionist’ and ‘non-protectionist’. Shabani (2007: 38-40) defines ‘protectionist policy’ as the equal treatment of all languages under the auspices of human accomplishment, while ‘non-protectionist policy’ involves the promotion of one language under the umbrella term of ‘linguistic convergence’. As far as Spain is concerned, the aim of the state has been to resolve the conflicts from the nation-state phase.

### **2.2.1 Breton minoritisation**

The minoritisation of Breton traces back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century with the loss of territory to the Normans, which is indicated on map 2.1. The Normans brought with them the French language, and as the centuries passed French acquired the role of a language with a high-function status whilst Breton was the language of the lower classes (Markale 1985:166). This diglossic culture was enforced during the monarchic regime by the 1539 *Edit de Villers-Cotterêts* or *Ordonnances de Villers-Cotterêts*. This edict declared the following:

*Nous voulons d'ores en avant que tous arrests [sic], ensemble toutes autres procédures, [...] soient prononcez, enregistrez et délivrez en langaige [sic] maternel français et non autrement* (Caput 1972: vol. 1, p. 163-4, cited in Judge 1993: 9).

From now on we want all decrees, together with all other procedures, [...] to be pronounced, recorded and delivered in no other language but maternal French.

The use of the word *maternel* is an early expression of nation-bonding. As far as the Breton community was concerned, their assimilation into the French nation dates to 1532 with the loss of independence to France (Denez 1998: 8-9). As part of the process of the formation of a French-speaking nation, Cardinal Richelieu established in 1635 the *Académie française* to protect a standardised version of the French language (Walter 1988: 100). However, these policies did not affect the use of Breton. The Catholic Church used Breton in its services (Le Coadic 2001), and a map from 1863 on language use in France showed that *patois* was the predominant speech variety throughout

Brittany (*Archives Nationales, F17 3160, Ministère de l'instruction publique, 'Statistique: États divers, cited in Weber 1977: 68).*

Until the late nineteenth century a lack of intense contact for Breton speakers with the French language meant there was no need to switch languages. Coercive measures as part of the creation of the French nation-state had an impact on the use of Breton. Two key institutions that promoted the use of French to the detriment of Breton were the army and the education system. The education system, in particular, used coercive measures, which Bourdieu (1991:51) refers to as 'symbolic violence', to inculcate the single use of the state language. In the case of Breton:

Children caught using it were systematically punished – put on dry bread and water or sent to clean out the school latrine (Weber 1977: 313).

Another popular punishment was the 'token of shame'. For Breton children the 'token' was a *sabot* – a shoe. Any child found using Breton was given the *sabot*, and they would keep it until they found another child speaking Breton. At the end of the day, the child with the *sabot* would receive the punishment (Weber 1977: 313). This particular punishment continued well into the early part of the twentieth century:

Morvan Lebesque, who attended those schools in the years after the First World War, remembered the punishment with bitterness...(Weber 1977: 313).

In the army Breton soldiers had to use French, which many of them continued to do after military service. The use of French in schools and the army combined with rural-urban migration led to transmission loss. On the correlation between language use and rural-urban migration Calvet states the following:

*Les langues de la ville se sont imposées comme langues nationales (anglais, allemand, français, italien, espagnol, portugais), refoulant de plus en plus les parlers locaux qui tendent à s'aligner sur les parlers citadins (Calvet 1993:43).*

The towns' languages have established themselves as national languages (English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese), repressing more and more of the local tongues which tend to align themselves with the town tongues

Breton correlated to a rural, agricultural background, so that in a search for upward mobility French was the language that Breton speakers chose to transmit to their

children. Blommaert's description of upward mobility is one that we can relate to Gramsci's 'pragmatic acceptance' (see section 1.2):

If the family wants to offer its children upward social mobility, then, it needs to offer them geographical mobility and consequently linguistic mobility as well. Language shift under such conditions is a strategy for survival. (Blommaert 2004: 60-1)

We can see in the figures that I mention in section 2.1 the impact of transmission loss on Breton. However, since the Second World War, in the phase that I refer to as the deconstructed nation-state, there has been some renewal in interest of the Breton language. The new Breton speakers use the term '*Néo-bretonnants*' [New Bretons] (Jones (1998: 134). The use of the gerund suffix *ant* in *bretonnants* emphasises action. The Breton Language Office, *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* (2008b), considers the term *bretonnants* to be an umbrella word that refers to interests in any aspect of Breton life; the office prefers the term *brittophones* to refer to Breton speakers. These new speakers are mainly from the Breton region, as figures from *INSEE* show a low rate of immigration from outside France (2%) and inter-regional migration is mainly from neighbouring areas and the Paris region, which as a centre for Breton out-migration could consist of returning Bretons (INSEE 2008 & 2009, Weber 1977). Most Breton speakers though are native speakers in the over sixty age group who live in the extreme west of Brittany.

The post-Second World War interest in Breton is in part due to 'protectionist policy' from the French state (see section 6.2.3 on the attachment to a local language). This includes the recognition in 1951 of *langues et dialectes locaux* (Tabouret-Keller 1999: 102), a report on the state of regional languages (Laroussi and Marcellesi 1993: 98) and an addition to the 1958 French constitution: article 75 '*les langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France*' (Eitb 2008). The amendment to the constitution raises the possibility that the French government will confer more rights to the minoritised languages, which is an area I discuss in more detail, in section 3.1.2, in relation to French linguistic policy in the early twenty-first century. However, the constitution illustrates 'linguistic convergence' to French through the specification in its first two articles that *la France est une République indivisible* and *la langue de la République est le français* (Conseil Constitutionnel 2008).

### 2.2.2 Occitan minoritisation

Occitan minoritisation is similar to Breton minoritisation. Policy during the monarchic regime did not impact upon the use of the Occitan speech varieties, which, as for Breton, is illustrated on the map from 1863 of language use in France (*Archives Nationales, F17 3160, Ministère de l'instruction publique, 'Statistique: États divers*, cited in Weber 1977: 68, also see Bourdieu 1991: 46-8). The perception, though, of the Occitan language by its speakers changed during the course of the monarchic regime. The Occitan continuum had a high level of prestige due to its use by travelling poets called Troubadours (Bec 1986: 66), but the role of the Troubadours was affected by the invasion in the 13<sup>th</sup> century from northern France to eliminate religious heresy by the Cathars (Bec 1986: 73). The settlement of the French-speaking Protestant Huguenots in the 17<sup>th</sup> century also had an impact on the status of Occitan (Schiffman 1996: 85). The change in the perception of Occitan and the other *patois* spoken in France was recorded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century French dictionary:

Having been abandoned to the peasants, they [the regional languages] were negatively and pejoratively defined in opposition to distinguished or literate usages. One indication of this, among many others, is the shift in meaning assigned to the word *patois*, which ceased to mean 'incomprehensible speech' and began to refer to 'corrupted and coarse speech, such as that of the common people' (Furetière's Dictionary, 1690, cited in Bourdieu 1991: 47)

The decline in the use of Occitan is largely influenced by the same coercive measures that affected Breton usage: education policy and use in the army. Occitan speakers received the 'token of shame', which was a cardboard ticket or a wooden plank (Weber 1977: 313), if they did not speak French at school. The influence of the army on language use is recorded by Assémat (2006), who cites the experiences of his grandfather:

*Il écrivit quelques lettres ou, plutôt, il les fit écrire. Sur une carte postale il disait à ma grand-mère de ne pas oublier d'envoyer ses filles à l'école pour y apprendre le français car il était trop contrarié de demander de l'aide. [...] Huit ans plus tard ma mère, qui parlait toujours occitan à la maison, fut reçue au Certificat d'Etudes mais elle ne fut jamais capable d'écrire ou de lire une phrase en occitan, sa langue familiale, la langue de ses amours et de ses prières... jusqu'à sa mort !*

He [my grandfather] wrote several letters or, rather, he was made to write them [by the army which he served during the First World War]. On a post card he was telling my grandmother not to forget to send his daughters to

school to learn French because he was too much opposed to asking for assistance [he found his lack of French a handicap]. [...] Eight years later my mother, who always spoke Occitan at home, received her *Certificat d'Etudes* [School Certificate] but she was never able to write or read a sentence in Occitan, her family language, the language of her loves and her prayers... until her death! (Assémat 2006: 28)

In the above testimony upward mobility is a key feature in language use. French aligned itself with modernisation as part of the process of mechanisation and the growth in tourism while Occitan was associated with the past. Maurand, (1981, cited by Laroussi and Marcellesi 1993) in the course of his research findings in the 1970s into the relationship between Occitan and French, produced a schema that illustrates the ways in which Occitan and French are used and perceived by the speakers of these languages:

<b>Occitan</b>	<b>Français</b>
Langue de travail agricole [agricultural language]	Langue de l'institution officielle [institutional language]
Langue de <i>monde rural</i> [rural language]	Langue du <i>monde urbain</i> [urban language]
Langue de la <i>dérision</i> et de la <i>honte</i> [language of shame]	Langue du <i>prestige</i> [language of prestige]
Langue des <i>hommes</i> [language for men]	Langue des <i>femmes</i> [language for women]
Langue des <i>non instruits</i> [language for the non- educated]	Langue des <i>instruits</i> [language for the educated]
Langue des <i>vieux</i> [language for the elderly]	Langue des <i>jeunes</i> [language for the young]

Table 2.1 The diglossic relationship between Occitan and French (Maurand 1981: abridged version, cited in Laroussi and Marcellesi 1993: 103)

This schema highlights the historical connotation of Occitan. It also indicates transmission loss, as I have shown in section 2.1.1 with the figures for Occitan usage. The picture painted by Maurand of Occitan is apparent in the data collected by the *Conseils Régionaux de l'Aquitaine* (2008) and Bert & Costa (2009). In the survey in Aquitaine, Occitan was shown to be spoken the most by over-sixty-year-olds who are from an agricultural background in settlements with fewer than two thousand inhabitants; these speakers refer to Occitan as *patois*. Respondents to this survey who used the term Occitan, either as speakers of the language or in general reference to the

language, were from more academic backgrounds, such as teaching. The survey also indicated that there was transmission loss and that Occitan was used the most in family contexts. A survey conducted in the Rhône-Alpes (Bert & Costa 2009) has grouped Occitan speakers according to the following schema:

- Traditional speakers – these are the elderly from rural areas.
- Late onset speakers – these are men from the next generation who have had Occitan transmitted to them by male labourers.
- Invisible speakers – these are people who deny that they speak Occitan because of negative associations.
- Passive speakers – these are mostly the generation below traditional speakers, and are people who understand Occitan but have a limited or no oral command of the language.
- Atypical cases – these are people who do not correspond to the above four categories (the survey was non-specific).

Most of the Occitan speakers reported in the Rhône-Alpes survey were the elderly from rural areas. A shift to French has been assisted by a high level of inter-departmental migration and the arrival of incomers from outside France (INSEE 2005). However, as with Breton, there is post-Second World War renewal of interest in Occitan, as shown by the academic connection in the Aquitaine survey.

### **2.2.3 Catalan minoritisation**

The minoritisation of languages in Spain shares similarities with the process in France. During the monarchic regime the royal court of Castile established Castilian as the language for state affairs. The Castilian variety of Spanish was codified in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Alfonso X of Castile and León (1252-84), and Castilian became the medium for scientific and legal documents (Penny 1991: 15-16).<sup>6</sup> Similar to France, Spain, in 1713, founded a language academy to standardise Castilian: the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española* (RAE) (Mar-Molinero 2000: 23).

During the early part of the monarchic regime Catalan had a high-function status due to literature production, a successful navy and royal patronage from a Catalan-

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<sup>6</sup> I shall refer to Spanish as Castilian to reflect the delicate linguistic landscape in Spain whereby Catalan and Galician, due to their linguistic similarities to Castilian and their political status within their autonomous regions, could be considered by their adherents as the language of Spain. See Mar-Molinero's (2000: 35-7) discussion on Castilian versus Spanish.



Aragon union (see Siguan 1992 and Woolard 1989). The loss of royal patronage, the growth of the Castilian empire and state divisions over Catalan territory (Catalonia lost its northern territories to France in 1659 and southern Catalonia was ceded to Castile with the capture of Barcelona on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1714 ) (Woolard 1989: 19) elevated the status of the state language.

It was the nation-state phase, as in France, that impacted upon language use. The Spanish state inculcated the use of Castilian in the education system through the imposition of punishments for non-use of Castilian. An illustration of this policy is a stipulation, from 1837, by the political governor of the Balearics:

Every teacher will have a metal ring [*una sortija de metal*] that from Monday to Saturday they will hand over to anyone caught not using Castilian... By the end of the week the person who has the ring will receive the punishment [*la pena*], which will be slight [*leve*] to begin with and will depend on the capability of the pupil to express themselves in Castilian [my summarised translation] (Siguan 1992: 31-2).

In Catalonia, though, it was later in the nation-state phase that coercive measures affected Catalan use. A reason for this was that Catalan in Catalonia, unlike the languages in France and other Catalan-speaking territories within Spain (Balearics and the Valencian Community), was able to adapt to new areas of employment and maintain linguistic currency. During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries industrialisation created a strong economy within Catalonia which helped to ensure that Catalan was backed by the middle classes, and as such Catalan has benefited from its association with a vibrant economy and a workforce that can adapt to future demands (see Ninyoles 2001). In the 1930s Catalan had a dominant presence in Catalonia (Giner 1984), but this dominant position for Catalan was disrupted by the Franco regime, which promoted a discourse that Castilian was a ‘Christian’ language (a line of discourse that refers back to the colonial period of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries in which Castilian was promoted by colonialists as the language associated with Christianity). In addition to this discourse, police intervention during the early stages of the Franco era –1940s-50s– in the form of fines and prison sentences for the use of languages other than Castilian denigrated the other languages of Spain (see Mar-Molinero 2000).

The Franco regime had an impact on the transmission of Catalan, as shown in the figures in section 2.1.2. An additional handicap was that the Catalan economy was an attraction to incomers from other parts of Spain. The economy has continued to

attract incomers, of which a significant percentage (17% by 2010) is from outside Spain (Morocco, Ecuador, China and Italy in particular) (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2010a & Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2010c). In-migration changed the linguistic landscape of Catalonia with the migrants settling in the large metropolises such as Barcelona, in which language use according to territory is confirmed in the 2003 survey by the *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya*: Catalan is the habitual language of less than half of the respondents from metropolitan areas while it is used by 70% of residents of Girona and by 90% of residents in the south of Catalonia. However, the support of the Catalan language by the middle classes imbued it with an extra status that meant that as prohibition laws relaxed under the Franco regime Catalan was used more in public domains, such as shops (see Giner 1984: 45). This increased contact between Castilian and Catalan speakers, but the social status of Catalan created a reverse-diglossic scenario in Catalonia in which Catalan was the high-status language.

Despite the reverse-diglossic situation in Catalonia, the revival of Catalan through education and Catalan-run institutions was not possible until the end of the Franco regime. *La transición española*, the initial aftermath of the Franco dictatorship, led to the 1978 Spanish Constitution. Articles two and three of the Constitution assert that Spain would be a nation of nations with plurilinguistic rights:

*Artículo 2.*

*La Constitución se fundamenta en la indisoluble unidad de la Nación española, patria común e indivisible de todos los españoles, y reconoce y garantiza el derecho a la autonomía de las nacionalidades y regiones que la integran y la solidaridad entre todas ellas.*

Article 2: The Constitution is based upon the inseparable unity of the Spanish Nation, a common and inseparable homeland for all Spaniards, and recognises and guarantees the right to self-government for the nationalities and regions that make up the nation and solidarity among all Spaniards.

*Artículo 3.*

*1. El castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla.*

*2. Las demás lenguas españolas serán también oficiales en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas de acuerdo con sus Estatutos.*

*3. La riqueza de las distintas modalidades lingüísticas de España es un patrimonio cultural que será objeto de especial respeto y protección.*

Article 3: 1. Castilian is the official state Spanish language. All Spaniards have a duty to know it and a right to use it. 2. The other Spanish languages will also be official languages in their respective self-governing regions in accordance with their Statutes. 3. The wealth of distinctive linguistic forms of Spain is a cultural heritage that will be the object of special respect and protection. (Constitución Española 2010)

Catalonia became an autonomous nation in 1979, and drafted a Statute of Autonomy whereby the linguistic nature is specified in article 3 below:

Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña: Artículo 3

1. *La lengua propia de Cataluña es el catalán.* [Catalan is Catalonia's own language]
2. *El idioma catalán es el oficial de Cataluña así como también lo es el castellano, oficial en todo el Estado Español.* [Catalan is the official language of Catalonia as is Castilian, official across all of the Spanish State]
3. *La Generalidad garantizará el uso normal y oficial de los dos idiomas, adoptará las medidas necesarias para asegurar su conocimiento y creará las condiciones que permitan alcanzar su plena igualdad en lo que se refiere a los derechos y los deberes de los ciudadanos de Cataluña.* [The Generalitat will guarantee normal and official usage of both languages, it will adopt the necessary means to assure their knowledge and it will create conditions that will allow for full equality as far as the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia are concerned] (Gencat 2011a)

The Spanish Constitution and Statute of Catalonia both place an emphasis on equality, and, as such, are illustrative of protectionist policy. This was part of a process to re-unite Spain after the Franco regime. Until the twenty-first century, unease about the Franco era resulted in an attempt to bury the past. Tremlett (2006: 71) refers to this effort at re-cleansing through avoidance of the topic as the *pacto del olvido* or pact of forgetting. As time has elapsed, feelings about the past have re-awakened through the *Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica*. Catalan language policy became more potent, embodied in the 2006 version of the Statute of Autonomy, which I discuss in section 3.2.2. Counter-reaction to the rise of the Spanish autonomous communities has led to the *manifiesto por una lengua común* [manifesto for a common language]. In 2008, the *manifiesto* was signed by a group of Spanish intellectuals requesting increased protection for Castilian within the autonomous communities in which there was another official language (El País 2008). The *manifiesto*, in conjunction with the 2006 Spanish *Ley Orgánica de Educación* (Noticias Jurídicas 2011b) that specifies the instruction of Castilian, autonomous languages and other languages, has restricted the potency of Catalan policy, which is an issue I discuss in chapter 3.

#### **2.2.4 Galician minoritisation**

Galician minoritisation began with the loss of territory to Portugal in the thirteenth century, during which process the Portuguese renamed Galician spoken in their territory as Portuguese (see Costa Rico 1993: 218). During this era Galician had a high literary status, but this function along with the overall status of Galician was

marginalised when the fifteenth century monarchs Isabel and Fernando requested the replacement of the Galician clergy by Castilians. Castilian-run institutions were established in Galicia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: the *Real Audiencia* (1480) and the *Junta del Reino de Galicia* (1495) (see Costa Rico 1993). This period until the nineteenth century is known as the *séculos escuros* (Fraga Iribarne 1993: 136) or dark ages because not only was Galician the language of the bottom of the social structure but it had also ceased to be a written language, as Castilian was now used in legal documents, the church and in higher education.

By the end of the *séculos escuros* Galician had an association as a language used in the agrarian sector. By the time of the Franco regime improved employment conditions were in urban parts of Galicia, such as A Coruña and Pontevedra, which in a search for upward mobility led to rural-urban shift and language shift to Castilian (see Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana 2004a). In addition to internal migration there was out migration to Argentina, other Latin American countries and other parts of Europe, which was at its peak during the 1950s to 1970s. By the end of the nation-state phase Galician had a similar connotation to that of Breton and Occitan of a rural, working-class language spoken by an older demographic. This perception remained for a long time after the end of the Franco era, as highlighted in surveys on Galician use from the 1990s (Fernández Rodríguez & Rodríguez Neira 1995/6 and Lorenzo Suárez et al 1996).

The survey from 2003 by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística* shows a transition away from a clearly demarcated diglossic scenario. Transmission loss is indicated and Galician is used less in the urbanised Pontevedra province, but there is an increase in the use of Galician in the classroom and the workplace by younger generations (see discussion in section 6.1.1.1 on Galician networks). In addition, similar to the Breton region, there is not the problem of a high rate of immigration, and a significant number of the immigrants that settle in Galicia are returning Galicians (Xunta de Galicia 2008a & 2008b).

The transition away from a clear Castilian high-function Galician low-function status has been a part of the process of Galician recovery since the imposition of the Spanish Constitution. Similar to Catalonia, Galicia drafted in 1981 its Statute of Autonomy:

## Estatuto de Autonomía de Galicia Artículo 5

1. *La lengua propia de Galicia es el gallego.* [Galician is Galicia's own language]
2. *Los idiomas gallego y castellano son oficiales en Galicia y todos tienen el derecho de conocerlos y de usarlos.* [Galician and Castilian are official in Galicia and everyone has the right to know and use them]
3. *Los poderes públicos de Galicia garantizarán el uso normal y oficial de los dos idiomas y potenciarán la utilización del gallego en todos los órdenes de la vida pública, cultural e informativa y dispondrán los medios necesarios para facilitar su conocimiento.* [The public authorities of Galicia will guarantee normal and official usage of both languages and will initiate use of Galician in all areas of public, cultural and media activity and will provide the necessary means to enable knowledge of both languages]
4. *Nadie podrá ser discriminado por razón de la lengua.* [No-one will be discriminated because of their language] (Xunta de Galicia 2011a)

The emphasis, as in Catalonia, is on protectionist policy endorsed through bilingualism. A version of bilingualism promoted in Galicia is *bilingüismo armónico*. Regueiro Tenreiro, Director General of *Política Lingüística* in the Galician autonomous government (*Xunta*) from 1989-2000, advocated bilingualism without conflict and not demarcated along diglossic lines, which has continued to be the model supported by the *Xunta* (see Regueira Fernández 2006: 85). However, this model has been contested by Galician nationalists as it does not explicitly promote the use of Galician in all functions (see Beswick 2007: 177). This criticism of the model has become more intense as the influence of the *manifiesto por una lengua común* and the *Ley Orgánica de Educación* has had an impact on Galician policy.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.3 Language planning

Language planning, as I explained in section 1.2, is the establishment of language policy. Overt language planning is effected by state leaders, regional community leaders and those who are able to adopt a proactive role in language protection. The types of policies implemented are influenced by state structure, cultural background and the ideology of those responsible for overt language planning. Policy decisions will aim to impose a one-nation-one language regime or preserve the ethnic heritage of a language.

Corpus planning, of which there is an extensive literature (see Coulmas 1989, Fishman 1991 & 2000, Joseph 1987, Siguan 1992 & Spolsky 2004), aims to standardise a language form. In Castilian, the term used is *normativización*, and the codified forms

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<sup>7</sup> See sections 2.3.4 and 3.2.2 for the influence of the *manifiesto* on Galician language policy.

of language are called *normas*. Codification of a language provides documented evidence of that speech variety which in turn can elevate its prestige, as has happened with state languages. As part of the process of language codification, a form can be devised by the language planners involved that links the language to its territory in a promotion of geographic unity and/or ethnic heritage. Woolard (2008: 305) refers to the link between language and territory as ‘authenticity’. ‘Authenticity’, which entails the rejection/acceptance of certain language forms<sup>8</sup>, is in opposition to ‘authority’ or a language of ‘anonymity’ – one that is not embedded in a particular place. For Woolard (2008: 305), once a language has gained stability, ‘authority’, there is less concern over ‘authenticity’.

There are different strategies to establish the authenticity of a language variety. Fishman (2000) devised a model of factors which are either independent (‘purification’, ‘*Ausbau*’, ‘classicisation’ and ‘uniqueness’) of another language or interdependent (‘regionalisation’, ‘*Einbau*’, ‘vernacularisation’ and ‘internationalisation’) with another language (Fishman, 2000: 49). The independent factors all aim to create a language that is different from other languages. ‘*Ausbau*’, meaning ‘building away’, tries to distinguish the dominated language from a similar dominant language; ‘purification’ tries to purge the dominated language of reminders of a painful history; ‘classicisation’ aims to remain faithful to a language’s historical roots, and ‘uniqueness’ is a wish for a unique identity. Meanwhile, interdependent factors seek influences from other languages to incorporate specialist terms (‘internationalisation’), maintain local vernaculars that have borrowed from other languages (‘vernacularisation’), further distance a language from another dominant language (‘regionalisation’) and/or assimilate a language with another language (‘*Einbau*’). In the case of *Einbau*, corpus planning can be a strategy to demote language status as well as elevate status.

The creation of a written language form necessitates a certain degree of engineering or what Coulmas (1989: 15) refers to as the development of an ‘artificial’ language. Artificial elements are also prevalent in oral speech varieties but the codification of a written form denotes a degree of manipulation. The introduction to a language of artificial elements is for Coulmas a natural part of ‘language adaptation’, which is a term he prefers to ‘language change’ because it encompasses both natural

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<sup>8</sup> This is how Neustupný (1989) and Annamalai (1989: 227) describe purism: the disassociation of foreign influences and the rejection of features that represent ‘domination’ and threaten ‘the distinct identity of the dominated’.

language alteration and deliberate intervention. The problem with the type of ‘language adaptation’ that is apparent in corpus planning is that, as with all overt language planning, the planners do not represent the entire speech community<sup>9</sup>. To quote Joseph:

But the very process by which linguistic acculturation takes place, through the efforts not of the entire community but of an avant-garde, means that an unequal distribution of cultural venues is instituted within the L community, whether or not such a distribution existed previously, or existed to the same degree. (Joseph 1987: 167)

Similarly, efforts to promote the status and acquisition, known as *normalización* in Castilian (Siguan 1992: 98-9), of the minoritised language may not reflect the entire community. According to Spolsky and Shohamy (2000), status planning concerns decisions about where and when a language should be used. Its overarching aim is to decide on functions for a given language. This can lead on to the notion of domains or places and topics that are used for different languages.

Acquisition planning is one of the more visible aspects of language planning. Crystal writes the following on the importance of the education system for the maintenance of minoritised languages:

The role of a school in developing a child’s use of its mother-tongue is now well understood, following several decades of research and debate in educational linguistics, and while most of this work has been devoted to helping children improve their skills in un-endangered languages, there is an immediate and obvious application to less fortunate linguistic situations. The school setting provides an increasingly widening range of opportunities for children to listen and speak, as they learn to cope with the demands of the curriculum and come to use the language in school-mediated social occasions (such as religious or cultural gatherings). (Crystal 2000: 136).

There is an extensive literature on the subject (eg. Baker 2001, Edwards 1985, Fishman 1991 and Skutnabb-Kangas 2000), which displays concern about the effectiveness of education policies to create a language use that meets the needs of the speech community rather than a language that is artificial. A problem, according to Joseph (1987: 81), is that school programmes are too simplistic for non-native speakers of a minoritised language (they are unable to be fully conversant) and too advanced for native speakers (they do not have a thorough grounding in basic grammar and everyday

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<sup>9</sup> See sections 4.2.1, 5.1.2 and 6.4 for my findings on the effects of corpus planning.

lexicology), so that in both instances the language learnt is not the language of the community.

Educational programmes are varied yet all may be described by educational planners as bilingual programmes. Baker categorises bilingual programmes into different types or ‘models’, according to their effectiveness and design. The following matrix shows the grouping according to the effectiveness of bilingual models:

<b>Weak</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>Strong</b>
<b>Submersion:</b> the minority language speaker is immersed into state language classes	<b>Language option:</b> native and non-native minority language speakers study the minority language as an option within mainstream education.	<b>Immersion:</b> the non-native minority language speaker is immersed into minority language classes where the minority language is the medium of instruction
<b>Submersion with withdrawal classes:</b> minority language speakers are separated from state language speakers to learn the state language		<b>Maintenance:</b> native minority language speakers are taught in the minority language
		<b>Dual teaching:</b> teaching is shared between the minority and the state language

Table 2.2 Bilingual educational models (Baker 2001: 194)

Immersion or maintenance teaching is believed by linguists such as Baker to be the most effective form of education for the resurrection and/or preservation of minoritised languages. However, there are other factors besides bilingual models that can influence language acquisition. Mitchell & Myles (2004: 25-7), in their discussion on second-language acquisition, refer to cognitive and affective factors; these are factors that concern the overall intelligence of the language learner, an aptitude for languages, an ability to devise language-learning strategies, attitudes towards languages, motivation to learn languages and anxiety feelings linked to perceptions of low language ability. All of these factors add a level of complexity to acquisition planning in addition to state structure, culture and the ideologies prevalent in language planning.



### 2.3.1 Breton language planning

The state structure in France, as I explain in chapter 3, has a bearing upon the type of language planning available for Breton. The fact that Breton is not an official language within its speech community means that language planning cannot operate along geographic nationalist lines to impose Breton across the whole of its territory. Instead, language planning conforms along ethnic lines. This is particularly apparent in corpus planning, in which Breton activists have sought to create a pan-dialectal language for the Bretons. The first Breton norm dates from 1907 and incorporates three (*léonard*, *cornouaillais* and *trégorrois*) of the four dialects (the *vannetais* dialect is excluded because it was considered by activists at the time to not be in line with the historical roots of Breton). The militant group *Breiz Atao* [Brittany For Ever] sided with Nazi sympathies to ensure a pure Breton people, and these militants supported a classical, purely Celtic version of Breton. In 1941, as part of a process of Breton nationalism, there was an orthography that combined features of the 1907 norm with the *vannetais* dialect. This met with objections by some Breton campaigners because of nationalist connotations, so in 1955 there was the *Orthographe Universitaire* [University Orthography] which maintains differences between the 1907 norm and the *vannetais* dialect (see McDonald 1989: 112-3 & 130-2). Disagreements among Breton campaigners about a version of Breton are also felt by Breton speakers as a whole (see discussion in 5.1.2).

Corpus planning was combined with status planning via the publication of journals by the Breton militants. This form of language planning operates as a private or voluntary concern, and, as of the early twenty-first century, remains the main means of language planning. A certain degree of control has been transferred from the French state to regional councils, such as *le Conseil régional de Bretagne*. This power, though, is less extensive than that of the autonomous governments in Spain, as I discuss in section 3.1.1.

The *Conseil régional de Bretagne* works in conjunction with *Ofis ar Brezhoneg*, a Breton language office founded in 1999<sup>10</sup>. Both *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* and *Conseil régional de Bretagne* drafted Breton language plans: *Brezhoneg 2015* in 2003 and *Le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne* in 2004. *Le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne*'s stated aims were to increase the amount of provision for Breton education

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<sup>10</sup> Ofis ar Brezhoneg brochure received in correspondence.

courses, provide more bilingual signage in Breton and French and increase media provision (Le Drian 2004). Meanwhile, *Brezhoneg 2015* had a more ambitious programme to improve the standard of Breton and increase the number of Breton speakers and the number of Breton domains or functions (Louarn 2004). One of the campaigns of *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* is *Ya d'ar Brezhoneg* [Yes to Breton], a campaign initiated in 2001 to attract support from businesses, companies and Breton society in general for a greater presence of Breton (Ofis ar Brezhoneg 2008a). In the workplace, Breton is largely confined to Breton-linked activities, such as education, the media and tourism. Figures collected by *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* in 2003 showed that out of 955 employees that used Breton in the workplace fewer than 200 of these worked outside education and out of this group 10 worked in non-Breton related fields of employment in the business sector (Observatoire de la Langue Bretonne 2003).

Another way to promote the status of Breton is via acquisition planning. The longest established form of minoritised language teaching in France is the language option model. This model dates back to a state policy from 1951 (a time when the French state started to instigate protectionist policies), the *Loi Deixonne*, which permitted minoritised language options at primary and secondary level. Immersion teaching has been queried at an ideological level by teaching unions and parents, so is not available via the state sector (see 3.1.1 & 3.1.3). Instead, there are private-run immersion schools called *Diwan* [Germination] that date back to the 1970s. In addition to private-run immersion teaching and language option models there is a model that in French is called *parité horaire* [timetable equality] in which half the classes are in French and the other half in Breton. This is available via state-run *Div Yezh* [Two Languages] and Catholic-run *Dihun* [Awakening] at both primary and secondary level. As far as Breton courses for adults are concerned, Breton is a taught option at university and there are correspondence courses such as *Skol Ober* and intensive courses known as *stages*. These courses (*Stumdi*, *Skol an Emsav*, *Roudour* and *Kelell*), which are run by volunteers or private associations, are adapted to the individual's needs.

### **2.3.2 Occitan language planning**

Similar to Breton, Occitan language planning cannot operate upon geographic nationalist lines. Corpus planning has again tried to maintain the ethnic heritage of the language either through the creation of a classical authentic pan-dialectal language or the preservation of the language of the older speaker. A group dating from the 19<sup>th</sup>

century, *le Félibrige*, has favoured the latter approach in order to preserve the *Provençal* dialect (see Bec 1986: 97). Meanwhile, the *Institut d'Études Occitanes* (Institute for Occitan Studies, founded in 1945) had encouraged the use of a pan-dialectal corpus, which adheres to a classical earlier form of Occitan, in education in addition to the tolerance of different dialectal forms (see Judge 2000: 64). At the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Occitan Language Academy (an NGO, founded in 2008, consisting of Occitanists from the sectors of education, journalism and publishing) is in the process of codifying a standardised version of Occitan (see Zabala 2010). The academy is based in Aran in Catalonia where the *Aranese* version of Occitan was granted, in 2010, official status within Catalonia by the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, which means that Occitan in France can receive cross-border support (Linguamón 2010<sup>11</sup>). There have, as with Breton, been disagreements about the direction of corpus planning. Most notably, Philippe Blanchet – *le Félibrige* – is critical of Domergue Sumien for his work that endorses a pan-dialectal pluricentric Occitan, because classical Occitan reinforces the divide between the native Occitan speaker and the non-native speaker (Sumien 2009).<sup>12</sup>

In the explanations of Breton and Occitan corpus planning the focus has been on ethnicity in the context of ancestral roots. An issue is whether this counts as part of a process of ethnicity without nationalism or as ethnic nationalism. Paulston (1994), as I have shown in 1.2, has viewed ethnic nationalism as part of a strategy for self-determination. In the section on Breton corpus planning I mention nationalist agenda, which conforms to a desire for autonomy, by some of the militants. Paulston (1994: 55-6) argues that the Occitan movements have functioned as intellectual organisations with no claims on separatism, which is a valid observation. However, as I stated in 1.2, the boundaries between ethnicity and nationalism are not clear-cut. Occitanists have adopted strategies that we could perceive as nationalist, as Bourdieu cites as follows:

The fact of calling ‘Occitan’ the language spoken by those who are called ‘Occitans’ because they speak that language (a language that nobody speaks, properly speaking, because it is merely the sum of a very great number of different dialects), and of calling the region (in the sense of physical space) in which this language is spoken ‘Occitanie’, thus claiming to make it exist as a ‘region’ or as a ‘nation’ (with the historically

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<sup>11</sup> See reference in section 6.2.2 to inter-state axes.

<sup>12</sup> See section 6.4 on corpus ideology *vis-à-vis* the alignment between the top and the bottom.

constituted implications that these notions have at the moment under consideration), is no ineffectual fiction. (Bourdieu 1991: 223)

I would suggest that Occitanism conforms to ethnicity with some claims on nationalism to forge a group identity, of which the main adherents are members of cultural groups. These cultural groups operate in the same way as the Breton groups as voluntary or private concerns in order to promote the status of Occitan. The *Institut d'Études Occitanes* archives Occitan material and conducts research into the state of Occitan (IEO 2007). This is in line with the first stages of Fishman's GIDS (see section 1.2). CIRDOC (*Centre inter-régional de développement de l'Occitan*, Inter-Regional Centre for the development of Occitan) archives Occitan material, and education groups, such as CREO (*Centre Régional de l'Enseignement de l'occitan*, Regional Centre for the Teaching of Occitan) and FELCO (*Fédération des Enseignants de Langue et Culture d'Oc*, Federation for Occitan Language and Culture Teachers), organise petitions to impose pressure on MPs. There has also been input from regional councils, where the Regional Council for the Midi-Pyrénées region and the Regional Council for the Rhône-Alpes region endorsed, in 2008 and 2009 respectively, a plan for Occitan language promotion along the lines of *le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne* (CREO 2008) and a survey into the state of Occitan (Bert & Costa 2009).

In acquisition planning, immersion teaching is again a private-run initiative whereby there are schools called *Calandretas* [a place for students) that date back to the late 1970s. The other education models are the language option and *parité horaire*, which is offered at state primary school and at the *Calandretas* (Felco 2009a & Calandreta 2009). In adult education, Occitan is a taught option at university and there are correspondence courses, such as one run by *Collège d'Occitanie* in Toulouse, and *stages*. The *stages* are run by private associations, such as *Institut d'Études Occitanes* and *Centre de Formacion Professionau En Lengua E Cultura Occitanas* [Centre for Professional Training in Occitan Language and Culture], tailored to the individual needs of the student (CFPOC 2011).

### **2.3.3 Catalan language planning**

State structure and cultural background has an influence on Catalan language planning. During the period of industrial growth in nineteenth century Catalonia, Catalan underwent a rebirth or *Renaixença*, which had a profound effect upon the notion of Catalan identity in Catalonia. For Catalonia, this cultural rebirth in combination with

an industrial revolution helped to renew a level of prestige for Catalan. This was because the *Renaixença* incorporated intellectuals and politicians into one potent movement that was able to define a clear notion of Catalan identity and allow Catalan to be adopted by the middle classes. The support from the middle classes enabled the *Renaixença* to grow beyond a fringe movement and continue as an underground movement during the Franco era, in which culture, such as in the music group *Nova Canço* [New Music], was used by Catalans as a form of political protest (see Woolard 1989: 29 & Mar-Molinero 2000: 86).

As regards language policy, the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* was founded, in 1907, through the *Renaixença*, and the *Institut* standardised, in 1913, the written form of Catalan into one universal form (Siguan 1992: 129). This was part of a strategy to unify the Catalan regions, but it has not been universally accepted across the *Països Catalans*, where the governments for Valencia and Mallorca use the names *valenciano* and *mallorquí*.

Ideologically the *Renaixença* developed the concept of Catalan nationalism, which is embodied in the early twentieth century work *La nacionalitat catalana* by Enric Prat de la Riba (see Woolard 1989: 24). The version of Catalan nationalism that emerged out of the *Renaixença* is one that links Catalan to territory or geographic nationalism. The Catalan writer Colomines refers to geographic nationalism in his definition of 'Catalanism':

Catalan nationalism has never been ethnic but rather civic. Unlike other types, it immediately adopted a progressive position in favour of a new order of industrial and urban modernity. This was far from being the vindication of a tribal movement and was only possible within the context of a democratic society (which does not exclude conflict given the existence of different class projects). (Colomines 2000, cited in Pollock 2001)

Geographic nationalism has been the direction of Catalan language policy aided by the state structure in Spain since the end of the Franco regime that granted autonomy to the regions. The direction of geographic nationalism in Catalonia has, according to Süsselbeck, aimed to link Catalan linguistic policy to culture to distance Catalan nationalism from imperialist nationalism to promote a healthy regime:

*Los actores distinguieron desde el principio entre dos formas de nacionalismo: uno “bueno”, también llamado “nacionalismo civil” o “cultural”, y otro “malo”, “imperialista” y “estatal”.*

From the beginning, the players [politicians and academics] distinguished between two forms of nationalism: one “good”, also called “civic nationalism” or “cultural”, and the other “bad”, “imperialist” and “state”. (Süselbeck 2008: 181)

The notion of ‘*un nacionalismo bueno*’ has not been shared by all sectors of society in Catalonia, from politicians and intellectuals to members of the general public, and the Spanish state media has exploited these tensions. The following is an example of such tactics:

*Igual que Franco, pero al revés: persecución del castellano en Cataluña.*  
The same as Franco, but in reverse: persecution of Castilian in Catalonia.  
(ABC 1993, cited in Mar-Molinero 1994)

These tensions are a problematic area of geographic nationalism (see section 1.2) in which people from other language backgrounds perceive their linguistic rights as under threat. Linguistic conflict in Catalonia has concerned whether protectionist policy towards Catalan and Castilian has evolved towards linguistic convergence to Catalan, as I discuss in chapters 3 and 6 with regards to political factions and tensions within the general public respectively.

Turning to language policy decisions, these are overseen by the *Generalitat de Catalunya* [Autonomous Government of Catalonia], which was originally formed in the 1930s. Status planning has included the promulgation of laws [*lleis*], the production of plans and the clear organisation of government departments. The *lleis* are enshrined in the 1979 and 2006 Statutes of Autonomy as well as two language plans: *Ley de normalización lingüística en Cataluña*, 1983; *Llei de Política Lingüística*, 1998. These *lleis* cover all aspects of language usage from media provision to judicial hearings. Meanwhile, different government departments supervise different areas of Catalan normalisation: *Departamento de Educación* for school education; *Departamento de Cultura y de Medios de Comunicación* for the general diffusion of Catalan; *Departamento de Gobernación y Administraciones Públicas* for the provision of Catalan training for civil servants and the *Departamento de Innovación, Universidades y Empresas* for Catalan usage in the universities (Gencat 2008a).

As far as acquisition planning is concerned, it has been one of the biggest areas of conflict (see section 3.1.3). State-funded Catalan immersion has been the principal form of education model within the schools in Catalonia. At university, Catalan, in accordance with various *lleis* of which the most recent is from 2003 (Llei 1/2003), is the language for all activities within the universities of Catalonia (Departament de la Presidencia 2003). Castilian is also specified as an official language of the universities of Catalonia. Pueyo (1999) states that Catalan law stipulates that the student ‘should be able to use the official language of their choice’ [*hauria de poder usar la llengua oficial que prefereixi*]. This approach conforms to what Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) defines as integration, which she distinguishes from assimilation in the following way:

**Assimilation** is enforced subtractive ‘learning’ of another (dominant) culture by a (dominated) group. Assimilation means being transferred to another group.

**Integration** is characterized by voluntary mutual additive ‘learning’ of other cultures. Integration means a choice of inclusive group membership(s). [My underline] (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 124)

Adult education in Catalonia is under the direction of the *Secretaria de Política Lingüística*. One of the functions of the *Secretaria* is to supervise the function of the *Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística*, whose purpose is to provide Catalan classes for adults. In addition, the various departments of the *Generalitat* oversee professional training.

#### **2.3.4 Galician language planning**

There has been confusion amongst political leaders and Galician language activists concerning the direction of Galician language planning. This uncertainty has led to conflict concerning whether to link Galician to territory and/or ethnic heritage. This complexity of direction is fully reflected in Galician corpus planning in which there are three positions: separatism (anti-Portuguese influences), re-integrationism/lusism (re-alignment with Portuguese) and minimalism (somewhere in-between the two poles).

The aim of separatism has been to purify Galician of Portuguese features. A well-known separatist is Antón Santamarina Fernández, a member of the Galician equivalent of the Spanish Language Academy: *Real Academia Galega* (Real Academia Galega 2009). He was part of a group that devised the first official Galician *normas*: *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* of 1982 – the joint work of the

RAG and the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* (ILG) (González González 2004). These *normas* were approved by the Galician autonomous government: the *Xunta*.

The re-integrationists or lusists have disliked the 1982 *normas* because of Castilianisms. Lusist groups, such as *Movimento de Defesa da Língua* [language defence movement] use Portuguese influenced writing systems, so that ‘regionalisation’ is the ideology behind their corpus. A leading re-integrationist was Ricardo Carvalho Calero, who believed that Galician and Portuguese are the same language, reflected in his use of Portuguese; but, sometimes [*em ocasiões*] different solutions [*soluções diferentes*] are found in the lexical uses of Galician and Portuguese. He was critical of separatism because it encouraged the ‘*isolamento do galego*’ [isolation of Galician] and increased the chances of ‘*vulnerabilidade perante o castelhana*’ [vulnerability from Castilian] (Carvalho Calero 1985: 20-1). Meanwhile, minimalists have tried to promote the ‘uniqueness’ of Galician, which has influenced the 2003 version of the *normas* (Xunta De Galicia 2009).<sup>13</sup>

Divisions over the direction of language planning are also apparent in status planning. The policy of *bilingüismo armónico* has emphasised the equality of Galician and Castilian as dual languages of Galicia, which started with the 1981 Statute of Autonomy and continued with the 1983 *a Ley de Normalización Lingüística* and the first language plan: the 2005 *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* [General plan for the normalisation of Galician], which outlines all areas for Galician usage and specifies the current status of Galician versus future direction. Galician nationalists, whether separatist or lusist, have promoted a discourse along geographic nationalist lines where Galician or *galego-português* is the default language (see Regueira Fernández 2006: 85-8).

In regards to the history of Galician status planning, there was the equivalent of the Catalan *Renaixença*, *Rexurdimento*, in the nineteenth century, but that did not mobilise as many people. The *Rexurdimento* was primarily a literary movement, and one of the major contributors was the poet Rosalía de Castro (see Mackenzie 1993: 149-57). However, responsibility for the organisation of status planning has largely resided with the *Xunta de Galicia*. Until 1990, one government department oversaw Galician language planning: *a Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística* [General Management for

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<sup>13</sup> More concessions have been granted by the *Xunta* to the re-integrationists since the 2003 *normas*. However, when I contacted the *Centro de Documentación Sociolingüística de Galicia* (Galician archivists), there were no official records of the exact nature of these concessions.



Language Policy] (Lorenzo Suárez 2002). In 1990, the *Comisión Coordinadora de Normalización Lingüística* [coordinating team for language normalisation] (CCNL) was created to coordinate language planning work. In 2005, the post of *Secretaría Xeral de Política Lingüística* [General Secretary for Linguistic Policy] was created to help with language planning coordination (Vieiros 2005). School education is supervised by *Equipos de Normalización Lingüística* [Linguistic Normalisation teams or ENL] and university education by *Servicios de Normalización Lingüística* (SNL). The *Consello Da Cultura Galega* [Council for Galician Culture], founded in 1983 as a statutory body, and its sections such as the *Centro de Documentación Sociolingüística de Galicia* oversee Galician language promotion and maintain an archive of papers and surveys on Galician (Consello Da Cultura Galega 2004).

Acquisition planning had, until the impact of the *manifiesto por una lengua común* and the *Ley Orgánica de Educación*, operated along an equal division of Galician and Castilian instruction at primary and secondary school (see Xunta de Galicia 2005, <<http://www.consellodacultura.org/arquivos/cdsg/docs/plandenormalizacionlinguagalega.pdf>>). This policy changed with a decree in 2010 in which at nursery school the teachers in conjunction with the parents decide the language medium of instruction. At primary and secondary school certain subjects must be taught in Galician or Castilian and the remainder divided equally alongside another language such as English (Conseillero de Educación e Ordenación Universitaria 2010).

At university, Galician has the same presence in the university as Catalan in Catalonia but, its use, according to surveys conducted by the university *Servicios de Normalización Lingüística* and Mercator [Minority Language Media in the European Union], is variable and differs from department to department. Meanwhile, the department for *Política Lingüística* at the *Xunta* organises Galician courses linked to professional training. Also, starting in 2011, the Galician universities offer day initiation courses on Galician language and culture for incomers to Galicia (Xunta de Galicia 2011b).

## 2.4 Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated that there are a variety of factors that impinge upon linguistic vitality, of which state structure has had a strong bearing. The sections on language minoritisation and language planning have shown how state regime can have

an impact upon language shift and the reversal of language shift. As far as the latter is concerned, the autonomous governments in Spain have had more power than the regions in France to promulgate language policy. However, the Spanish autonomies are still subject to the Spanish state, so there are still areas of conflict.

The focus of the next chapter is, consequently, to discover the possible advantages of an autonomous government as well as possible disadvantages. The nature of decentralisation is of particular interest towards the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, as the amendment to the 1958 French Constitution to recognise the languages of the regions of France offers the possibility of a decentralised French state. The comparison of regimes has therefore the extra interest of a future regime for France. This future regime is uncertain, especially in historical terms, as has been illustrated by the contradictory nature of language policy in France since the Second World War. In addition to the impact of political regimes on language policy, I shall analyse the nature of language plans – the criteria for a good plan – and the role of Europe and European legislation on language policy.

In the later chapters, I shall address the issue of language ideologies to explore how these shape language use; these are beliefs influenced by political doctrine and life experiences. My own findings will be analysed within the parameters of the subjects that have arisen in chapter 3 concerning language policy decisions that pertain to language acquisition programmes, the competition for linguistic space between the state language and the minoritised language and the presence of the minoritised language in the media in order to ascertain whether language policy aligns with the thoughts and behavior of the rest of the affected regions.

## Chapter 3. Language policy in twenty-first century France and Spain

### 3.0 Introduction

The deconstruction of the nation-state has continued into the twenty-first century, and has passed through various stages of transition as state politicians, regional politicians and minoritised language activists have tried to assess the direction of the relationship between the state language and other languages spoken in that country. A key area of debate is the amount of political control devolved to the regions. Both France and Spain have conferred a certain degree of decentralised governance that has allowed the regions some control over policy decisions such as language. The type of decentralisation in the states differs, so I shall explore the advantages and disadvantages of French and Spanish decentralisation with a focus on the ideology behind these systems. I shall then analyse language plans for Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician, and the role of European policy in the context of the two political structures.

### 3.1 Decentralisation?

Decentralisation is a term that is not easy to define. The obvious explanation is that it involves power moved to the regions and away from the centre – a centrifugal regime rather than a centripetal regime. The confusion arises though from the fact that both Spain and France claim to be decentralised regimes; yet, the regimes function in different ways so that decentralisation is then a question of degree.

#### 3.1.1 *The meaning of decentralisation: advantages*

In the case of France, decentralisation is embodied in the *Loi Raffarin* (La documentation Française 2004), ratified in 2003, in itself a revision of the *Lois Defferre* from 1982-3. The essential features arising from the revised *Lois Defferre* are the organisation of regional territories, a transfer of some policies to a local level and the redistribution of financial control from centralised control to decentralised control. In addition to the *Loi Raffarin*, the 2005 *Loi Fillon* specifies the following:

#### Article 20.

*Un enseignement de langues et cultures régionales peut être dispensé tout au long de la scolarité selon des modalités définies par voie de convention entre l'État et les collectivités territoriales où ces langues sont en usage.*

The teaching of regional languages and cultures may be provided as part of the education prescribed by the models defined by the State and the territorial councils where these languages are used. (Education 2005)

The above article has proved contentious among regional language groups because it allows no provision for language courses outside its region. Also, there is no integrative structure that allows for liaison between different academic regions, which is an area of concern for both Breton and Occitan as they are spoken in two and eight academic regions respectively (Corréard 1997)<sup>14</sup>. The principal concern, however, is the degree of power available to the *collectivités territoriales* to provide education programmes for minoritised languages, as illustrated in the following citation:

The Institution [The Regional Institution] is composed of the Regional Council, which has decision-making power, and the Economic and Social Council, which has advisory status. The Brittany Region has only a modest budget. It amounts to 3 billion 300 million francs (1998). Its powers are limited (Denez 1998).

This position was clarified by the technical advisor from the Economic and Social Council [*Conseil économique et social régional de Bretagne*]:

Extract 3.1

Bi<sup>15</sup> *En effet, comme souvent, l'Etat français transfère des compétences aux collectivités territoriales qui ne sont que partiellement compensées !*

*Celle-ci est en effet souvent contrainte, à moyen terme, de recourir à une augmentation de la fiscalité locale pour pallier les compensations insuffisantes de l'Etat français.*

Effectively, as is often the case, the French State transfers powers to the territorial councils [sub-divisions of administrative regions] which are only partially offset! This [financial resources] often in effect means, in the mid term, an increase in local taxes to compensate for the lack of assistance from the French State.

This discourse, as with all discourses, should be treated with caution. The position of this respondent as a representative for the Brittany Regional Council would support a discourse that exonerates his employers. The tone of the discourse through the use of the exclamation is suggestive of a level of bias. However, the content of the above extract supports the citation from Denez (1998) that the role of the Regional Council is limited, which is also a point that is mentioned by Judge (2008) in her research.

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<sup>14</sup> *Régions académiques* are education authorities. They loosely correlate with the state administrative regions (e.g. Bretagne), but some state regions like Rhône-Alpes have been divided into smaller areas to form *régions académiques*.

<sup>15</sup> I introduce the respondents that inform this chapter in section 4.1.3. See 4.1.4 for an explanation of codes used to indicate respondents and see appendix A for the details of the informants.

As far as successful language planning boards are concerned, Catalonia and Wales have established boards that have had the authority to implement language policy. May commends the creation of the *Welsh Language Board* [*Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg*] and the implementation of the *Welsh Language Act* [*Mesur yr Iaith Gymraeg*] – an act that has legitimised the role of the Welsh Language Board to oversee Welsh language planning (May 2004: 46-47).

On the subject of decentralised control, nowhere is the difference between France and Spain more apparent than in the field of education. I have explained in chapter two the structures of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* and the *Xunta de Galicia* as well as the infrastructure in place to impose strong bilingual education models and provide adult education tailored to different specifications. In France, the laws of decentralisation have produced a complex relationship between the regions and the French state. The regions are responsible for the allocation of funds for schools and teachers, but they are constrained, as *Bi* mentioned, by the lack of resources made available to them.

The financing and organisation of education is a complex area. In referring to the situation of Quechua school programmes in the Andes, Hornberger and King (2001) explain that there are two forms that can be used: type A, under Quechua control; type B, under state control. Type A schooling is largely privately funded. Type B, to quote, “involves greater compromise on the part of the state primarily since this education will be ‘conducted and paid for out of general tax funds’ (Fishman 1991:100, cited in Hornberger and King 2001: 179), even while some instruction is carried out in Quechua”. Hornberger and King add that type A and type B school programmes can overlap. They cite the example of Quechua teaching in Saraguro, Ecuador. In Saraguro, an education directorate was established which would allow the regions to oversee Quechua school provision but ultimately refer to the national education ministry. This meant that the model that was being used was type B but with some of the benefits of type A, and this kind of system can lead to financing complications due to confusion over who is responsible for allocating funds – the local authorities or the state government.

In Brittany, the *Diwan* schools and *Dihun* schools are type A models but receive some financial assistance from the regional council. The *Diwan* schools could have been under type B control if a decree had been passed in 2002 to allow their inclusion

into mainstream education. The decree was annulled because of opposition by some teaching unions and some parents (Wehrla 2003: 79). The result is that *Diwan* schools struggle more than the state-run *Div-Yezh* schools for funding: *Diwan* schools receive state financial assistance once a school has been in use for five years (Mercator Education 2003).

The Occitan *Calandretas* like the *Diwan* schools are type A models that rely largely on private support. A *Calandreta* in Nice is privately-run and largely privately-funded, but it gets some financial support from the *collectivités territoriales* (Bastians Contraris 2008). A deficit in funding can impact upon the schools' facilities, as Abley discovered on a visit to Provence as part of his research into threatened languages (Abley 2005).

The difference in local power does not only concern language acquisition planning. State control means there are no mainstream television channels that broadcast all their programmes in Breton or Occitan in France (Le Drian 2008 and Mercator Media 2006c). On the other hand, the *Generalitat de Catalunya* oversees the television station *TV3 (Televisió de Catalunya)* and the *Xunta de Galicia* oversees *Televisión de Galicia* (Mercator Media 2006a&b).

### **3.1.2 More local control in France?**

Decentralisation in France, as of 2008, has allowed the regions where minoritised languages are spoken to have more control, but there are still constraints. The amendment to the 1958 French constitution, that highlights the importance of regional languages to France, raises the possibility of more local control in France. The wording of the amendment is in fact very close to a statement made by the French government in 1996 about Corsican, '*fait [le corse] partie du patrimoine culturel national*' [[Corsican] is part of the nation's cultural heritage] (Cunsigliu Culturale, Sociale è Economicu di a Corsica 1997:6, cited in Jaffe 1999:136). The amendment to the French Constitution is worded, '*les langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France*' [regional languages are part of the heritage of France] (Eitb 2008).

The similar wordings, the use of the word *patrimoine*, in government statements and documents are reminders of the approach in France to languages since the Second World War. In section 2.2 I mentioned the conflict between the ideology of the nation-state and an ideology concerned with tolerance and the protection of languages. The amendment to the French Constitution is the latest in a series of acknowledgements and

concessions towards other languages in France. At the same time, though, counter-statements and counter-decisions have been made by French Government officials to the effect that French is the only language of France. Historically, President Pompidou illustrates perfectly the conflict of ideologies. In 1969 President Pompidou was in favour of giving support to the languages and cultures of 'our provinces and *pays*' (McDonald 1989: 51). However, in 1972 he stated that there was 'no place for regional languages in a France destined to make its mark in Europe' (McDonald 1989).

A literature review reveals that France issues statements, instigates reports and promulgates laws that are in favour of a plurilinguistic approach, but either the measures are tokenistic, such as the *Loi Deixonne* (minoritised language as an optional subject in schools), or they are contradicted by other measures. An example discussed by other researchers is the impact of a report into the state of *les langues régionales*: the 1982 Giordan Report. Giordan, the author of the report, proposes '*le principe de la démocratie culturelle d'une part, et le respect des différences linguistiques et culturelles d'autre part*' [the principle of cultural democracy on the one hand and the respect of linguistic and cultural differences on the other hand] (Giordan 1982: 17, cited in Laroussi and Marcellesi 1993 97-8). Laroussi and Marcellesi describe the intentions of Giordan to encourage dialogue between the French state and its citizens. One area that Giordan stresses is the following:

*Cela revient à dire que l'Etat doit accorder aux langues régionales une reconnaissance 'franche' sans arrière-pensée et sans timidité.*

That [the provision of funds that allow the establishment of a new regional, cultural development model founded on the dialectic of individuality and plurality] comes down to the fact that the State must grant regional languages a 'frank' recognition without ulterior motive and without timidity. (Giordan 1982: 22, cited in Laroussi and Marcellesi 1993: 98)

Laroussi and Marcellesi go on to say that the Giordan report had very little impact upon language measures by the early 1990s. Saint Robert (2000: 103-4) writes that in the 1990s the attitude of the French state towards *les langues régionales* has been mixed. On the one hand the 1992 *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages* was signed in 1999 by the French Prime Minister, and *l'Observatoire des pratiques linguistiques* was created in 1999; but, on the other hand, a decade later and the signature of the European Charter has not been ratified. The effect of the *Loi Raffarin* and the *Loi Fillon* in addition to the history of post-Second World War policy does not augur much promise for significant change as a result to an amendment to the

French Constitution. However, it must be considered that the French Constitution is the most important document in French law. The amendment of this document is a significant act in itself, so the article may repeat prior declarations and may be hidden towards the back of the Constitution but the amendment is in the document.

More localised power is impossible to predict on the basis of the amendment to the French Constitution, but there is more recognition that may lead to future developments such as the ratification of the signing of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. It is perhaps too soon for France to adopt the equivalent of the Spanish regime, because of the history of French rhetoric on linguistic policy and objections by members of the French National Assembly during the signing of the Constitution that recognition of 'regional' languages would 'undermine national identity' (Hicks 2008).

### ***3.1.3 Disadvantages of decentralisation***

I have considered the extra degree of local control as an advantage of the Spanish system of decentralisation. However, on the other hand, some research indicates that too much regional control can pose problems. Acquisition planning under the current French system is handicapped by limited financial resources and the history of a national education system; however, there is an element of choice. As far as Breton and Occitan are concerned, the language can be studied via immersion, as a shared language with French or as a subject option. The feeling evident in the research literature is that there is a perception from within the speech communities concerned that there is not the same level of choice for different education models under the Spanish system (see Loredo Gutiérrez *et al* 2007, Mar-Molinero 2000 and Miguélez 2001).

Catalonia is the region that causes particular concern over the rights of the individual to choose the language in which their child is taught. The 1983 *Ley de Normalización* states the following about language rights in education:

#### Article 14

1. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also the language of education at all levels.
2. Children have the right to receive their primary education in their usual language whether this is Catalan or Castilian. The administration must guarantee this right and put in place the necessary means to make this effective. Parents or guardians can exercise this right in the name of their child insisting that it should be applied.



3. The Catalan and Castilian languages must be taught as compulsory subjects at all levels and grades of non-university education.
4. All Catalonia's children, whatever their usual language on beginning their education, must be able to use Catalan and Castilian in a normal and correct fashion when they finish their basic studies.
5. The administration must take appropriate measures so that a) pupils should not be separated into different teaching centres for reasons of language; b) the Catalan language should be progressively used as pupils start to master it. (1983 *Ley de Normalización*, cited in Mar-Molinero 2000: 159-160)

Mar-Molinero noted controversies in the above clauses that specify on the one hand the need to master Catalan but on the other the support for equality in the use of Catalan and Castilian. The most important clause for the present argument on individual rights is clause two that clearly provides for the right of the individual. The *Generalitat*, out of concern that the only way to reach a high standard of Catalan was through immersion teaching, became more aggressive in the nature of its decrees on acquisition planning. In 1992, a new decree read that, 'Catalan would normally be used as the vehicular language and the language of instruction in compulsory infant, primary and secondary education' (Milian i Massana 1992, cited in Mar-Molinero 2000: 162). Mar-Molinero mentions that the 1992 decree resulted in more immersion programmes and challenged the notion of choice. Meanwhile, Miguélez adds that the more aggressive stance on Catalan education provoked 'criticism and resistance from a large sector of society which supports proficient bilingualism but not transitional monolingualism' (Miguélez 2001: 363). The issue here, as I mentioned in 2.3.3, is whether the geographic nationalist approach of Catalan normalisation has caused conflict that protectionist policies towards Catalan and Castilian have moved towards protectionist policy to Catalan on its own<sup>16</sup>.

On the subject of education, extract 3.2 contains the views of a member of the Catalan political party ERC (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*). Since 2003 the ERC has formed the Catalan Government in coalition with the Socialists, so this is an insight into government policy:

#### Extract 3.2

*Ci Creo que la situación en el Principado de Catalunya és [sic] aceptable, ya que la escolarización permite a la mayor parte de la población adquirir un domino adecuado de [sic] del catalán estándar [sic], que les [sic]<sup>17</sup> permitirá por tanto poder acceder,*

<sup>16</sup> See section 3.2.2 concerning the Constitutional Court of Spain influencing Catalan education policy.

<sup>17</sup> There is code-switching between Catalan and Castilian in this extract: the Catalan words *estándard* and *les* instead of the Castilian words *estándar* and *las*. See section 6.4.3 for more on code-switching.

*si así lo desean, a les funcions formales y semiformales reservadas a los idiomas de cultura...*

I believe that the situation within the Principality of Catalonia is acceptable, since the teaching enables most of the population to acquire an adequate command of Standard Catalan, which will enable them therefore to gain access to, if they wish, formal and semi-formal language situations reserved to languages of culture ...

This respondent appears satisfied with the role of education in Catalonia, which could demonstrate support for immersion programmes, as the ERC is known to criticise weak policy (see Mar-Molinero 2000 and Atkinson 1999b in particular). A more aggressive line of policy has been apparent since the formation of the ERC-Socialist government in the form of policies that have been devised that target all sectors of society. Pueyo (2006) cites a programme of 2005 – *Dóna Corda al Català* [Give Life to Catalan] – that aimed to encourage habitual use of Catalan, especially by the young. Also, in 2004 a programme to help teach Catalan to immigrants was introduced – *Programa d'acollida i capacitació lingüística de la població adulta nouvinguda a Catalunya* [Programme to welcome and provide linguistic competence for the new adult population in Catalonia] (Secretaria de Política Lingüística 2005). However, although these policies are indicative of potent language planning they are less strident in form than the first Catalan campaigns in the early 1980s that promoted the correct use of Catalan via the use of the mascot Norma (Woolard 2008: 320).

As a member of a political party with strong pro-Catalan tendencies *Ci* – Antonio – is, nevertheless, not immune to the sensitive nature of linguistic policy in Catalonia. His sociolinguistic background concerning his mother tongue and his use of Catalan illustrates perfectly the complex linguistic scenario:

Extract 3.3

1. *Ci. La respuesta no es sencilla en un entorno social bilingüe como el catalán. Mi madre es monolingüe castellanohablante, pero mi padre era bilingüe imperfecto, de segunda lengua catalana (los dos son españoles de origen). En mi infancia el castellano era la lengua predominante en mi hogar, pero el catalán también estaba presente, si bien [sic] en una situación secundaria. En todo caso, la primera lengua que aprendí fue el castellano.*
  2. *Prácticamente hablo en catalán con todo el mundo que entiende el catalán, lo hablen ellos o no, cosa que quiere decir que hablo en catalán prácticamente en todas partes. Utilizo el castellano únicamente con una parte de mi familia, principalmente los que son de generaciones anteriores.*
1. The answer is not straightforward in a bilingual environment such as Catalan. My mother is a monolingual Castilian speaker, but my father was a not perfect bilingual speaker, Catalan as his second language (both of them are of Spanish

origin). During my childhood Castilian was the main language at home, but Catalan was also present, all be it in a secondary capacity. In any case, the first language I learnt was Castilian.

2. I speak Catalan with practically everyone who can understand it, whether they speak it or not, that is to say I speak Catalan practically everywhere. I only use Castilian with a section of my family, mainly those from the older generations.

There is a difficult balance to be struck between sensitivity and the right of the individual and potent measures that are of benefit to the minoritised language. Jaffe (1999) observed a tendency away from compulsory education programmes in her analysis of Corsican language planning. Both her survey respondents and members of the Corsican Regional Assembly were in favour of some provision for Corsican school programmes just as long as the classes remained optional. A similar situation is clearly apparent with regards to Breton, where strong bilingual programmes are tolerated as long as they are optional. According to Wehrla (2003: 80-1), opposition to the integration of the *Diwan* schools into state education is against ‘[le] principe de l’unité du système d’enseignement public organisé autour de la primauté du français’ [the principle of the cohesiveness of the state education system based around the primacy of French].

The advantage of acquisition planning under the Spanish regime is that it has the resources for control, but the French system encourages programmes that are supported by those who desire them. The autonomous structure in Spain can produce the effect of language policy as political agenda. Consequently, it may seem that choice is removed from the individual. Ill-feeling against the *Generalitat de Catalunya* in the 1990s is detailed, for example, by Strubell (2001). This ill-feeling has enhanced tensions in which language is part of a political debate between conservatism and progressivism, as is evident in academic and political reaction to Catalan language policy (sections 3.2.1 & 3.2.2).

Government support that enables a language to be institutionalised can also make language codification a political issue. Wright (2007: 95-6) argues that an advantage of Occitan is that it has not been officially standardised, because of a lack of institutional support. This, she states, allows the different dialectal forms to be reproduced and maintained without deference to a particular standard. She recognises, though, that a standardised language is part of the relegitimizing process. It is unsurprising that the Occitan Language Academy has decided to standardise Occitan; yet, Occitan corpus planning, like Breton, would not be politicised.

Too much control is as problematic as too little, but with more control it would be supposed that there would be a greater chance of policy enforcement; yet, that is not necessarily the case. A major obstacle for the effective implementation of language policies in Spain is the overseeing of language aims, as discussed by Strubell (2006). Civil servants who are charged with the task to enforce language policy, according to Strubell, find loopholes that change or ignore legislation. Legislators, according to Corbeil (1988, cited by Strubell 2006), had to work together with the courts of law and the public for language policy to be effective. Strubell refines this argument to a Mediterranean context where loopholes become another obstacle in the implementation of language policies.

Galicia is the perfect example of the issues mentioned by Strubell. Until a change in Galician education policy in 2010 (see 2.3.4), Galician language policy stipulated a shared teaching model in non-university education in which the number and type of classes to be taught in Galician are clearly specified. The following report conducted by the Public Foundation for European Comparative Minority Research showed that this law had not been fully enforced:

The Committee of Experts received complaints, during the “on-the-spot” visit, according to which in reality Galician is rarely a language of instruction, many primary and secondary schools do not teach all the subjects that should normally be taught in Galician and in many educational centres textbooks in Galician are not available (Public Foundation for European Comparative Minority Research 2007)

The non-compliance with a minimum amount of Galician instruction in non-university education is supported in the following citation:

*Canto ao cumprimento da lexislación, e a pesar das cifras aportadas pola Administración, todos os estudos lévannos á conclusión de que o 91,5% dos centros que imparten infantil e o 1.º ciclo de primaria e nos que o idioma habitual do alumnado é o galego non cumpren o Decreto, mentres que do 41,5% do alumnado ten como lingua predominante o galego, só recibe as aulas en galego o 17,7%; no 2.º e 3.º ciclos de primaria o 21% dos centros non acatan o Decreto de mínimos (isto era hai 5 anos, hoxe é o 44%); na Educación Secundaria Obrigatoria, o 77,3% dos centros non segue o estipulado na normativa actual, fronte ao 22,7% que si o cumpre.*

As far as the fulfillment of legislation is concerned, and in spite of figures from the Administration, all studies that have been undertaken reach the conclusion that 91.5% of centres that teach nursery and or stage 1 of primary education and in which the pupils’ habitual language is Galician do not comply with the *Decreto* [decree on minimum teaching requirements in

Galician], while out of the 41.5% of pupils whose main language is Galician, 17.7% of them receive classes in Galician. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> stages of primary education 21% of the centres do not fulfill the *Decreto de mínimos* (the figure 5 years ago, today the figure is 44%). In compulsory secondary education, 77.3% of centres do not follow the current stipulated teaching programme, against 22.7% that do comply with the law. (Costa Casas 2007: 57)

The *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* specified intentions to better orchestrate the *Equipos de Normalización Lingüística*, who oversee non-university education, to help support schools to comply with the *Decreto de mínimos*. A concern, as voiced by Silva Valdivia (2007), is that these measures will not be effective if there is no clear methodology behind the measures.

Of course, the successful enforcement of policy depends on many factors, and does not only concern the will of legislators and ministers. In Spain, the autonomous languages are in direct competition with Castilian for all functions. This means that there are some areas where Castilian dominates because of its extra status. One of those areas is the media. In 3.1.1, I highlighted the fact that there is a Catalan television channel in Catalonia and a Galician television channel in Galicia, but the presence of Catalan and Galician in the media is limited (see 5.2.1 for more discussion). This is confirmed by Antonio – Ci – below:

Extract 3.4

CD<sup>18</sup> *¿Piensa Vd. que hay bastantes publicaciones en catalán?*

*¿Piensa Vd. que hay bastantes programas de televisión y de radio en catalán?*

CD Do you think there is enough written material published in Catalan?

Do you think there are enough television and radio programmes in Catalan?

*Ci La respuesta solamente puede ser que no. La presencia de publicaciones en catalán és [sic] minoritaria al Principado de Catalunya [sic], y en el resto de territorios catalanes (excepto el pequeño estado independiente de Andorra, que tiene el catalán como único idioma oficial) es prácticamente marginal. 2. La respuesta és [sic] la misma que en la pregunta anterior. No.*

*Ci* The answer can only be no. The presence of publications in Catalan is in a minority within the Principality of Catalonia, and in the rest of the Catalan regions (except for the small independent state of Andorra, that has Catalan as its only official language) is practically marginalised. 2. The answer is the same as in the previous question. No.

Another factor that impacts upon language policy implementation in Spain is that the autonomies still depend on Madrid for the ratification of their statutes of autonomy; this has posed problems for Catalonia and Galicia. In both autonomies,

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<sup>18</sup> CD refers to interviewer (C.Donneky).

protectionist policy, notably education policy, towards Catalan and Galician has been affected by legislation from Madrid and the influence of the *manifesto por una lengua común*.

### 3.2 Language plans

In the context of differing decentralisation, Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician have their own language plans. The language plans I shall discuss are as follows:

- *Brezhoneg 2015* (2003)
- *Le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne* (2004)
- *Schéma Régional de Développement de l'Occitan 2008-2013* (2008)
- *Reconnaître, valoriser, promouvoir l'occitan et le francoprovençal, langues régionales de Rhône-Alpes* (2009)
- *Ley de normalización lingüística en Cataluña* (1983)
- *Llei de Política Lingüística* (1998)
- *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* (2005).<sup>19</sup>

*Brezhoneg 2015* outlines an agenda of three objectives to be achieved through fifty-two actions. The objectives, according to Louarn, are:

1. Stop a decline in Breton speaker numbers
  2. Provide more outlets for Breton usage
  3. Improve the quality of Breton
- (Louarn 2004)

Objective one concerns mainly acquisition planning (helping people to acquire Breton) and objective two concerns an increase in outlets for Breton usage from use in the workplace to use in sport and other cultural events of which the overriding aim is to make the Brittany residents aware that they live in a Breton community. Meanwhile, the final section aims to improve contact between native Breton speakers and non-natives through making residents aware of cultural events like walks and concerts. It also hopes that Breton speakers will help to teach Breton. Above all, the plan wants more courses to help improve the standard of Breton used at present by the media and in the workplace.

*Le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne* is in six sections and is a

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<sup>19</sup> These language plans are introduced in sections 2.3.1 to 2.3.4.

condensed version of *Brezhoneg 2015*. The first three sections specify the language planning aims, which are the transmission of Breton, the encouragement of Breton usage and an increase in the cultural production of Breton. The final three sections cover methodology (Le Drian 2004).

The *Schéma Régional de Développement de l'Occitan 2008-2013* intends to encourage French-Occitan bilingualism. *Le Conseil Régional Midi-Pyrénées* wants an increase in the number of Occitan speakers and a better standard of Occitan. The *Schéma* is structured in two parts. The first part describes the political structures that the *Conseil* hopes to put in place while part two focuses on language domains, which are education, media, language diffusion, cultural awareness and research (Creo 2008).

The report *Reconnaître, valoriser, promouvoir l'occitan et le francoprovençal, langues régionales de Rhône-Alpes* [Recognise, evaluate, promote Occitan and Francoprovençal, regional languages of the Rhône-Alpes] is a pilot study into the state of these languages in the specified region. The study is an evaluation and an outline of aims. The aims cover family transmission, education, research, publicity, media, the health sector and tourism (Bert & Costa 2009).

The *Ley de normalización lingüística en Cataluña* concentrates on three areas: language use in administration, education and the media (Leprêtre 1992). The *Llei de Política Lingüística* is an extended version of the *ley*. Essentially it is the same as the *ley* but with some amendments, of which the most notable is quotas for the use of Catalan in the media (Gencat 2007).

The *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* has seven categories that cover three objectives. The objectives are:

1. Linguistic rights
2. New Technologies
3. The Implementation of a working body  
(Xunta de Galicia 2005)

The seven categories are:

1. Administration
2. Education, Family and Adolescence
3. Media and Culture
4. Economy

5. Health
6. Society
7. Protection of the language abroad  
(Xunta de Galicia 2005)

In my analysis of these plans, I shall apply Fishman's (1980) schema of five stages for language planning (see section 1.2).

### **3.2.1 Fishman's stages 1-3: 'decision, elaboration and allocation of resources'**

The 'decision' to allocate resources to improve the status of Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician is a strong aspect of all the language plans, in that they all clearly specify their goals and targets. The fact that there are these plans is in itself a statement of intent. To pinpoint examples, all the plans mention education requirements. In the Breton and Occitan language plans, targets are specified concerning the provision of schools that provide shared teaching through liaison with the regional councils, the *collectivités territoriales* and the French state. Meanwhile, the Catalan and Galician plans state the role of the *Generalitat* and *Xunta* respectively to facilitate Catalan and Galician language planning.

The weakest area of the language plans is the 'elaboration' of specific details that define a clear methodology. There are few guidelines as to how a policy is to be implemented, such as budget constraint, exact timelines and specifications on the stages of policy implementation. Consequently, the plans appear speculative and descriptive rather than prescriptive. The true intention of the authors of a plan is revealed in what is not written down as much as in what is written down (see Tollefson 1991), of which the 1980s Constitution for the Philippines is an illustration. The example from the Philippines rarely mentions language rights and when they are mentioned it is in such a way that clearly promotes one language above another – in this instance English (Tollefson 1991: 157-8).

The language plans under discussion in this dissertation do not have the same problem as the constitution of the Philippines, as they are all plans designed to promote their respective languages. Nevertheless, Tollefson's argument about the wording of plans can be readily applied. As far as the Breton and Occitan language plans are concerned, they are constrained by the resources that are available to them, which, in my opinion, is why there is little mention of budgets. *Le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne* does not mention any budgets but states the following:



*Le Conseil régional de Bretagne recherchera la mobilisation des fonds européens pour le soutien à sa politique linguistique.*

The Brittany Regional Council will seek European funding to support its linguistic policy. (Le Drian 2004)

This statement coupled with the problems that the *collectivités territoriales* have with the receipt of funds from the French state illustrates the difficulty in ‘allocating’ sufficient resources. ‘Elaboration’, in this instance, is linked to stage three of Fishman’s (1980) language planning stages: ‘allocation of resources’. It is this aspect of the Breton language planning that concerns the linguist Giordan (Rivaillain 2005), and it is true of the Occitan language planning as well. The *Schéma* and Rhône-Alpes study do not mention specific budget allocations, but the *Schéma* states the budget for the Midi-Pyrénées has increased. Both the *Schéma* and *Brezhoneg 2015* constantly specify that the relevant regional council will facilitate the necessary requirements.

A stronger aspect of the ‘elaboration’ of the Breton and Occitan language plans is that agents are listed to oversee various sections of the language planning. Overall, the regional councils are named as the chief facilitators but *Brezhoneg 2015* mentions various bodies and organisations, such as the Breton Language Office and parent groups. The plans on the whole are descriptive though with statements of intent rather than clear instructions for the realisation of the specified targets. The Occitan plan, for example, states as an objective:

*Augmentation du nombre de nouveaux sites bilingues publics ouvrant chaque année.*

Increase in the number of new state-run bilingual sites opening each year. (Creo 2008)

There is no mention in the above objective of exactly how this is to be achieved, which is the same for the *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega*. To refer back to Silva Valdivia (2007), his concern about a clear and functional methodology to oversee non-university education is an indictment on the Galician language plan as a whole. Meanwhile, specifications in the Galician language plan in relation to corpus planning are statements of intent rather than precise methods, according to Galanes Santos (2005):

*Máis un obxectivo ca unha medida e para acometer ese obxectivo cómpre, entre outras cousas, formar o persoal que elabora os recursos, coordinar a actuación entre Termigal e outros produtores de terminoloxía creando unha rede de unidades lingüísticas en todos os ámbitos de actuación e*

*promocionar a constitución de equipos de investigación aplicada estábeis, tal como acontece noutras administracións.*

[It is] more an objective than a method and to implement that objective, among other things, [they should] specify the personnel who can provide the resources, coordinate activities between Termigal [Terminology department] and others involved with terminology creating a network of linguistic unities in all areas of activity and to establish permanent investigative teams, such as occurs in our administration. (Galanes Santos 2005: 50)

A general criticism of Galician language planning is that it lacks a clear ‘elaboration’ of procedures and specifications on the ‘allocation of resources’. The academic Lorenzo Suárez, a member of the *Servicio de Normalización Lingüística* at Vigo University and now the General Secretary for Galician Linguistic Policy, shares his views on the plan in extract 3.5:

#### Extract 3.5

*Gi. Me parece un avance cualitativo y cuantitativo que tengamos un plan para la promoción del gallego, aprobado por unanimidad en el Parlamento. Ese Plan no es, sin embargo, del gusto de todos los sectores sociales favorables al gallego: algunas opinan que el plan llega tarde y que es insuficiente. En todo caso, lo que sí es cierto es el plan aprobado la semana pasada tiene, a mi juicio, dos ‘insuficiencias’: carece de presupuesto asignado, y carece de temporalización. Estas dos insuficientes son realmente importantes.*

I feel that it is a qualitative and quantitative advance that we have a plan to promote Galician, unanimously adopted by Parliament. This plan is not, however, to the taste of all pro-Galician supporters: some think that the plan is too late and insufficient. Anyway, what is true is that the plan adopted last week has, in my opinion, two ‘insufficiencies’: it lacks an assigned budget, and it lacks a timescale. These two insufficiencies are really important.

The criticism in the above extract that some sectors of Galician society consider the plan insufficient is supported by Regueira Fernández (Regueira Fernández 2006: 70).

The Catalan *Llei de Política Lingüística* leads one to suspect that the intention of language plans is to provide a statement of objectives rather than a detailed explanation of methods. This is certainly an area that the Breton, Occitan, Galician and Catalan plans have in common. Here are some examples of objectives with no ‘elaboration’ of methodologies in the *Llei de Política Lingüística*:

#### Article 21

- 3. L'ensenyament del català i del castellà ha de tenir garantida una presència adequada en els plans d'estudi, de manera que tots els infants, qualsevol que sigui llur llengua habitual en iniciar l'ensenyament, han de poder utilitzar normalment i correctament les dues llengües oficials al final de l'educació obligatòria.*

3. The teaching of Catalan and Castilian shall be guaranteed in the curricula, so that all children, whatever their usual language may be when starting their education, can normally and correctly use both official languages by the end of their compulsory education.

#### Article 26

1. *Sens perjudici de l'aplicació de la Llei 8/1996, del 5 de juliol, de regulació de la programació audiovisual distribuïda per cable, les entitats a què fa referència la Llei esmentada han de garantir que com a mínim el cinquanta per cent del temps d'emissió de programes de producció pròpia de qualsevol mena i dels altres teleserveis que ofereixin sigui en llengua catalana.*
2. Without detriment to the application of Act No. 8 of 5th July 1996, concerning regulations of audio-visual programming provided by cable, the organisations referred to in the aforementioned Act shall guarantee that at least fifty per cent of viewing time of all kinds of programmes produced by themselves and other tele-services are provided in the Catalan language. (Gencat 2007)

The above language plan polarised opinions at a political level, because to right-wing sectors of society, statements such as, '*El català és la llengua pròpia de Catalunya i la singularitza com a poble*' [Catalan is Catalonia's own language and distinguishes it as a people] marginalised Castilian. On the other hand, statements, such as the one below, were felt by pro-Catalan supporters to promote bilingualism that would favour Castilian:

*A Catalunya tothom té dret a {...} expressar-se en qualsevol de les dues llengües oficials, oralment i per escrit, en les relacions i els actes públics i privats.*

Everyone in Catalonia is entitled {...} to express themselves in either of the two official languages, verbally or in writing, in their relations as well as in private and public procedures.

Criticism of the *Llei de Política Lingüística* is that it does not substantially elaborate upon the *Ley de normalización lingüística en Cataluña* (see Mar-Molinero 2000, Atkinson 1999b, Strubell 1999 and Yates 1999), and is consequently a compromised document. The key differences between the *lleis* and the *Ley* are extra clarification on the use of the term *llengua pròpia* and a change of emphasis from a normalisation programme to linguistic policy.

#### **3.2.2 Fishman's stages 4-5: 'evaluation and post-evaluation'**

The 'evaluation' and post-evaluation' stages of language planning, like stage one (the 'decision' to allocate resources) are stronger sections of the language plans under discussion. *Le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne* mentions that a working

group will be charged with the task to evaluate linguistic policy. Also, in a section marked ‘evaluation’, the plan states that there will be *une évaluation annuelle* [yearly evaluation] (Le Drian 2004). Both *Brezhoneg 2015* and the *Schéma Régional de Développement de l’Occitan 2008-2013* detail specific dates in their titles that serve as evaluation points. The *Schéma*, in reference to education, plans to draft, in 2010, an account of progress (Creo 2008). The Rhône-Alpes study states that they foresee their project as a twenty to twenty-five year scheme (Bert & Costa 2009).

As far as Galician is concerned, the *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* has incorporated the use of the word evaluation [*avaliación*] in its methodologies. As part of the process of evaluation, the *Xunta*, through pressure from Madrid and the *manifiesto por una lingua común*, has changed its direction on education policy to one that focuses on plurilingualism, as I mentioned in section 2.3.4. This change in the direction of education policy has angered some Galician language activists who believe the policy to be ‘detrimental’ to Galician (Nationalia 2010). Implicit in the conflict over linguistic policy is whether protectionist policy in the form of the shared teaching model has ceded to a model that promotes linguistic convergence towards Castilian.

Conflict over protectionist policy also applies to Catalan. Catalan has had the most ‘evaluations’, which means it has had ‘post-evaluations’ as well as ‘evaluations’. The *lleis* is itself an ‘evaluation’ of the normalisation law, and since the *lleis* other ‘evaluations’ have also taken place. The most contentious document is the 2006 Catalan Statute of Autonomy. The following article has been rejected by the Constitutional Court of Spain as unconstitutional:

#### Article 6

1. Catalonia's own language is Catalan. As such, Catalan is the language of normal and preferential use in Public Administration bodies and in the public media of Catalonia, and is also the language of normal use for teaching and learning in the education system. (*Estatut d’Autonomia de Catalunya*, cited in Gencat 2008c)

The political debate over the statute raises the same concerns as those over the *lleis*. The emphasis on Catalonia and Catalan in article 6.1 threatens the unity of Spain, according to the Spanish right, and is contrary to the Spanish Constitution that stipulates that Castilian is the official language of Spain (Brunet & Calvet 2010a&b). However, ERC member Antonio (*Ci*) criticises the restrictions the Spanish Constitution imposes

on Catalan. In his support for an independent Catalonia, Antonio believes that Catalan benefits if it is not under Spanish jurisdiction:

Extract 3.6

CD *¿Piensa Vd. que una Cataluña independiente es importante con respecto al catalán?*

Do you think that Catalan independence is important as far as Catalan is concerned?

*Ci. Evidentemente, yo soy militante de un partido independentista. Creo que la independencia (o la interdependencia libremente escogida, como la del resto de pueblos libres de nuestro planeta) tendría unos efectos beneficiosos para la sociedad catalana en general. En el tema de la lengua, la independencia podría ser especialmente beneficiosa, ya que eliminaría de golpe toda la legislación que beneficia el castellano i discrimina al catalán, comenzando por la Constitución española, que establece la obligatoriedad de conocer el castellano, mientras que el catalán ni siquiera es mencionado.*

Definitely, I am a militant from a party that favours independence. I believe that independence (or liberally chosen interdependence, as is the case in the rest of the free societies on our planet) would have beneficial effects for Catalan society in general. On the subject of language, independence would be especially beneficial, since it would eliminate at a stroke all legislation that benefits Castilian and discriminates against Catalan, starting with the Spanish Constitution that establishes the obligation to know Castilian, whilst Catalan is not even mentioned.

A Catalan specific post-evaluation that is constitutional is the *Pla d'acció de política lingüística 2005-2006 "El català, llengua europea del segle XXI"*; this plan has identified target areas as part of an 'evaluation' process into the state of Catalan (Secretaria de Política Lingüística 2005). This action plan refers to campaigns that target key demographics – young adults and immigrants. The respective campaigns are *Dóna Corda al Català* and *Programa d'acollida i capacitació lingüística de la població adulta nouvinguda a Catalunya*. The nature of these campaigns is primarily to promote Catalan in these sectors of society but also to provide facilities to enable Catalan to be used – organisations for the young and courses for immigrants. Among other initiatives are the unification of Catalan organisations; the provision of online courses; an increase in films dubbed into Catalan and the provision of more labeling in Catalan (Secretaria de Política Lingüística 2005).

As far as the evaluation of Breton is concerned, there is the *Bilan de la Politique Linguistique de la Région Bretagne* [Account of Language Policy in Brittany] – dated from 2007 (Le Drian 2008), which is more detailed than the initial Breton language plan. Budgets are mentioned and the account references areas of improvement, such as

an increase in the number of students in strong bilingual Breton-French classes. However, unlike the Catalan ‘evaluations’, the *Bilan* is largely retrospective – an account of what has happened – rather than prospective – the identification of future developments. An area targeted for further improvements is teacher training, where concerns are expressed in the ‘evaluation’ of a lack of prospective teachers and a poor standard in the level of Breton used by prospective candidates. An improvement in the quality of translations of official documents into Breton and more publicity are other areas that have been targeted.

An area of note in the Breton and Catalan evaluations is that they are more detailed in their observations than the initial language plans. A reason for this is that the ‘evaluation’ process can identify areas of success and areas for improvement, whereas a language plan, especially an initial language plan, will be speculative. The success of a language plan is apparent, therefore, in the ‘evaluation’ stages. This means that an initial analysis of a language plan is difficult.

### **3.3 European policy**

So far I have discussed national policy, but another factor as far as non-state languages are concerned is European policy. EU legislation, however, either ignores non-state languages or is dependent upon the co-operation of the states concerned. Faingold (2007) is critical of EU language legislation, in particular the 2004 EU Constitution because in article after article it refers to official languages but not to languages like Catalan and Breton. He has coined (Faingold 2004) a list of twenty-four types of constitution that range from no codified provisions for any language into various arrangements that incorporate some language provision or a complete set of provisions for all languages spoken in that territory. The EU Constitution, according to Faingold (2007: 29 & 2004: 17), is a ‘type 16 constitution’. The ‘type 16 constitution’ designates one or more official languages but only establishes language provisions for these official languages, although there is recognition of the linguistic rights of all citizens. Faingold believes the EU should function on a type 12 basis. The ‘type 12 constitution’ designates official languages and establishes language provisions for all languages whether majority or minority, of which examples cited include India, Estonia and South Africa (Faingold 2007: 33 & 2004: 16). France is a ‘type 7 constitution’ and Spain a ‘type 15 constitution’ according to Faingold’s schema (2004: 15 & 17). The ‘type 7 constitution’ designates official languages but does not establish language

provisions to protect the linguistic rights of individuals or groups. The ‘type 15 constitution’ establishes language provisions for its official languages but not for other languages.

### **3.3.1 National policy versus supra-national policy**

The role of the state has affected the level of support at a European level that is available to the languages in France and Spain. The fact that Catalan, Galician and Basque have co-official status in their respective autonomous regions means that citizens from these areas can address various European bodies - the Committee of the Regions, the Council of the European Union, the Commission, the Economic and Social Committee, the European Parliament and the European Ombudsman (Mercator 2006b) – in the language concerned instead of Castilian. Additionally Spain, but not France, signed and ratified its signature of the *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages* – a charter with aims to define a minoritised or regional language, ensure the acceptance of the language by the member state, provide education at all levels and provisions for language use in all areas, apply the charter, and oversee final provisions (Council of Europe 1992). The benefit of EU directives for the languages in Spain is that there is an extra layer of protection, such as the opportunity to address politicians in the minoritised language and – starting in 2010 – funding towards language courses in Basque, Catalan and Galician for Erasmus students (Hicks 2009). Nevertheless, Catalan, Galician and Basque are still overlooked in legislation such as the EU Constitution<sup>20</sup>.

### **3.3.2 European funding**

Assistance from Europe is finely tuned to assistance from the state. The problem at a European level is the accommodation of a large number of languages. Grin (2004) proposes a distinction between seven systems that might be used to accommodate languages within the European Union. All of these pose technical difficulties as well as advantages:

1. Monarchic<sup>21</sup>: one language used in all communications, English?
2. Synarchic: one neutral language used, Esperanto?
3. Oligarchic: three languages used, English, German and French?
4. Panarchic: translations between all official languages.
5. Hegemonic: translations to and from one bridge language, English?

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<sup>20</sup> See section 6.2.2. for further discussion on EU assistance and the thoughts from within the affected speech communities on the role of the EU and the state for minoritised languages.

<sup>21</sup> This is not the same as the monarchic regime to which I refer in section 2.2.

6. Technocratic: translations to and from one neutral bridge language, Esperanto?
7. Triple: translations to and between three bridge languages. (Grin 2004: 4).

The systems cited above all have different technical difficulties. The one currently in use is the Panarchic system. There are twenty-three official languages, which necessitate translators for 506 translating combinations. The difficulties, therefore, are the financing of the translations and the time needed to provide all the requisite translations. Grin calculated the financial cost of the Panarchic system, prior to the addition of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU, on the basis of the EU's translating budget for 2000: a budget of €685.9 million per annum against €2,818.9 million per annum that would be needed to finance 420 combinations (Grin 2004). To make up the deficit the money would have to come from the public, and the estimated figure here is €5.79 per person per annum. A figure of slightly less than six euros per year may not seem too much to pay to ensure that all the official languages can be used in any context within the EU. However, if all the minoritised languages were incorporated, the number of translating combinations would dramatically increase and the costs would increase. The extra amount of time needed to produce all the translations would also need to be considered.

The strain on financial and time resources that the addition of minoritised languages would impose on the Panarchic system tell against it. Other possibilities to the Panarchic system cited by Grin are no less problematic. Of the remaining six systems, three would theoretically be cheaper and quicker, but they would certainly not appease pro-minoritised language speakers. The Monarchic, Synarchic and Oligarchic systems all demand that a limited number of languages are used for EU oral and written correspondence. The time and costs, in Grin's opinion, saved in translating could be lost in the necessary resources needed by non-native speakers to learn the chosen languages. There would also be no accommodation of minoritised languages and, in the case of the Monarchic and Oligarchic systems, potential conflict between native and non-native speakers.

The three remaining systems offer a possible compromise between the expensive Panarchic and the un-egalitarian selective language systems. If the Hegemonic, Technocratic or Triple system were used, there would either be two translations (minoritised language to bridge language and bridge language to the other



official languages) or three translations (minoritised language to state language, state language to bridge language and bridge language to the other official languages).

As far as Grin is concerned, while he stresses that there is no ideal solution to the linguistic situation within the EU, he is inclined towards an adoption of the Synarchic or Technocratic system because of their use of a neutral language (Grin 2004). The Synarchic, which requires everyone to use Esperanto or another neutral language, has the advantage that it can be used in everyday contexts as well as formal contexts, as no translations would be required. However, it does not solve the problem of speakers being able to use a language of their own choice. In particular, it would not change circumstances for minoritised language speakers. It may well be that the bridge language systems could be the way forward, because they would be cheaper and quicker than the Panarchic system but still accommodate the use of any language.

### **3.4 Conclusions**

The discussion in this chapter leads me to conclude that, as far as the potential to allocate resources is concerned, the system of autonomies in Spain benefits minoritised language planning more greatly than the regime in France. Additionally, the fact that Catalan and Galician are official in their autonomous communities means that they can benefit from European policy, which is not available to the languages of France.

Language plans are not wholly dependent on regime. First of all, all the language plans, regardless of regime and authorship, contain similar strengths and weaknesses. However, the biggest factor that impinges on the success of language plans is dialogue between the top – those responsible for language planning – and the bottom – the general public. A regime must be fully aware of the needs of all members of its community; and that goes beyond decentralisation, since Catalonia and Galicia are completely decentralised but have concerns over the acceptance of language policy.

The overall conclusion from this chapter is that state regime does not directly impact upon successful language plans but that state regime can impinge to an extent upon successful implementation. The key issue is to identify the concerns from within the community. In Catalonia, the ‘evaluation’ process has identified areas of the populace that are at odds with Catalan normalisation. The rest of this dissertation is in tune with the Catalan ‘evaluation’ process, since I also identify the views from within the speech communities. These views will help to address the concerns of native minoritised language speakers, non-native minoritised language speakers and non-

minoritised language speakers, so that language planning can be re-addressed with these views in mind.

## **Chapter 4. Minoritised languages in practices and discourses: an overview**

### **4.0 Introduction**

While the aim of chapter 3 was language policy and language ideology in twenty-first century France and Spain from the point of view of the policy makers, the aim of this chapter is to explore the grassroots position. After a methodology section, I shall discuss the practices (views on minoritised language resources) and the discourses (ideologies) of a preliminary set of informants (as detailed in 4.1.3). The section on practices focuses on the availability of minoritised language acquisition programmes and media provisions. The section on discourses highlights differences between France and Spain: cultural ideology on the one hand and political ideology on the other. All the respondents that inform this chapter, except for one, answered questions on childhood use of minoritised languages, current use, and views on language policy. The exception is one of the Galician respondents, a member of a Galician militant group, who was asked a question about Galician language policy, to which he provided a long and animated reply (see 4.1.2.1 on the purpose and style of the questionnaires).

### **4.1 Methodology**

A variety of approaches have been used by sociolinguists to collect primary data of which a common feature is fieldwork. Fieldwork methods can range from the distribution of questionnaires to immersion that incorporates living with the people in the community, listening to them and talking to them informally and in interviews. Interviews could be stylised with a schedule of questions adapted according to the development of the interview – semi-structured – or a free-flowing conversation with no fixed pattern of questions – unstructured. Analytical tests can also form a part of fieldwork, such as guise-matched tests – informants hear a text read in a given language by both a native speaker and a non-native speaker to determine ethno-linguistic attitudes. These methodologies have been used in sociolinguistic studies that include Atkinson (1999a), Beswick (2007), Howard (2007), Jaffe (1999), McDonald (1989), O'Rourke (2003) and Woolard (1989).

Fieldwork is a standard method to collect sociolinguistic data, so it would be assumed that this approach would be applied to my research. However, there was a fundamental disadvantage for me of this methodology. Personal circumstances, a long-term illness, meant that the physical aspect of fieldwork was difficult. This was

especially true given the nature of my project to collect data from four different regions: Brittany, southern France, Catalonia and Galicia. Consequently, I explored an alternative route, so that the methodology could both provide an air of originality to my research and serve as an inspiration to other prospective academics who are over-daunted by personal handicaps. This alternative methodology is the use of email and the Internet to obtain data. Obviously, as with all methodologies, there are disadvantages, but the advantages outweigh the disadvantages as far as this project is concerned.

#### **4.1.1 *Online data retrieval: advantages***

The overriding advantage, from a personal perspective, of online data retrieval is, as stated in the previous section, a reduction in physical expenditure. It is possible to travel virtually to another place through the aid of a computer and a modem. As a consequence, fatigue-inducing obstacles are removed, such as travel, day-to-day living concerns in another place, the arrangement of accommodation, the negotiation of interviews and the interview process itself. Considerable savings can be made on time and expense, and your carbon footprint is minimised. The speed, the ability to cover distance instantaneously and a reduction in financial outlay are the principal advantages cited in research literature. To quote Gillham (2005: 112), there is ‘instant communication access worldwide’ and online technology is ‘extremely economical on time’. Mann and Stewart (2003: 85) emphasise the ‘lower cost of Internet research in relation to other modes’ and that complications concerning interview venues and their access can be overcome. Markham states the following:

Because the Internet is geographically dispersed, the researcher has the option to disregard location and distance to communicate instantaneously and inexpensively with people. Logistically, the distance-collapsing capacity of the Internet allows the researcher to connect to participants around the globe. The researcher can include people previously unavailable for study. This not only increases the pool of participants but also provides the potential for cross-cultural comparisons that were not readily available previously for practical and financial reasons. In a world where potential participants are only a keyboard click and fibre optic or wireless connection away, distance become[s] almost meaningless as a pragmatic consideration in research design; the Internet serves as an extension of the researcher’s and participant’s bodies. Research can be designed around questions of interaction and social behaviour unbound from the restrictions of proximity or geography. Participants can be selected on the basis of their appropriate fit within the research questions rather than their physical location or convenience to the researcher. (Markham 2005: 801)

Other advantages of online data retrieval are the lack of transcripts, anonymity and linguistic savings. To comment on the last of these advantages, I would have been obliged to attend intensive language courses on Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician or used the services of an interpreter under the fieldwork approach<sup>22</sup>. The ability to network at speed via email means that contacts can easily be used to help with translations, so that time and energy costs are reduced, and the inconvenience of the presence of a third party during the interview process is removed. These translators were informants who also acted as intermediaries between me and other informants.

#### **4.1.1.1 *Disadvantages of online data retrieval***

It cannot be overlooked that there are flaws inherent in online data retrieval. I found that as much as anonymity helped to create a more objective approach – no clouding of judgement due to close involvement with the participants and their environment – it also created a barrier. I had not earned the right of in-group membership, which had an effect on response rates. In addition, respondents that did reply used the cover of anonymity so that I did not always obtain a complete breakdown of personal details.

Sampling is cited as a major obstacle of Internet research by Mann and Stewart (2003: 83), because the medium of the Internet is unrepresentative of the world as a whole. To overcome the fact that not everyone has access to or the ability to use the Internet, contacts were used in this project to transcribe responses<sup>23</sup>. This leads to the problem of a reliance on trust of others to do work. There is then the problem of a wait-and-see approach to discover if contacts respond and that delegates are able to fulfil their roles.

Another problem is the use of the written word and the tendency to be as brief as possible in a reply, which can lead to some limited data responses. The solution here is to negotiate as far as possible in more email correspondence for clarification and a more detailed explanation. The use of a series of written responses, though, can impede flow and impact on the rapport between interviewer and interviewee. Hodgkinson in Mann and Stewart (2003: 91) says the following on this subject:

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<sup>22</sup> See however, section 4.1.1.1, which shows that there are still linguistic problems involved with online data retrieval.

<sup>23</sup> The contacts also helped me find respondents who did not have an agenda – protectionist towards minoritised languages. Biased sampling was another disadvantage of online data retrieval, which the contacts helped me to overcome.

Generating an atmosphere of rapport online can be a problem, and given the lack of tone or gesture and the length of time between exchanges it can lead to something of a formal, structured interview. This is in contrast to the spontaneous speeding up, slowing down, getting louder, getting quieter, getting excited, laughing together, spontaneous thoughts, irrelevant asides etc. etc. which I have experienced in off-line interviews. [...]

To help generate rapport the usefulness of the data collected along with the helpfulness of the respondents was emphasised in acknowledgment emails of thanks. This was part of an ethical consideration that sought to be as un-antagonistic as possible. Major ethical concerns were the control of non-response, the maintenance of privacy and the threat of anonymity. Moser and Kalton (1993: 170-86) mention various methods and procedures to control and limit non-response. Preventative methods include questionnaire design and sampling. Meanwhile, to overcome non-response a suggestion is to re-approach prospective respondents. Moser and Kalton (1993: 176) refer to re-calls, whereas for online research the method is to send an email reminder. The ethical implication is the number of reminders, the time delay between reminders and the tone of the reminders. I thought a maximum of two reminders per respondent with a minimum delay of two weeks and an emphasis on politeness was the best approach.

Privacy and anonymity could be overcome in similar ways. Homan writes the following on the subject of privacy:

If individuals are to control access to their own private domains they must know who are those who approach them and what is their purpose. This in turn requires that researchers declare their interests. So it is that the ethical principles of informed consent and openness rest upon the concept of privacy. Homan (1991: 42)

An open declaration of interests and an assurance of confidentiality provided a way to overcome an invasion of privacy and a guarantee that data would be treated with constraint by the researcher. This method was also used to dispel fears of a hidden agenda that might arise from the lack of face-to-face contact between the researcher and the respondent.

Finally, on the subject of the disadvantages of online data retrieval, linguistic factors proved a handicap. The use of a translator was fine for small documents but not so convenient for weightier items. This proved to be problematic in the questionnaire design. It influenced choice of language, as will be discussed in section 4.1.2.2.

#### 4.1.2 Questionnaire design

Before question schedules could be devised, methods and a breakdown of stages for data collection needed to be planned. One method is to construct questionnaires that incorporate the likert scale (Moser and Kalton 1993: 361-2), which involves the use of statements with which the respondent indicates their strength of agreement or disagreement on a scale usually from 1-5. This type of question is one of a variety of styles that can be termed as closed questions instead of open questions in which the respondent must supply the answers. The advantage of closed questions is the potential for a quick completion of questionnaires. These questions lend themselves to quantitative analysis of data in which we compare variables to reach statistical conclusions.

A problem of a reliance on quantitative analysis is that a researcher often does not have the resources to cover an adequate sample. According to Moser and Kalton, (1993: 174) sponsorship can influence the success of a survey as well as the general quality of design. As far as my research is concerned, organisations and academic institutions, such as *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* [Breton Language Office], *Institut d'études occitanes* [Institute for Occitan Studies], the *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* [Catalonian Institute for Statistics] and Galician Universities have the resources to target large and varied samples. Yet, the attraction of quantitative analysis is that it offers the possibility to explore patterns of behaviour.

Quantitative analysis is conducive to a fixed location that provides an adequate sample and in which the researcher is present. Institutions, such as educational establishments, can be of benefit in this regard. Atkinson (1999a) targeted Castilian-speaking learners of Catalan who were attending Catalan courses in Reus and Tarragona. He attended the courses himself, so that he had a fixed location to obtain a specific sample. O'Rourke (2003) used the English Philology department of A Coruña University as her fixed location. In both these instances, the researcher was present to distribute and oversee the research objective. This would be another disadvantage of online data retrieval. A possible solution, therefore, was to consider qualitative analysis so that there would be a representative sample that did not rely on number, and could overcome non-response as an outcome of the non-presence of the researcher.

Qualitative analysis on its own would not lend itself so easily to statistical analysis that could unearth patterns of behaviour, so I had originally decided to use two questionnaires to conduct quantitative and qualitative analysis. Qualitative analysis would help to overcome sampling problems, provide a more varied distribution, and allow an exploration of the narrative aspect of language behaviour. I could have used one questionnaire to collect data, and apply both types of analysis to the responses; but the extra questionnaire would allow for a greater variety of data.

The application of quantitative and qualitative analysis is a common research methodology. A standard approach is to compare a set of data statistically with a set of data qualitatively so that the results triangulate at a point (see Patton 1980: 109-10 and Silverman 2005: 121-2), which is an effective method for a large body of data. I realised that I could not overcome sampling concerns to apply quantitative analysis, so I have instead applied qualitative analysis to all my data. I have obtained these data through three stages of questionnaires: exploratory questionnaires, questionnaires with university students, and follow-up questionnaires for students and questionnaires that cover a more varied sample.

The three stages incorporate what Moser and Kalton (1993: 47-8) advocate as pre-tests and pilot surveys. I decided to use a small series of exploratory questionnaires that consist of a mixture of closed and open questions. These questionnaires would help to formulate the basis of a design structure for the main questionnaires. In turn, the second questionnaire would help with the design of the third stage of questionnaires so that concerns could be addressed. The pilot survey would thus be combined within the first two stages to overcome sample and time issues.

#### ***4.1.2.1 Exploratory questionnaires***

The aim of the exploratory/preliminary questionnaires was to discover potential themes, which are outlined in section 4.0 (see copy of questionnaire in appendix B). The style of question is open – the respondent supplies the answer - , closed – the respondent supplies the answer but it is of a limited yes/no type – or closed – the respondent chooses answers from a list. The mixed style of questions was used to obtain information by the most efficient method. If an explanation was required then an open question seemed appropriate otherwise different styles were used.



The choice of language in all correspondence was, as with all linguistic enquiries, problematic. As a student with limited research experience, I have not yet reached a level of competence in any of the minoritised languages to be able to communicate effectively. This was not a problem for some speakers of these languages, who were content to share their views in any language. French or Spanish was, thus, an acceptable language medium. In fact, my English background meant that to use any other language was accepted as a positive. However, I recognised that for true in-group acceptance the relevant minoritised language needed to be used with some minoritised language speakers (see section 4.1.1.1 for problems of in-group acceptance). This was an aspect that was addressed as the research process developed. The preliminary questionnaires all use either French or Spanish.

The register of language depended on the individual concerned, and was informed by such factors as age of respondent and the choice of register by the respondent during initial contact. Consequently, the formal register that involves the translation *vous/usted* for the second person subject pronoun was used in some correspondence while the informal form *tu/tú* was selected for other correspondence. This is reflected in the preliminary questionnaires, so that the formal register is used in some and the informal register is preferred in other questionnaires. The questionnaires in the main survey are an exception to this pragmatic and flexible use of language register. To maintain a standard version for all respondents the formal register was the preferred option.

#### **4.1.2.2 Student questionnaires**

The style of questions, which can be seen in the copy of the questionnaire in appendix B, is a mixture of multiple choice questions, likert scale questions and options selected from lists in order to aid speed of response and provide control over the choice of themes. The choice of topics for the questions was primarily influenced by my preliminary findings and the behavioural trends I wished to observe. My aim was to chart the chronological development of language use and attitudes of the respondents, so the questionnaires consist of three chronological sections covering the past, present and future. The purpose of the first section was to discover if the respondents' language use has changed over time – increase or decrease in use of minoritised language -, the acquisition model in place for the provision of minoritised language education, reasons for using the minoritised language and use of the minoritised language during

childhood. The second section concentrates on current use and access to the minoritised language. In addition, in line with the overall framework of this dissertation of a comparison of language policy and language ideology, this section explores the respondents' knowledge of the roles of language planners and feelings about the relationship between the minoritised language and the state language. Meanwhile, the final section explores the respondents' views on the future relationship between the minoritised language and the state language and possible future use of minoritised language.

In designing the questionnaire I was also guided by the research methods literature, of which Atkinson's (1999a) questionnaires had a large influence. The purpose of Atkinson's questionnaires was to observe ethno-linguistic vitality and linguistic awareness among non-native Catalan speakers in Catalonia, whereas I would observe native speakers' behaviour as well as non-native speaker behaviour. In addition, I would not only be interested in the views from one region. However, Atkinson's themes were ones that could be readily applied to the current survey and the question style was attractive. Other influences were as follows:

- A sociolinguistic survey (*Estudio Sociolingüístico da Universidade de Vigo*) on language use and awareness of the *Servicio de Normalización Lingüística* (department that oversees the use and transmission of Galician within the university) by staff and students at Vigo University (Lorenzo Suárez *et al* 1996)
- A list of definitions on the perceived roles of Occitan and French by Maurand (1981 in Laroussi and Marcellesi 1993: 103)

The problems encountered in the design of this questionnaire were the bracketing of categories, the wording of apparently similar questions, and, as already stated, language choice. Atkinson (1999a), in order to discover ethno-linguistic behaviour, had split the Catalan population along linguistic lines: Catalan speakers and Castilian speakers. This was viable considering that Atkinson's informants were native Castilian speakers who were learning Catalan. However, while there are significant pockets of non-Catalan speakers, there is no clear demarcation amongst the Catalan population as a whole. Similarly, there is no clear demarcation amongst the Galician, Breton and Occitan communities. I decided, though, in spite of these difficulties, to keep the linguistic split to see if there were differences along the lines of them versus others. The feedback indicated that the split had caused some confusion, especially

among the Breton and Occitan speakers, who said everyone was a French speaker within their communities. Nevertheless, some ethno-linguistic differences were apparent through the use of this question bracketing. The bracketing was also a problem for questions that grouped items according to a class. An example of this scenario was a question that wished to know the use in public institutions of the minoritised language in comparison with the state language. I provided examples of the public places in which I was interested, but some of the respondents to the questionnaire on Catalan said that there ought to have been separate categories for hospitals, banks and other places because there was no uniform difference.

There was some concern expressed in the feedback to my questionnaire that there was a repetition of questions. I tried to subtly alter the wordings of some questions to evaluate a different point. One example concerned prestige ratings of language and the speakers of the relevant languages. I can discern no clear conclusions as to whether the respondents understood the differences; but, as an area of concern, the wording of questions was an area I developed as the research process progressed.

The linguistic problem was that as the questionnaire was quite long it raised translation difficulties. To overcome these difficulties all the questions in the student questionnaire were in the state language. A short questionnaire would have had the advantage of two versions embedded within the one document. An on-site presence would have had the advantage of an easy distribution of two versions of a questionnaire. Hindsight suggests that a shorter questionnaire was a better option, but I collected some good data as a result of the questions in the longer version.

#### ***4.1.2.3 The final stage and ethical considerations***

The final stage consists of follow-up questionnaires to the responses from stage two to clarify data and a series of open questions intended for a more varied sample. Similar to stage two the stage three questionnaires comply with the framework for this dissertation, but the structure of the questions allows freedom for the respondents to provide their own narrative, which aids qualitative analysis. Also, I was able to establish a greater rapport with the respondents during stage three because of the nature of the narrative structure of the questions. The questions varied according to the background of the respondent, but the following is a sample of the kind of questions that I posed:

1. What is your first language?
2. Can you describe a typical situation where you use Breton, Occitan, Catalan, Galician (the people with whom you speak the language, the places...)?
3. Has your use of Breton... changed since you first started using it (you speak it with other people and in other places)?
4. Do you think the state of Breton... has changed since you were a child (more or fewer people speaking the language, different groups of people speaking the language, more or fewer courses in the language, more or fewer programmes on the television or on the radio...)?
5. Do you consider there to be any problems with comprehension when you speak Breton... with other people (problems with dialects, for example)?
6. In your opinion, who are the people that speak Breton...?
7. Do you think that Breton... and French/Spanish have different functions?
8. Do you think it is necessary to make changes to the Breton... situation? Why or why not? How or how not?
9. Do you think the Breton... situation will change? Why or why not?
10. In your opinion, who is responsible for Breton... language planning?

Key differences were that, to identify the different status of Catalan and Galician from the languages of France, I asked for a description of the good and bad points of the current linguistic positions of the languages of Spain. The Galician and Breton questionnaires also enquire into the awareness of their twenty-first century language plans: the *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega*, *Le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne* and *Brezhoneg 2015*. The aim of these questions was to discover if the respondents had heard of these plans and what their views were if they were aware. The common factor of all the questionnaires is that they all highlight language planning awareness and opinions as well as language behaviour and ideology. These questionnaires had the advantage of a shorter length, so the issue of language choice could be addressed. I found people to translate questions from Spanish into Catalan and

Galician, as it was within these communities where language choice proved to be most contentious.

The stage two questionnaires incorporated assurances of confidentiality on the first and last pages, as part of the ethical considerations mentioned in the disadvantages of online data retrieval (section 4.1.1.1). This was also important, as there was a section for personal details – name, gender, age, place of birth, place of residence, parents’ occupations, university programme and initial year of registration – to assist possible further enquiries. A section for feedback at the end of these questionnaires was to cover any concerns felt by the respondent, and I signed my university’s ethics policy. Meanwhile, I openly declared my interests in correspondence during stages one and three. This proved to be of extreme importance in liaisons with an intermediary, as at times, as a consequence of no face-to-face contact, there were assumptions about my identity based on nationality. Identity concerns were an issue with some Catalan speakers who thought I had an imperialist motivated agenda, so reassurances about the purpose of the questionnaires were essential. I also decided to avoid Internet chat-rooms in order to maintain confidentiality.

#### **4.1.3 *The samples: exploratory sample***

I found the majority of respondents that formed the exploratory sample through contact with universities in the affected speech communities. I also contacted regional political parties, Catalan exchange students at my own university – Newcastle University – and members of the organisation UACES – University Association for Contemporary European Studies. My principal objective was to establish facts and themes, so I was not unduly concerned about variable controls. The essential requirement, with the exceptions of the Breton technical advisor (*Bi*) and the Galician lecturer (*Gi*)<sup>24</sup>, was that all respondents spoke at least some words of the relevant minoritised language. However, I did aim to find some variation and contrast, which can be seen in appendix A.

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<sup>24</sup> I used these respondents to ask about specifics concerning language policy rather than their experiences of language use. These responses are incorporated within chapter 3, which concerns language policy.

The variants are first language<sup>25</sup> – indicated as L1 -, age and gender. To clarify, not all the respondents specified their exact location, but approximate locations were known. All of these responses, except for the data supplied by the Breton technical advisor, the Catalan politician and the Galician lecturer, form the basis of this chapter.

#### **4.1.3.1 Stage two and three samples**

I had originally intended to conduct a survey that would provide a sufficient sample to apply quantitative analysis, so I decided on universities as this would provide fixed locations and a demographic where I could explore possible future trends of language behaviour. Age was consequently the key variable for stage two, in which all the respondents are aged between eighteen and thirty. The other variables were gender and minoritised language background – minoritised language as a first language or a second language. The parents' language was a variable for the Breton and Occitan samples. A lecturer from Toulouse University recommended this variable as, particularly in the Occitan area, I would struggle to find sufficient numbers of level one minoritised language speakers within the target age group. It was also hoped that variables of place – rural/urban background – would also feature in these samples.

The head of the *Département de Langues Celtiques* at the *Université de Bretagne Occidentale* emailed a copy of the questionnaire to students within the department. A lecturer from the Occitan department at *Université Paul Valéry Montpellier*, who was also a secretary for FELCO (*Fédération des Enseignants de Langue et Culture d'Occ*, Federation for Occitan Language and Culture Teachers), emailed a copy of the questionnaire to students on her Internet list. A lecturer in Spanish philology at the *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela* emailed the questionnaire to her students, while a lecturer in Galician philology at the same university emailed me a list of students to contact. This approach produced a small number of responses, which suggests that more on-site input was necessary. This is apparent from the greater response from Catalonia. The head of the department for student advice at the *Universitat de Girona* printed and photocopied the questionnaire, and gave the questionnaire to heads of Catalan and Spanish philology departments at the university, who distributed and collected the sample to post to me. This method required more cooperation from the university, which is why it was not adopted by the other institutions. The choice of universities was dependent upon the policy of the institution

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<sup>25</sup> I have defined first language or mother tongue according to origin (first language heard), but it did provoke some confusion. See section 1.0 for definition of mother tongue.

concerned. Other universities in Catalonia had an unspecified no survey policy, which was why the Catalan sample was from Girona.

The small sample that I obtained from the stage two questionnaires influenced a change in methodology to purely qualitative analysis. My aim with stage three was to incorporate the views from different age groups, in line with other surveys - *Instituto Galego de Estatística* (2007), *Observatoire De La Langue Bretonne* (2002), Jaffe (1999), Howard (2007) and Beswick (2007) among others -, and obtain narrative data. I imitated Jaffe (1999) and Beswick (2007) in the organisation of the age demographics. They had three groups to correspond to three generations, and I decided upon the following groups to cover three generations from young adults through to grandparents: 18-30, 30-60, over 60. Unlike Jaffe and Beswick, I have not included children, because of time restrictions. Other background information, in line with official surveys, is gender, language details, place of origin, place of residence and occupation, to establish socio-economic trends. However, not all respondents would supply these details, so I have recorded available background information in a bibliographical list of cases to which I individually refer within this dissertation. The following chart groups the stage two and three respondents according to minoritised language, gender and age:

Age	Minoritised language									
	Breton		Occitan		Catalan			Galician		
	Male	Female	M	F	M	F	Unknown	M	F	Unknown
18-30	6	11	5	9	15	21	13	9	8	1
30-60	2	4	6	4	10	1	2	0	6	0
Over 60	2	6	10	5	7	2	0	0	5	0
Total	31		39		71			29		

Chart 4.1 Stage two and three data

To obtain the stage three data I emailed follow-up questionnaires to some of the university students – some of the respondents did not wish to reply to more questions - ; the students who replied gave copies of the stage three questions to their parents and friends ; a member of an Occitan group circulated copies of questions to people with whom she was acquainted ; some people replied to a circular email sent by me to the

group UACES and some responded via Internet language forums (some of these did not answer questionnaires but provided some information). Some people – Breton students, a member of *Partit Occitan* and a Galician language assistant from Oxford University – read the questions to over-sixty-year-olds and transcribed the answers. Catalan and Galician language assistants from Newcastle University gave copies of the questions to acquaintances in Catalonia and Galicia. Incorporated within the stage two and three data are extra responses to the exploratory questionnaire, as respondent *Bii* copied this questionnaire to some friends. I decided that the body of data was such that it would be more beneficial to the project to integrate it within the main survey.

#### **4.1.4 Validity and writing up data**

Fieldwork has the advantage that you can observe people's actions to see if these match their words, which is one way that validity of word can be measured. To overcome this obstacle I have verified where possible some of my respondents' answers. Another measure is to retain the exact wording of the respondents – in some places corrections and missing words are placed in square brackets, otherwise the wording including omission of punctuation is kept exact. The language used in all transcripts is that used by the respondent, so that if a reply was in English, the transcript is in English with no translation. Suggestions by Silverman (2005: 210-20) to check validity are the refutability principle (a denial of initial assumptions), the constant comparative method (continuous research to find other cases), comprehensive data treatment (a thorough analysis of data), deviant case analysis (the use of all data) and appropriate tabulations (the classification of themes). I have applied all of these suggestions to my research to some extent – constant comparison is restricted by time factors.

All of the above measures are combined with input from other surveys – large and small-scale. The aim is to be as transparent as possible, but this also means that the respondents' rights are protected. I have, therefore, used assumed names<sup>26</sup> combined with a letter code linked to the references in the appendix. I have separated the preliminary data from my main primary-source data through the use of two different code systems: Roman numerals for the preliminary data and Arabic numerals for the

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<sup>26</sup> I have retained the use of the Galician lecturer's (*Gi*) name, because he has published material in his own name.



other informants. In transcripts that include the questions, my initials CD are used to refer to me.

#### **4.1.5 Other data**

In addition to the use of online data retrieval for my questionnaires, this process served as a method to collect information via email enquiries and Internet websites, which proved invaluable for data about language policies. University lecturers, non-government organisations (NGOs), archive research centres and regional councilors greatly assisted the research process through replies to questions and/or the provision of links to websites.

#### **4.2 Views on language planning: acquisition planning**

The purpose of this section is to discover how the bottom-up experience of language acquisition planning conforms to the policies and structure described in the previous chapters of this work. I asked my preliminary correspondents the language that their primary and secondary school classes were taught in; where they learnt to read and write and what they think of the current state of minoritised language education for the particular language concerned. These points will then be elaborated upon in the main empirical study.

The points coming through from the questions on education showed that, in 2004 and 2005, minoritised language acquisition planning in Catalonia was the most advanced while there were strong negative views attached to minoritised language acquisition planning in France. All the replies from the Breton and Occitan speakers had attached strong negative opinions to the state of Breton and Occitan instruction. They all either said that the situation was *mauvaise* or, in the case of an Occitan speaker in his forties (Oi), *catastrophique*. This was a topic that excited strong views through a written discourse that involved emphatic adjectives, use of upper-case letters and exclamation marks. The Occitan speakers highlighted an issue which was of concern to the Brittany Regional Council about the provision of teaching posts. This is how a respondent in her twenties (Oii) replied to the state of Occitan education:

Extract 4.1

Oii MAUVAISE, AVEC SEULEMENT 4 POSTES POUR LE CAPES D'OCCITAN  
CETTE ANNÉE

Bad, with only 4 Occitan teacher-training posts this year

This was the only response in which she used upper-case letters, which in conjunction with the negative adjective and qualifying adverb serve to show her unhappy views on Occitan education. The official figures confirm a reduction in the number of teaching posts offered for Breton and Occitan: eleven posts in 2001 to two posts in 2007 across four *départements* for Breton and twenty-two posts in 2001 to four posts in 2007 across thirty *départements* for Occitan (Felco 2009b). The evaluation report on Breton mentioned in the previous chapter [*Bilan de la Politique Linguistique de la Région Bretagne*] says the following on the allocation of teachers:

*Les résultats de la session 2007 du concours de <<professeur des écoles spécial langues régionale>> sont décevants : sur le concours externe il y avait 44 postes à pourvoir (20 dans le public, 18 dans le privé catholique et 6 pour Diwan) et seuls 30 candidats ont été admis (14 dans le public, 10 dans le privé catholique et 6 à Diwan).*

The results from the 2007 entrance exam for “teachers in specialist regional language schools” are disappointing: in the external entrance exam there were 44 positions to be allocated (20 in the state sector, 18 in the Catholic private schools and 6 in the Diwan schools) and only 30 candidates have been accepted (14 in the state sector, 10 in the Catholic private schools and 6 in Diwan). (Le Drian 2008)

The above extract raises two points. Firstly, it is possible that the standard of the candidates was less than satisfactory. This was queried as a concern in the *bilan*. Secondly, there is the problem about the relationship between the French state and the regions which I posed as a disadvantage of the French regime (see section 3.1.1). The *bilan* highlights the relationship between the state and the regions in the following statement:

*En août dernier, le Président du Conseil régional a saisi le Ministre de l'Education Nationale au sujet du projet d'arrêté fixant les programmes de langues régionales pour l'école primaire. Il a salué <<la volonté de donner, enfin, à l'apprentissage des langues régionales, un cadre qui est aussi une reconnaissance>> mais est revenu sur les niveaux prévus dans cet arrêté en indiquant qu'ils sont <<peu ambitieux et que nous sommes en droit d'attendre d'avantage d'un enseignement bilingue>>.*

Last August, the President of the Regional Council raised with the Minister of Education the subject of the decree stipulating regional language programmes in primary school. He commended “the resolution to provide, at last, through the teaching of regional languages, a framework that is also recognition” but continued that the selected levels in this decree are “not ambitious and that we have the right to expect a bilingual education”. (Le Drian 2008)

The influence of the French state on the provision of minoritised language education is apparent in the following discourse from a Breton respondent in his twenties (*Biii*):

Extract 4.2

CD *Quels sont les développements les plus importants, selon toi, pendant les dernières dix années en ce qui concerne le breton?*

What are the most important developments during the last ten years, according to you, concerning Breton?

*Biii Perte de poste d'enseignant dans le secondaire publique, Non integration [intégration] de Diwan a l'educ Nat [éducation nationale], le breton etant [étant] inconstitutionnel [inconstitutionnel]!!!!*

Loss of teaching post in state secondary education, non-integration of *Diwan* (Breton-medium schools) into the national education system, Breton being unconstitutional!!!!

Hervé (*Biii*) was the only respondent from France, in the preliminary data, who had attended a minoritised language immersion school where classes are taught in the minoritised language (see section 5.1 for the main data results). The Breton language planning has attempted to address the availability of resources, and the *bilan* has specified an increase in strong Breton education programmes. The *Schéma Régional de Développement de l'Occitan 2008-2013* intends to provide more bilingual schooling.

The responses by my informants from France to my questions on education show the role of the private sector for minoritised language initiatives, which was particularly apparent in the experiences of *Oi*. He had attended a privately-run adult education course: *Escòla Occitana pels Adults*, Occitan School for Adults. This experience is consistent with the A-type education model described by Hornberger and King (2001) (section 3.1.1) that is reliant on private initiatives. The *Schéma* states that the Regional Councils will offer financial assistance to adult education in the Occitan regions (Creo 2008), which is largely dependent upon the resources that the councils receive from the state.

The Catalan preliminary responses contrasted with the Breton and Occitan responses in that access to Catalan programmes was not a concern. A native Catalan speaker in her twenties (*Cii*) received all her compulsory education in Catalan, and she was in praise of the role of the Catalan autonomous government concerning Catalan language planning:

Extract 4.3

*Cii. La Generalitat de Catalunya (Gobierno Regional) ha jugado un papel imprescindible en la expansión del catalán.*

The Catalanian Generalitat (Regional Government) has played a vital role in the spread of Catalan.

The area of concern for Catalan acquisition planning is the effectiveness of linguistic programmes to extend beyond the classroom so that Catalan is used in an everyday context. Ana (Cii) has observed that Catalan is not used so much in certain settings:

Extract 4.4

Cii. *El catalán se enseña en las escuelas, pero a veces en la calle (sobre todo en las grandes ciudades) no se utiliza mucho.*

Catalan is taught in schools, but sometimes in the street (especially in large cities) it is not used much.

The relationship between language planning and the needs of the people was described in terms of a 'Catherine Wheel' model by Strubell (1998) (see section 1.2). This relationship should form an important part of language promotion. In my preliminary data, one of the respondents from Catalonia described the situation of Catalan education from the point of view of the intra-regional immigrant. She (Ciii) had moved to Barcelona with her family from another region of Spain. In her discourse, she explained that all her classes at the secondary school she went to were in Catalan and that the *Generalitat* offers free Catalan courses for non-native Catalans. Her concern was that a significant number of her Catalan classes were not useful in a practical sense in that they concentrated on literature and grammar rather than providing a grounding to use Catalan in the street. She did say though that one of her university classes taught everyday Catalan usage, which she found quite easy because, '*el catalán es muy similar al español*' [Catalan is very similar to Spanish]. This is an advantage of inter-related languages; but, the similarities can create problems with code-switching, which is an area I discuss in section 6.4.3.

A problem with language acquisition programmes is they cannot easily recreate the level of linguistic competence of a native language speaker, which is a point stated by Crystal:

Because learning a language as a mother-tongue is so natural, unconscious, and rapid, people readily assume that older children will find it no different if the same language has to be learned artificially in a school, immersion summer camp, or adult class. They will just 'pick it up'. Ethnic reasoning may be used to reinforce this view. The adult native speakers may believe that, if children have the same ethnic background as themselves, the task of learning their language as a second language will inevitably be simple (the

so-called ‘genetic fallacy’). The fact of the matter, of course, is that all children learning an ancestral language as a second language in a tutored setting have to work hard to achieve success, regardless of their ethnicity. A few weeks of immersion will not do it. And even if language is being taught routinely in school, there needs to be reinforcement from the home or local community. If people are not aware of this, they will develop false expectations of success, and, when these fail to be realized, their negative attitudes will inevitably be reinforced. (Crystal 2000: 136)

Here it is clear that language learning cannot be in isolation, but it also must be of use to the wider community, which was a criticism shared by Pilar (*Ciii*) of some of her Catalan classes. My main survey evaluates the effectiveness of education programmes that includes an exploration into the usefulness of different bilingual programmes (see table 2.2 for the list of bilingual programmes). As far as the preliminary data are concerned, access to strong bilingual programmes has been an important issue. This is confirmed by a respondent from Galicia. Isabel (*Gii*) is a non-native speaker in her twenties. According to her, a small number of her secondary school classes were in Galician but that the majority were in Spanish. She has not had access to immersion programmes, but the policy in Galicia during her education was to promote dual teaching. Her experience though highlights the problem of the dual teaching programme to enforce the specified allocations of Galician and Castilian, as I discussed in section 3.1.3.

#### **4.2.1 Views on status planning**

This section concentrates on access to the minoritised language through its use in media outlets and literature. The preliminary findings are similar to those on acquisition planning. The largest amount of written and audio-visual material was available for Catalan and the least amount of material for Breton and Occitan. The Breton respondents replied that there was not enough written material available in Breton, and that there were not enough television programmes and radio programmes available in Breton. Pierre (*Oi*) said that there was not enough written material available in Occitan from either a quantity or a quality perspective. He explained that he reads contemporary and medieval literature in Occitan, Internet articles and a weekly newspaper called *La Setmana*. Television output was one thirty minute regional magazine programme every Sunday, but there was a radio station he could listen to called *Radiò Occitania*. Sophie (*Oii*) also stated that there was very little written or audio-visual output in Occitan.

In Spain, the Catalan respondents confirmed that there was no shortage of written and audio-visual material in Catalan. Both said that there were Catalan television channels and radio stations, newspapers in Catalan and books in Catalan. Meanwhile, on the subject of Galician, Isabel (*Gii*) queried the quality of Galician in both written and audio-visual media:

Extract 4.5

*Gii. Siempre prefiero leer en gallego que en castellano, el problema es que a nivel de publicaciones, por ejemplo periódicos, hay bastante más variedad (y calidad<sup>27</sup>) en castellano.*

I always prefer reading in Galician to Castilian, the problem is the amount of published material, for example newspapers; there is a lot more variety (and quality) in Castilian.

Extract 4.6

*Gii. No creo que su programación está [esté] muy enfocada hacia gente de mi edad o de mi manera de pensar...*

I don't think that its [Galician television] programming is very focussed towards people of my age or way of thinking...

These extracts highlight the difficulties that minoritised languages have to attract a wide-ranging audience. One genre of television programming that is popular in Catalonia is the soap opera where overseas soaps have been dubbed into Catalan to be transmitted alongside Catalonia's own soap opera: *Poble Nou* [New Town/People] (see Wright et al 1996). In general, discontent towards minoritised language programming in Spain is that the content is too educational (as discussed in response to paper by Hoffmann 1996 in Wright et al 1996).

All the testimonies are linked by a common theme: competition with the state language. This was apparent in the Breton, Occitan and Galician testimonies. It was not apparent in the Catalan testimonies informing this chapter, but was a concern for *Ci*, the member of the pro-Catalan party *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (extract 3.4). The reasons for the disparity may be inferred in several ways. First of all, there are Antonio's political views. Another aspect is that the preliminary data are not truly representative (see section 5.2.1 for a greater comparison). Finally, there are different ways of viewing access to the non-state language. The non-political Catalan views perhaps perceive access to Catalan as separate from Castilian rather than a competing resource. Competition for domains is an area I decided to develop in the main survey.

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<sup>27</sup> This criticism concerns the corpus or chosen standardisation of Galician. Corpus planning is interlinked with status and acquisition planning. In section 5.1.2, I discuss the thoughts of my respondents on the effect of a chosen corpus on the acquisition of the languages concerned. In section 6.4, I discuss the ideological aspects of language standardisation.

The language plans discussed in chapter 3 all aimed to address the quantity and quality of media in the relevant languages. In France, this necessitates negotiations with the state. One area concerns the amount of radio air-time that must be devoted to French, which is stipulated in the following law:

*La loi n° 94-88 du 1er février 1994 prévoit que la proportion d'œuvres musicales créées ou interprétées par des auteurs et artistes français ou francophones, doit atteindre un minimum de 40% de chansons d'expression française...*

Law n° 94-88 of the 1st February 1994 stipulates that the amount of musical material created or performed by French or French-speaking artists must reach a minimum of 40% of songs in French. (Saint Robert 2000: 89-90 citing *Loi 94-88*)

There are policies in Catalonia and Galicia that outline the media output in Catalan and Galician, but enforcement is a problem. I highlighted, in chapter 3, the policy to provide fifty percent of television and radio programmes in Catalan within Catalonia (Gencat 2007). The *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* specifies that thirty percent of daily newspapers should be in Galician by 2014 (Xunta de Galicia 2005,

<http://www.consellodacultura.org/arquivos/cdsg/docs/plandenormalizacionlinguagalega.pdf>). The Catalan and Galician policies referred to here are replicating dominant language policies, which is a method used by minoritised languages to reassert status. However, policy must reflect language practice which in turn is shaped by ideology.

### **4.3 Language ideology**

In section 1.2., I mentioned how ideology influences behaviour and in particular language practice. I referred to different types or strands of ideology that concern the way people think. In the preliminary data, I have observed differences in the language practice within France and Spain that I have grouped into different ideological influences. These influences are ideology shaped by a cultural desire – a wish to belong to a specific culture – and ideology that is a reaction to or in line with regional politics. The cultural ideology was more prevalent in France while the politically influenced ideology was more noticeable in Spain.

#### **4.3.1 Cultural ideology**

The domains of use for the Breton and Occitan speakers are limited to specific circles. Outside his Occitan classes Pierre (*Oi*) speaks Occitan with elderly Occitan speakers in his village and a few words and phrases with colleagues at work. Jean (*Bii*),

a Breton speaker in his fifties, speaks Breton at work – he is a Breton lecturer at Rennes University – and he speaks Breton with friends. Hervé (*Biii*) speaks Breton with his father, his friends and at Breton social events. Sophie (*Oii*) speaks Occitan with her grandparents and within the environment of the Occitan department at university. This pattern of use of Breton and Occitan is what Jaffe (1999: 92) describes as an ‘inner sphere’ role. This role is determined by personal experience and unconscious inner-belief. Both Sophie and Pierre described speaking Occitan with the elderly, which conforms to experientialism. An inner belief has then influenced their views on the validity of Occitan.

The inner belief about Occitan is that this language has a connection with the past that ought not to be forgotten. In Sophie’s (*Oii*) words:

Extract 4.7

*Oii. Il ne faut pas que chacun d’entre nous oublie ses racines donc parler occitan oui mais avec le français qui est la langue du pays...*

Every one of us ought not to forget our roots so yes Occitan should be spoken but French should be as well as it is the language of our country...

Pierre (*Oi*) also attaches a cultural identity to Occitan:

Extract 4.8

*Oi. On a parlé occitan dans ma famille depuis toujours. Mes grands-parents l’ont appris avant le français. Malheureusement, la propagande de notre état nationaliste leur a inculqué que ce n’était pas une vraie langue, mais un patois. Que pour réussir, il fallait parler français. On les a punis lorsqu’ils parlaient occitan, et ils n’ont pas transmis la langue à leurs enfants, mes parents, à cause des mensonges qu’on leur a raconté. Il était important pour moi de retrouver ma vraie langue maternelle et de rétablir le lien avec mes grands-parents, pour être de nouveau relié à mes ancêtres.*

Occitan has always been spoken in my family. My grandparents learnt it before French. Unfortunately, the propaganda from our nationalist state has inculcated the idea in them that it is not a real language, but a patois. To succeed, you had to speak French. They were punished when they spoke Occitan, and they didn’t transmit the language to their children, my parents, because of the lies that they had been told. It was important for me to rediscover my true maternal language and to re-establish the link with my grandparents, in order to be reconnected again to my ancestors.

These discourses underline a need for self-discovery, in which an attachment to a localised culture could be a response to increased globalisation (see Larraín 1994:154). Rather than globalisation as the mechanism behind a fragmented society globalisation is the means to maintain ‘nationalisms, localisms and regionalisms’ (as discussed by Larraín 1994: 154). In separating the local from the global, the vernacular or local tongue has a different role from the standard language, as cited by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet:



The vernacular ties its speakers to the local community and lends local authority and solidarity [while the] ‘standard’ [is tied to] ‘institutions’.  
(Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 276-7)

Pierre and Sophie (*Oi* and *Oii*) show this desire to be connected to the local community and find their place in society.

The attraction to the local area expressed by Pierre and Sophie is an example of networks on a small scale, which contrasts with global networks. One system that rates a language according to global networks and its usefulness as a *lingua franca* is De Swaan’s ‘Q-value’ (De Swaan 2001). A language that is spoken by the largest number of people has the highest ‘Q-value’. The problem with the ‘Q-value’ is it does not account for other values, such as cultural values, and it is difficult to apply this value to areas with complex network structures, such as India. These problems are recognised by De Swaan, but he contends that the ‘Q-value’ does explain the popularity of English as a world language (section 6.2.1 explores the attraction of global languages in the context of large-scale networks).

The situation of languages in the twenty-first century is mirrored in other areas of society, such as economics. There is a tendency for different areas of the world to be interconnected via the same food, the same shops and the same entertainment outlets. This process of globalisation is what Ritzer (2004: 1-5) calls ‘McDonaldisation’. According to Ritzer, critics of the ‘McDonaldisation’ process adopt a nostalgic view of the world that is unrealistic. However, Ritzer acknowledges that ‘McDonaldisation’ has a dehumanizing element that values time and money over personal satisfaction. Pierre and Sophie illustrate the reaction against ‘McDonaldisation’.

The reaction against ‘McDonaldisation’ confirms Larraín’s (1994) point on globalisation as a stabilising factor on local identities. Globalisation can also be beneficial for local languages because it can provide the platform for a language to be practised. This is illustrated by the Internet, which connects people from around the world but allows any language to be used in emails, forums and chat rooms. The Internet can promote language exchanges, connect people via non-state languages and encourage the use of non-standardised language forms (as detailed by Baker 2001, Crystal 2000 and Wright 2007).

Non-standard language forms on the Internet are commented upon by Block (2004). He notes that, as there is no policing of the Internet, different language forms

can thrive. As regards the monopolisation of one language on the Internet, Block argues that it is dependent upon the area. Access to the Internet can mean that certain demographics might be marginalised so that the Internet is available to those that have the academic ability to use a *lingua franca*, which is usually English. However, should technology be able to accommodate a particular language script and access is available to a varied demographic then other languages can thrive. Among my preliminary data, Pierre (Oi) illustrates the importance of the Internet for languages like Occitan. He says that he reads '*tout ce qu'on peut trouver sur internet*' [everything that can be found on the Internet].

The Internet is an example of the global meeting the local. I explore whether this juxtaposition is healthy or creates an artificial environment in section 6.2.3. During this discussion, I shall evaluate the terms 'glocalisation' (the adoption of global practices by local communities) and 'grobalisation' (money-motivated practices on a global and a local scale) (Ritzer 2004: 163 & 165) with the data from my main survey.

#### **4.3.2 Politically-influenced ideology**

This type of ideology is prevalent amongst the Catalan and Galician preliminary data as both a reaction against political ideology and support for political ideology at the local level. This highlights the increased politicised environment that is prevalent in the regions of Spain as opposed to the regions of France. The heightened political environment is prevalent in views that could be described as militant. Militant, though, does not mean physical violence or even violence on any level. McDonald (1989: 73-4) in her research into Breton noted different strands of Breton militancy. These strands include an attachment to a pro-Breton group for political reasons (anti-state), an attachment to a pro-Breton group for cultural reasons and no attachment to a pro-Breton group but a desire to improve the status of Breton. The examples of militant behaviour in McDonald's research do not encompass the extra layer of political doctrine that is noticeable in my Catalan and Galician data.

Regarding reaction to political doctrine, one of my Galician correspondents, José (Giii), is critical of Galician governmental policy. He is a member of the group *Movimento de Defesa da Língua* [language defence movement], which is in favour of reintegration with Portuguese, and in line with other lusist groups the MDL has distrusted the political stance of the *Xunta* because, to cite Regueira Fernández (2006: 87), '*las fuerzas políticas [son] consideradas agentes o colaboradoras del colonialismo español*' [political forces are considered as agents or collaborators of Spanish

colonialism]. Meanwhile, some Galician separatists also distrust the policies of the *Xunta* because they feel that Galician is the language of Galicia, and the *bilingüismo armónico* model does not fully promote the language-territory ideology. The exact nature of *bilingüismo armónico* is to promote a dual language-territory ideology and to protect the ethnic rights of Galician and Castilian speakers (see 2.2.4 and 2.3.4), but conflict concerns whether the protection of everyone's rights leads to shift towards the dominant language (in this case Castilian). In Del Valles's (2000) research, he sees that in a competition between Galician and Castilian, for the majority of the Galician populace Castilian is the language of choice. The favouring of Castilian is a point that José (Giii) confirms:

Extract 4.9

*Giii. Para la mayoría de la gente es [salvar el gallego] una cuestión bien de atraso, bien de romanticismo bonito pero ingenuo, bien de algún activismo político oscuro y maligno.*

For most people [saving Galician] is something very much associated with backwardness, very much associated with pretty but naïve romanticism, something very much associated with dark and malignant political activism.<sup>28</sup>

A key point in José's critique is the reference to politics. The Galician debate is in reality one that crosses political divisions, but language and how it is linked to territory and ethnic heritage is part of a political debate connected to the history of Galician minoritisation. The increased presence of Castilian during the *séculos oscuros* (see 2.2.4) has led to Galicianists associating the policy of Spanish state parties with an agenda to demote Galician. The political governing party in Galicia was at the time of my correspondence with José, 2004, and since 2009 the *Partido Popular*. It was the *Partido Popular* who coined *bilingüismo armónico*, so this model has a right-wing political association. In actuality, *bilingüismo armónico* has been supported by other political parties in Galicia, as manifest in the coalition of Socialists and Galician Nationalists (*Bloque Nacionalista Galego*) between 2005 and 2009.

The politicised nature of language conflict in Galicia means that criticism of language policy is also political criticism. The following extract is a critique that language policy is not fully enforced:

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<sup>28</sup> This discourse has highlighted two opposing sectors of society: the poorly-educated and the well-educated. José has linked the two sectors, and I found that the two sectors had similar views even if they differed on the direction of these views, as I discuss in section 6.4.

#### Extract 4.10

*Giii. La Ley de Normalización Lingüística, que es vinculante como todas las leyes – obvio -, no se aplica: obliga a las escuelas e institutos a dar un mínimo de dos asignaturas en gallego, y la mayoría de los centros sólo dan una, y nunca ha habido una sanción para nadie. Hace poco la ‘Mesa pola Normalización lingüística’ ha denunciado a algunos centros; no creo que les pase nada. Aquí las cosas funcionan así.*  
The Linguistic Normalisation Law, which is binding like all laws – obviously -, is not being adhered to: it obliges all schools and colleges to provide a minimum of two subjects in Galician, and most of the centres only provide one, and no sanctions have been issued. A little while ago the ‘Mesa pola Normalización lingüística’ (the board for linguistic normalisation) denounced some of these centres; I don’t think anything happened. That’s how things work here.

According to González González (2004), critical discourse of the *Xunta* has accused the government of ‘*poca diligencia en tomar las medidas necesarias para lograr una plena galleguización de la sociedad de Galicia*’ [little diligence in taking the necessary measures to achieve full Galicianisation of Galician society].

The politicised debate in Galicia is also reflected in Catalonia, where similar concerns on protectionist policy towards the autonomous language and the state language are apparent, as discussed in chapter 3. The views of my correspondents from Catalonia illustrate the language debate in so far as Catalan and Castilian share the same linguistic space. Ana (*Cii*) and Pilar (*Ciii*) represent both sides of the Catalan debate in that one is a native Catalan speaker and the other is a native Castilian speaker. Ana speaks Catalan because it is the language she feels most comfortable using, but she does not see that it should be used at the expense of Castilian. She will switch to Castilian if she meets someone who does not know Catalan, but she will speak Catalan if the speaker does know this language even if the latter continues speaking Castilian. She still thinks Catalan should be promoted as the language used in Catalonia; but not to the extent that she would only accept employment if she could use Catalan. She is supportive of Catalan government policy. Her attitude to domains of language use is, in fact, similar to Antonio’s (*Ci*, the ERC member) in that she tries to use Catalan wherever possible but will accommodate the non-Catalan speaker. Like Antonio, she wants to see Catalan in use in an everyday context.

Pilar recognises the cultural benefits of speaking languages, but does not think it essential that Catalan should be spoken. She shares Ana’s view that you do not accept employment on the basis of language. She would not refuse employment that required Catalan, but would only use the language if it were unavoidable. She agrees with Ana that language planning efforts are satisfactory, but through her own experience she does

not think that native Castilians will be successfully integrated into using Catalan. These testimonies show that Catalan and Castilian have no demarcated functions, which are concerns posited by Hoffmann (1999) and Wright (1996).

Pilar's experience and beliefs coupled with Ana's ethno-linguistic accommodation of Castilian is what worries some ardent pro-Catalan supporters and researchers, in which terms such as 'controversial future', interrupted language' and 'improbable normality' describe the Catalan scenario (Vallverdú 1990, Montoya-Abat 1996 in Strubell 2001 and Branchadell 1998 in Strubell 2001). The relationship between Catalan and Castilian is described in the following extract:

The danger threatening the Catalan language today [...] has no equivalent in earlier situations, as it now rests upon an unprecedented situation: in the complete, definitive extension of social bilingualism in the Catalan-speaking community. In all segments of social life Spanish becomes *de facto* the only language of communication which is truly indispensable, necessary. There are never any domains where Catalan is the only language used, exposed as it is to the bilingualisation of its users. (Prats *et al* 1990 in Strubell 2001: 266)

The above critique has parallels with the criticism of *bilingüismo armónico* in Galicia, although Catalonia has the extra problem of immigration. The points raised in these critiques lend themselves to further discussion about the direction of bilingualism in Spain, which I address in section 6.3 and sub-sections. As far as language ideology in a global sense is concerned, the difficulty is in reaching a common consensus on language use. A lack of consensus is confirmed by Collins (1998: 267) in relation to the American Indian language Tolowa. He has noted that the average American Indian perceives Tolowa as part of their culture, while in academic literature he has noted that Tolowa is a language with its own grammar rather than a cultural phenomenon. Meanwhile, official language planners perceive Tolowa as a distinguishing feature that can maintain the traditions of the community. The views on Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician, just like those on Tolowa, indicate the complexities of language in that individual beliefs and group beliefs can diverge. This is in line with Thompson's (1984: 5, see section 1.2) view that ideology is an individual experience as much as it is a shared experience.

#### **4.4 Conclusions**

In the conclusions to chapter 3, I argued that decentralisation was not necessarily a solution to language planning for non-state languages. This conclusion is reinforced in

this chapter. There are findings that confirm the extra potency of the Galician and Catalan governments to support media production in Galician and Catalan and to support strong education programmes, but not all problems are eradicated and there are some new problems.

Problems within Catalonia and Galicia are, firstly, the efficacy of linguistic policy to meet the demands of all sectors of the public. Pilar, as an intra-regional migrant into Catalonia, raised doubts about the suitability of Catalan programmes to enable Catalan to move beyond the classroom. Ana, the native Catalan speaker, confirmed that Catalan is largely confined to the classroom in urban settlements. Meanwhile, Isabel, a Galician, thought that Galician language policy was not suitable for younger sectors in society.

A new problem that seems to have arisen as extra status has been granted to Catalan and Galician is increased competition with the state language. The discourse from a Breton and an Occitan perspective is that state policy can interfere with regional policy to the detriment of Breton and Occitan language policy; yet, there are clearly defined roles for French and Breton/Occitan. These roles seem to be endorsed by a desire to use the minoritised language as a local/cultural signifier and the state language as a national signifier. Catalan and Galician, though, are in direct competition with Castilian for all resources. Consequently, there is a different shift of focus about the role of language in Spain than in France.

It is clear that overt language planning, whether it comes from state government, regional government or regional council, is not necessarily in tune with the affected community. This is apparent in the discourses cited in this chapter. These discourses, though, are only a minute reflection upon the linguistic situation as a whole in the regions under discussion in my investigation. There are certain points that need to be developed. Different demographics need to be compared and contrasted to see if there are similar or dissimilar practices and attitudes to those already expressed. There is a need to develop a discussion upon the efficacy of language planning programmes in the context of different demographics. The relationship between the state and the regions *vis-à-vis* the French and Spanish regimes is another area worthy of further exploration. Finally, this chapter has focused on two ideological influences; there is a need to identify other influences and their effects on language practice.

## Chapter 5. The effectiveness of acquisition and status planning

### 5.0 Introduction

The aim of chapter 4 was to identify behavioural trends that could then be further examined by an enlarged data sample, obtained between 2006 and 2008, in order to observe the behaviour and opinions of as wide a background as possible. The present chapter will focus on the views of an enlarged sample concerning firstly access to and satisfaction with acquisition planning efforts, and, secondly, the opinions concerning access to and satisfaction with status planning efforts. The emphasis moves from a general awareness of language courses and media provision to an exploration of the effectiveness of these facilities for all members of the affected speech communities.

### 5.1 Acquisition planning: access

The emerging trends in the preliminary questionnaires discussed in chapter 4 concerning access to minoritised language teaching highlighted a difference in models/types of minoritised language provision. The Catalan respondents mentioned the widespread availability of Catalan immersion teaching whereby all lessons are taught in Catalan so that native and non-native Catalan speakers are all fully immersed into the Catalan language. The Galician picture was one of shared language instruction of which Spanish was the main teaching language. In France, immersion or shared teaching was available within the private sector but concerns were raised about access to these teaching programmes within the state sector.

A common point that emerges through my data is that in all the regions covered in this dissertation there has been a change of direction in the accommodation of other languages within education. My respondents aged sixty and over describe the effects of state policy during their school education. The following is a selection of some of these responses:

#### Extract 5.1

B9 & B10.<sup>29</sup> *Nous avons appris le français à l'école. Notre utilisation n'a pas changé tellement mis à part que nous n'avions pas le droit de le parler à l'école primaire.*  
We learnt French at school. Our use [of Breton] hasn't changed much except that we weren't allowed to speak it at primary school.

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<sup>29</sup> The codes and details for all the informants are in appendix A.

Extract 5.2

O9. *L'école tout se faisait en français.*  
Everything was done in French at school.

Extract 5.3

C1. *Fins l'any 1936 les classes eren aproximadament bilingües, amb predomini del català. De 1939 a 1973 han estat exclusivament en castellà. El català s'ha anat introduint fins l'any 1981, a partir de la qual data la situació sembla que s'ha estabilitzat amb avantatge per al català en l'ensenyament primari i secundari.*  
Until 1936 classes were more or less bilingual, with Catalan the dominant language. From 1939 to 1973 they were all in Castilian. Catalan was introduced round about 1981, from which point the situation has seemed to stabilise to the point that Catalan has the advantage in primary and secondary education.

Extract: 5.4

G10. *Cando iba á escuela, coa maestra falaba castellano. Se tivese que falar cun maestro hoxe falaríalle galego.*  
When I went to school, I would speak Castilian with the teacher. Should you have to speak with a teacher today you would speak to him in Galician.

In all these extracts the respondents mention a period where they were obliged by their teachers to speak the state language. This is indicative of state policy of 'linguistic convergence' towards the state language, as discussed by Shabani (2007:39), where state leaders have imposed a one nation-one language ideology as part of a means to enable one group of people to interconnect and communicate so that no-one is disadvantaged and everyone can access all areas of public life whether political or cultural. In France, the language convergence programme was part of the process to turn the peasant into a Frenchman (see Weber 1977). The respondent in extract 5.2, Julie (O9), in addition to her explanation of the role of French in education said that '*on était français*' [we were French]. This is a confirmation of the convergence process that, in France, began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (2.2.1 & 2.2.2).

The Catalan and Galician samples presented illustrate a change away from 'linguistic convergence' towards the state language. A particular feature of the Catalan response is that it refers back to a period of Catalan recuperation prior to the Franco regime of the 1940s to 1970s. I referred to the 1930s, in section 2.2.3, as a dominant period for Catalan. The testimony of Maite's grandfather that both Catalan and Castilian were used in the classroom prior to the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 confirms the revival process that was halted when Franco came into power. None of the Breton, Occitan and Galician respondents refer to a similar revival period as was mentioned by this Catalan gentleman. Historically, the Catalan revival process has been the most



advanced (see chapter 2). This would perhaps correlate to advanced Catalan language planning at the present moment (early 21<sup>st</sup> century).

To try to determine levels of language planning within education I asked respondents in the 18-30 age group to tell me the language in which they received their primary and secondary education<sup>30</sup>. These questions formed part of a series of questionnaires distributed to university students within the four affected regions and a series of questionnaires distributed to Breton speakers in the same age group (see 4.1.3.1). Charts 5.1 and 5.2 synthesise my findings. Here, I have grouped the respondents according to their first language – minoritised language<sup>31</sup> or French/Castilian – and the languages in which they received their education:

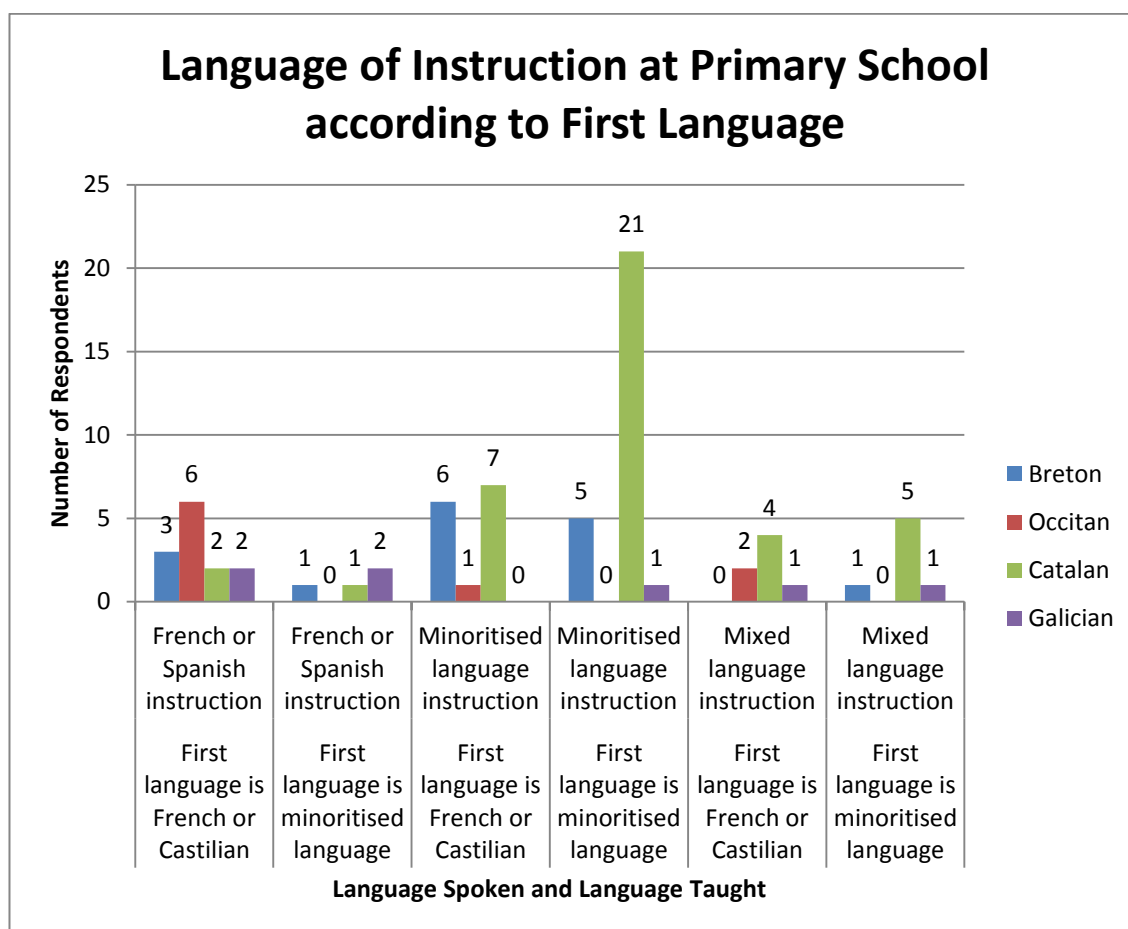


Chart 5.1

<sup>30</sup> The questionnaires are in appendix B.

<sup>31</sup> Bilinguals from birth are grouped under minoritised language as first language.

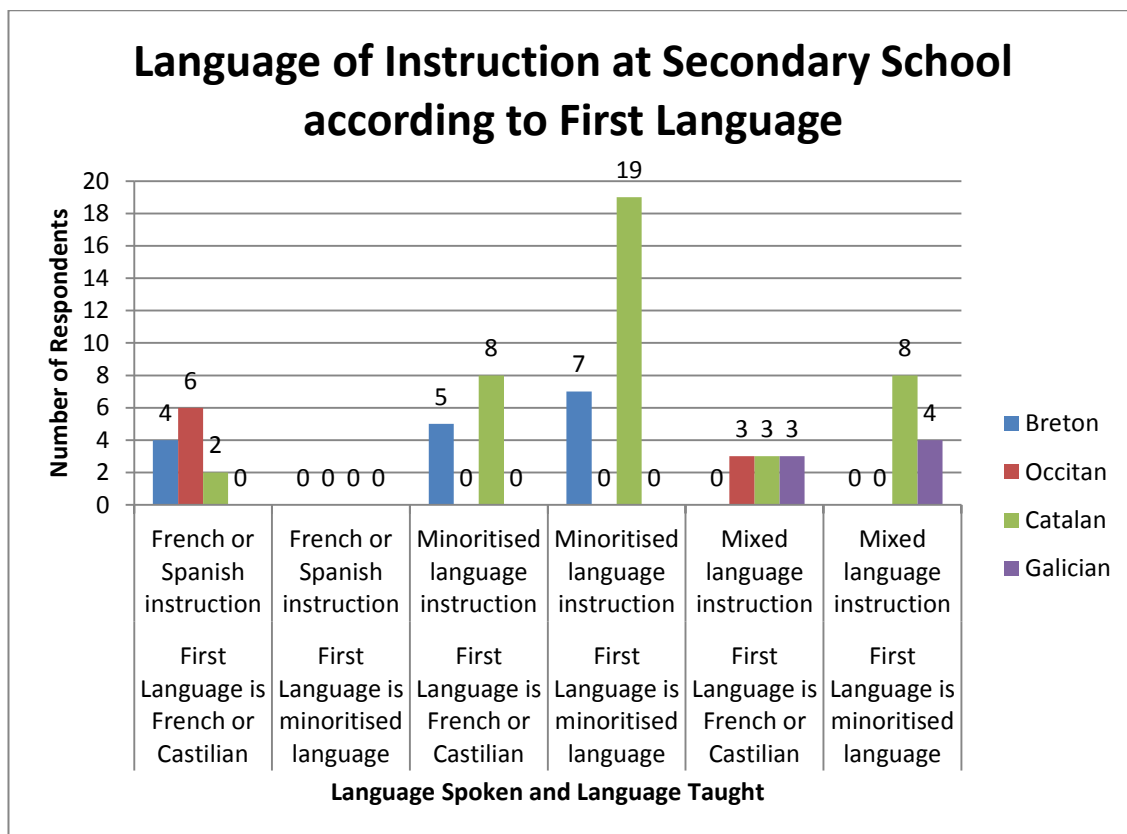


Chart 5.2

These data reinforce the impression of change from complete ‘linguistic convergence’ in that there are strong bilingual language programmes available for all the languages.<sup>32</sup> It is apparent here that Catalan has the greatest provision of immersion teaching programmes, although allowances must be made for sample size. It is not possible, however, to infer that the position of Catalan in the 1930s has a bearing upon its position in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Indeed, a literature search does not reveal a direct correlation.<sup>33</sup> As far as these particular results are concerned, Breton is also in a favourable position as a language that is taught within an immersive context; yet, Breton was not in the same position as Catalan in the 1930s. Two conclusions can be drawn from these results: the historical background of a language is only one factor in a revival process and data can be misleading.

<sup>32</sup> In spite of the presence of strong minoritised language education models my respondents thought, on the whole, that there was a need for more language courses.

<sup>33</sup> Despite no direct correlation, as regards acquisition planning, the pre-Franco era of productivity that dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century has had an influence on the overall status of Catalan (a point I raise in 5.2.1).

In a comparison with the *Bilan de la Politique Linguistique de la Région Bretagne* drafted by the *Conseil régional de Bretagne*, figures from the latter show that 4,623 pupils enrolled on state shared Breton-French programmes, 4,136 pupils into the Catholic schools and 2,991 pupils into the *Diwan* immersion schools (Le Drian 2008). According to the *bilan* an extra 660 pupils enrolled onto shared and immersion teaching programmes at the start of the 2007-8 academic year compared with enrolment figures for 2006-7. The overall increase has continued into the start of the 2008-9 academic year: an extra 583 pupils (Ofis ar Brezhoneg 2008b). However, the figures from *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* represent less than 2% of all school-aged children in Brittany while the highest figures are for the region from where the majority of my respondents come: Finistère in the west of Brittany.

This is a confirmation that data can produce a false reading. What *is* clear from my Breton data is that there is a mixed perception of the situation of Breton within the classroom. In answer to the question, ‘how often is each language, French and Breton, used in secondary education?', the results favour French over Breton in that Breton is perceived to have a marginal role within secondary education. One non-native Breton speaker, though, thought that there was a greater presence of *Diwan* schools:

Extract 5.5

B3. *Il y a de plus en plus d'écoles DIWAN qui dispensent les cours en breton.*  
There are more and more *DIWAN* schools that provide Breton courses

Respondents in the 30-60 age group also rated the importance of *Diwan* schools and the fact that children in Brittany now have the opportunity to learn Breton. To contrast Breton with Occitan, my primary data and figures on the availability of shared-teaching and immersive teaching models suggest that it is easier to gain access to a *Diwan* school than to a *Calandreta* because of the difference in the number of affected academic regions. The mother of one of my respondents in the 18-30 group told me that she had found a *Calandreta* by *hasard* [accident]. This happened in the early 1990s, and since then figures show that, overall, there has been an increase in *calandretas*. A comparison of figures from 2009 with 2005 shows that the number of primary school *calandretas* increased from thirty-six to forty-eight and the *colleges* from one to two (Bonnerot 2005 & Calandreta 2009). However, schools for Occitan have to cover more administrative areas than Breton, so that some regions are better served than others – Aquitaine, Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon with the largest concentration of *Calandretas*. This is also true of the state bilingual French-Occitan schools, which

number forty-four across southern France (Felco 2009b). The following extract from a non-native Occitan-speaking woman illustrates this variance in facilities, which confirms that there is still a degree of *hasard*, for Occitan according to region:

Extract 5.6

O3. *Le choix entre l'Etat et la région est difficile. Aujourd'hui, je pense que l'Etat doit jouer ce rôle étant donné que c'est justement l'Etat français qui est responsable du déclin de l'occitan. Les régions devront suivre derrière. Certaines régions occitanes prennent des mesures pour donner un avenir à l'occitan (Languedoc, Midi-Pyrénées, Aquitaine). D'autres comme la Provence restent encore frileuses, c'est pour cela que dans une optique d'égalité de tous les citoyens l'Etat doit imposer un certain nombre de mesures urgentes.*

The choice between the State and the region is difficult. Today, I think that the State must adopt this role [language planning responsibility] seeing that the French State is rightly responsible for the decline of Occitan. The regions should come next. Some Occitan regions are taking measures to give Occitan a future (Languedoc, Midi-Pyrénées, Aquitaine). Others such as Provence still remain cautious, which is why from the perspective of equality for all citizens the State should impose a certain number of urgent measures.

Provence was highlighted, by Abley (2005), as an area that was struggling to provide Occitan classes. A fully integrative structure is a concern for Occitan. The other issue raised by Aure (O3) is the role of the state, which was a concern shared by Breton respondents. The following three extracts –from a non-native Breton-speaking woman in the 18-30 group, native Breton-speaking over-sixty-year-olds and the father, an employee for *Ofis ar Brezhoneg*, of another of my respondents – corroborate my preliminary data about more support from the French state for the *Diwan* schools as well as concerns about the amount of power available in the Breton region:

Extract 5.7

CD : *Qu'est-ce qu'on doit faire, selon toi, pour assurer l'avenir du breton?*

What should be done, in your opinion, to safeguard the future of Breton?

B1: *Il faudrait avoir plusieurs facteurs: premièrement, à l'école, permettre d'apprendre le breton dans les écoles publiques, en immersion, avec des enseignants QUALIFIES.*

Several factors are necessary: first of all, at school, it should be possible to learn Breton in all state schools, by immersion, with QUALIFIED teachers

Extract 5.8

B9 & B10. *Le breton doit être reconnu et dans la mesure du possible redevenir la langue de la Bretagne. Les bretons en ont besoin. Pour cela il faudrait changer radicalement la politique régional de la France et donner plus du pouvoir aux régions et officialiser la langue. Il faudrait aussi des moyens à Diwan, et lancer de vraies campagnes pour promouvoir le breton, dans le genre de ce que fait ofis ar brezhoneg.* Breton must be recognised and in a way that makes it possible to become once again the language of Brittany. Bretons need it. That's why regional policy in France should be radically changed to give more power to the regions and to make the language official.

More assistance should also be given to *Diwan*, and there should be genuine campaigns to promote Breton, in the way that *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* does it.

Extract 5.9

B5. *Il y a des avancées en matière d'enseignement pour les enfants et les adultes pour l'audiovisuel mais le problème est un problème de compétences puisque les collectivités locales ne sont pas compétente dans ces domaines qui relèvent de l'état*

There are some advances [due to the Breton language plans] in education for children and for adults through audio-visual technologies but the problem is one concerning control since the regional councils do not have enough power in areas that are within the competence of the state.

The problem of the availability of resources for Breton was explained to me by the technical advisor from the *Conseil économique et social régional de Bretagne* (extract 3.1). In spite of these problems, the *Conseil régional de Bretagne* has still provided some financial assistance for Breton acquisition planning. In 2007, it donated money to secondary schools that teach Breton: 115,426 euros to state schools (744 pupils), 35,061.64 euros to the Catholic schools (226 pupils) and 25,132.68 euros to the *Diwan* schools (162 pupils) (Le Drian 2008). In addition, the *Conseils régionaux de Bretagne, Aquitaine* and *Midi-Pyrénées* introduced grants, in 2011, for trainee Breton and Occitan teachers (Ofis ar Brezhoneg 2011 & Felco 2011).

There is, nevertheless, a difference in the availability of strong bilingual education programmes in France and Spain, as described by an Occitan-speaking native Catalan-speaking respondent:

Extract 5.10

C3. *Se empieza a enseñar el occitano en los colegios. Los colegios que antes enseñaban en castellano ahora lo hacen en catalan [sic] casi exclusivamente y no hay opción [sic] casi para ser enseñado en castellano.*

Occitan has started to be taught in secondary schools. Secondary schools that were teaching in Castilian are now doing it almost exclusively in Catalan and there is almost no choice to be taught in Castilian.

This testimony raises a disadvantage of acquisition planning in Catalonia that was discussed as a problem, in section 3.1.3, of too much local control aligned to geographic nationalist ideology. In France, it can be a question of luck as to whether a child can receive an education in Breton or Occitan, but in Catalonia the problem is whether a child can receive an education in Castilian, thus affecting the ethno-linguistic rights of that child. The results from the questionnaires from students at Girona University have favoured the position that Catalan is more greatly available than Castilian in secondary education. However, in the final set of questionnaires the

response to the question ‘are there any negative aspects about the current situation of Catalan in Catalonia?’ did not generate any queries about the lack of Castilian-medium teaching in Catalonia. This was across all age groups, genders, linguistic backgrounds and place of residence. Only Aina (C3) mentioned the availability of Castilian as a teaching medium. A bilingual Catalan-Castilian speaker from the 30-60 age group mentioned the problem of a marginalisation of Castilian:

Extract 5.11

CD: *¿Hay algunos aspectos negativos de la situación actual del catalán en Cataluña?*

C16: *El que determinados sectores de la esfera política y de la sociedad catalana quieran imponer su uso, marginando al castellano.*

CD: Are there any negative aspects about the current situation of Catalan in Catalonia?

C16: The fact that certain sectors of the political circle and Catalan society want to impose its use [Catalan], marginalising Castilian.

Choice of language of instruction was still recognised, which confirms the outlined policies by the *Generalitat* in the *Llei de Política Lingüística* (Gencat 2007). One of the non-native Catalan speakers in the student survey, who was a student at Girona University – a dominant Catalan-speaking area of Catalonia – , thought that Catalan and Castilian were always taught in secondary education as opposed to the prevailing trend in the survey that Castilian was little used and Catalan was frequently used. Huguet (2007) quotes figures that show that 73% of state primary schools teach all subjects in Catalan (58% of private schools) and 30% of state secondary schools teach all subjects in Catalan while 70% of secondary schools teach in Catalan and Castilian.

As regards choice of language in Galicia, there was a tendency in the student results to endorse the shared teaching programme by the choice of the middle position of Castilian and Galician as sometimes taught in secondary education. Some of the respondents confirmed the problem of policy enforcement by the selection of Castilian as the dominant language in secondary education. An endorsement of the presence of Galician in the schools is in this next extract by a native Castilian-speaking woman from the 18-30 group:

Extract 5.12

G1. *Cuando yo estudiaba primaria (de 7 a 14 años), se impartía clase de lengua gallega y además una asignatura en gallego que era Historia. En la actualidad creo que se imparten más asignaturas en gallego todavía.*

When I was at primary school (from 7 to 14 years old), we had a Galician language class and one additional subject in Galician that was History. Now I think that a lot more subjects yet are taught in Galician.

My testimonies reveal that, just as ideologies can be shaped as much by personal experience as by collective experience, awareness of concrete facts like choice of education programmes can depend upon individual experience. This is a feature of the subject of adult education programmes. The following testimonies all illustrate personal experience of adult language education:

Extract 5.13

G3. *Actualmente asisto a un curso de lenguaje administrativo en lengua gallega*  
Currently I am attending a course on Galician language in an administrative context.

Extract 5.14

O2. *Des cours d'occitan étaient donnés à l'école le soir pour les parents qui le désiraient, mais je n'y suis jamais allée.*  
Occitan classes were provided at school [her son's Calandreta] in the evening for parents who wanted them, but I never went to them.

Extract 5.15

O4. *Dans quelques associations telle que l'IEO (institut d'études occitan), il est organisé des cours pour adultes, mais ils sont trop rares.*  
A few associations such as the IEO (Institute for Occitan Studies) have organised adult courses, but they are too rare.

Extract 5.16

B19. *Je donne des cours de breton aux adultes le soir.*  
I provide evening Breton classes for adults.

There is a difference in the organisation of adult education in France and Spain. The Occitan respondents in extracts 5.14 and 5.15 specify that adult education courses are provided by private school and private association respectively. This is a general feature of adult education for minoritised languages in France, where the courses are run by private and voluntary concerns. In Spain, the autonomous governments provide adult education programmes. The course mentioned by the Galician respondent is organised by the *Xunta de Galicia*, and professional training was a priority in the *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* (Xunta de Galicia 2005, <<http://www.consellodacultura.org/arquivos/cdsg/docs/plandenormalizacionlinguagalega.pdf>>). None of the Catalan respondents mentioned adult Catalan language programmes, although the *Generalitat* has organised various programmes. Meanwhile, access to university courses was mostly informed by advice from secondary school teachers, although there was evidence of greater publicity in the form of leaflets and the Internet for Catalan.

### 5.1.1 *The efficacy of acquisition planning: immersion teaching or optional teaching*

A theme from the previous section, 5.1, is that the provision of classes for Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician is not the only important criterion but the type of classes are also important as regards the role that these languages are to play in the students' lives. To start with school language programmes, I have emphasised the availability of strong bilingual education models, because there is a belief among linguists that these models are the most effective for minoritised language usage (see section 2.3). If this is the case, then the level of minoritised language use and positive attitudes towards the minoritised language should be greatest among those that have experienced one of the strong forms of minoritised language acquisition planning. To confirm or deny this point, charts 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 indicate whether school has had a positive impact on the acquisition of the minoritised language (increased use or no decline in the use of the language coupled with a positive attitude towards the language). These data are taken from the student questionnaires and the questionnaires answered by young Breton adults, where the questions used concerned native language of origin, domains of use for minoritised language during childhood, language of instruction at primary and secondary school, current domains of use of minoritised language, likelihood of continued or increased use of minoritised language and likelihood of parental transmission to children should the opportunity arise.

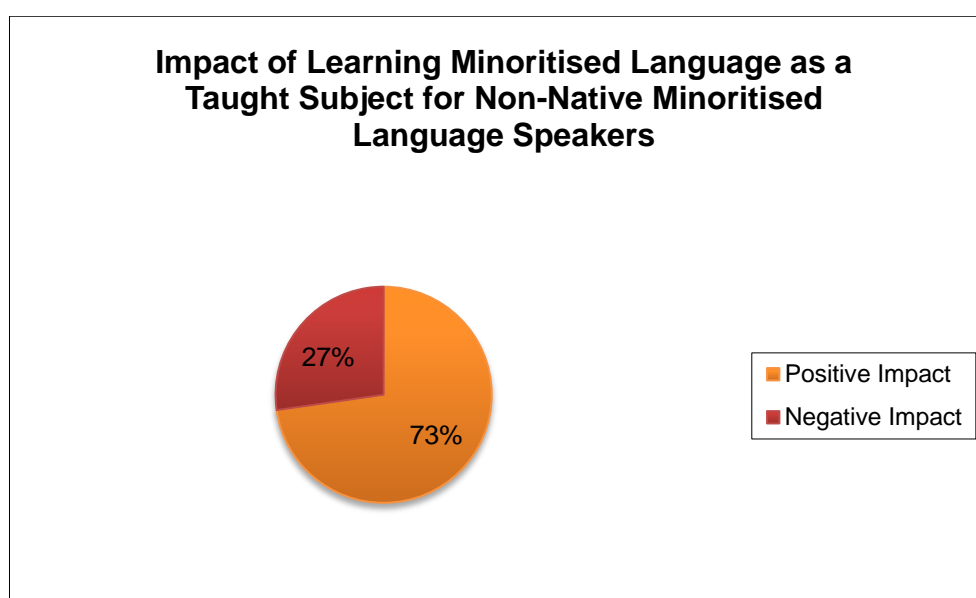


Chart 5.3<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Taught subject is the language option model.



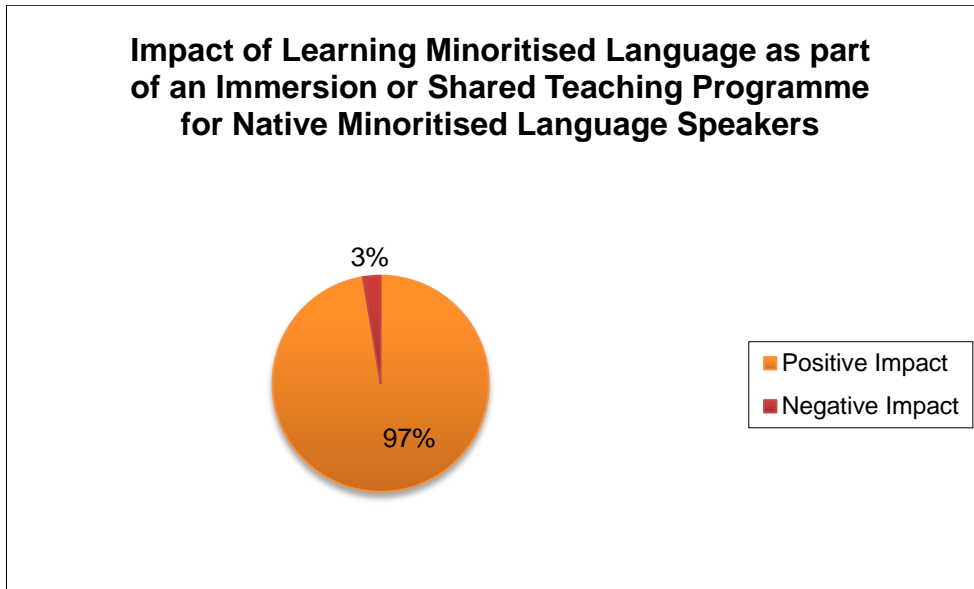


Chart 5.4

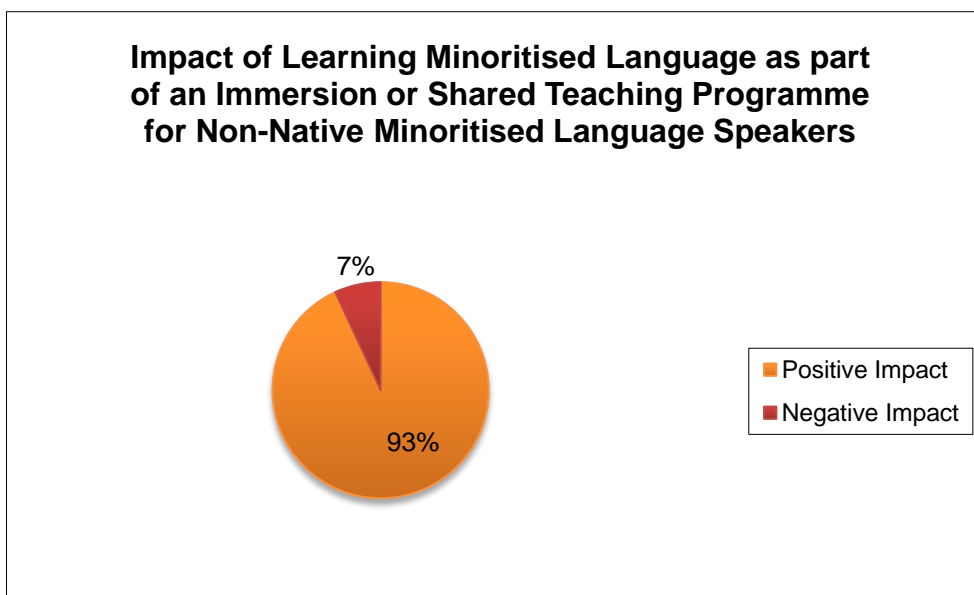


Chart 5.5

In interpreting these data, some points must be clarified. Firstly, the sample is small, so is not representative of the communities as a whole. This is a point that Baker (2001: 230) is clear to caution towards in the extrapolation of data in studies on the effectiveness of language instruction. In this particular survey, chart 5.4 on strong acquisition planning for native-minoritised language speakers is skewed by the fact that 27 of the 38 informants were Catalan speakers from the predominantly Catalan-speaking area of Girona. Another point concerns a difference in models from primary to secondary, and consequently the issue of whether to separate these groups. As the aim

of this piece of analysis was to unearth the influence of some exposure to a strong model of bilingual education, in consideration of the small sample size, the decision was to combine the groups so that if one stage of an individual's education involved a strong model they would be placed in chart 5.4 or 5.5.

As regards the outcome of the evaluation, the response from one of the Occitan respondents is indicative of the problems of extrapolating data. Native French speaker Eric (O15) from Montpellier had received shared Occitan-French instruction at primary school but a mainstream French education with Occitan classes at secondary school. He claimed that he definitely does not want employment where he would use Occitan and will not use Occitan in his day to day life. Consequently, I interpreted this as a negative attitude coupled with increased language use, so, because of the lack of a positive attitude, he has been placed as a negative outcome in chart 5.4. However, in response to follow-up questions, he states that he is not anti-Occitan but anti a use of Occitan that excludes non-Occitan speakers from conversations.<sup>35</sup> This means that what at first sight is a negative reaction is, rather, a false negative. This note of caution applies to all the results highlighted in the charts. What is clear from the data, as highlighted in the charts, is that there is no obvious disparity in the results from the different models.

### ***5.1.2 Exclusion: (a) education that creates barriers through the promotion of a particular corpus<sup>36</sup>***

In light of inconclusiveness concerning the difference in outcomes between strong forms of minoritised language instruction and weaker forms, this section focuses on whether personal motivation and support from outside the school environment is more important than the type of education received. In addition, there is the question of whether language acquisition programmes create a sense among older minoritised language speakers that they are excluded from the revival process of minoritised languages, because their speech patterns are not replicated in the classroom.

Turning towards motivation towards language acquisition, Dörnyei states the following:

Without sufficient motivation, even individuals with the most remarkable abilities cannot accomplish long-term goals, and neither are appropriate

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<sup>35</sup> In section 6.2.4 I explore the theme of the necessity or otherwise of language use as part of an identity.

<sup>36</sup> In this section I combine corpus planning with acquisition planning. See section 6.4 for the ideological aspects of corpus planning and how it relates to the status of a language.

curricula and good teaching enough on their own to ensure student achievement. (Dörnyei 1998: 117 in Baker 2001: 123)

Motivation would here appear to be the most important criterion for language acquisition, although intelligence, linguistic aptitude and performance-related anxiety are other contributing factors, as I mention in 2.3 in particular reference to Mitchell & Myles (2004). As far as motivation is concerned, it could be goal-orientated or instinctive (an urge from within). Paulston (1994), as regards the viability of minoritised language education among immigrant communities, is of the opinion that goal-orientated motivation is the key factor towards language acquisition. The example that she cites is:

If they [immigrants] commonly marry nationals of the host culture, there will be no need of special or different educational policies for their children. If, however, they [immigrants] marry exclusively within their own ethnic group, learn the national language poorly and show other trends of strong culture maintenance (arranged marriages with partners from the home country, vacations in the home country, etc.), then a strong case can be argued for the case of bilingual education. (Paulston 1994: 31)

This example lends an instrumentalist tone to language use. It implies that a language must have a particular value. According to Paulston, if there is a specific reason to learn a language, there is likely to be sufficient motivation to learn the language. This argument can be applied to Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician as well as to migrant languages.

As far as Fishman (1991) is concerned, school education is not the first stage of language revival. He thinks, rather, that liaison between older members of the speech community – native speakers of the minoritised language – and younger members of the speech community who do not speak the language in question should be the first stage of ‘reversing language shift’ (see GIDS scale in section 1.2). Motivation to learn Breton, for example, would come from within the community as a whole rather than from the institution of the school. The integrative approach by Fishman suggests that language archivists visit older speakers of the minoritised language to collect vocabulary, expressions and stories, and that cultural exchanges in the form of youth groups to which the older native Breton... speaker is invited are arranged. In addition, parent-child groups can be organised that encourage language use through play (Fishman 1991). The minoritised language can become more than an academic subject

to be a valued part of the community which in turn creates more motivational stimulus to learn the relevant language.

Edwards (1985) questions the primacy of education in the role of language maintenance. He believes that sometimes language maintenance programmes try too much to alter pre-learned language habits and behaviour. The result is that even under immersive techniques the target language produced is unnatural or artificial. This leads on to the subject of whether the school creates barriers which promote exclusion. Some of my testimonies concern barriers between older speakers of the minoritised language and younger speakers. This was particularly apparent among the Breton speakers. The grandfather (B6) of one of my student Breton respondents (B12) said the following on the difference between the Breton spoken by the younger generations and the older generations:

Extract 5.17

B6. *Le breton des jeunes qui l'ont étudié est très littéraire, ce que ma génération ne connaît pas.*

The Breton the young people have studied is very literary, which is something my generation does not understand.

Observations on the difference in Breton between the generations also came from the 18-30 group:

Extract 5.18

B7. *Cela dépend des générations, les anciens ne font pas l'effort de comprendre les jeunes bretonnants, et il y aussi que les jeunes bretonnants ont un vocabulaire plus moderne.*

That [comprehension difficulties] depends on the generations, the elderly don't make an effort to understand young Breton speakers, and also young Breton speakers have a more modern vocabulary.

Extract 5.19

B2. *Les personnes âgées sont souvent bretonnants [sic] d'origine et comme il [sic] n'ont pas appris le breton à l'école, ils [sic] ont parfois un sentiment d'infériorité par rapport à ce qui l'apprennent à l'école. Et pourtant, ce n'est pas vrai !*

The elderly people are often native Breton speakers and as they haven't learnt Breton at school, they sometimes have a sense of inferiority in relation to those that have learnt Breton at school. However, that's not true!

Extract 5.20

B8. *Les cours dispensés ne correspondent pas au breton que parlent les gens. Du coup les apprenants ne comprennent pas les autres, et inversement. L'accent n'est pas enseigné, alors que c'est ce qui permet de se comprendre. Les profs mettent trop en avant le vocabulaire, et pas assez le reste.*

The courses offered do not correspond to the Breton that the people speak. As a result students don't understand natives, and vice versa. The accent isn't taught, which is what enables you to understand each other. Teachers put too much emphasis on vocabulary and not enough on everything else.

The topic of change in Breton has been noted by other Breton researchers. Jones (1998: 132) in her research into Breton unearthed comments from older speakers that *'ils ne parlent pas le même breton'* [they don't speak the same Breton]. The difference is also highlighted in my extract 5.17 in which the respondent says that the Breton spoken by the younger generations is too academic. McDonald (1989) in her research into Breton heard the following from older native Breton speakers:

He told me [one of McDonald's respondents] that some of the terms the militants used, particularly technical and scientific terms (some of which were not known, or not in local use, in French either), and even words like *c'harr-nij* (meaning, in standard language, 'aeroplane', but in literal translation 'flying-cart'), all had a very 'strange' ring in Breton – but some, he said, also sounded 'fine' or 'posh'. (McDonald 1989: 285)

Hornsby (2008) has observed differences in Breton. He cites the example of toponyms on road signs:

For native speakers of the language [Breton], living in these same communities, the 'official' name does not match the name with which they grew up: *'les notations retenues n'ont que peu de rapport avec la prononciation traditionnelle des toponymes'* (Costaouec, 2002: 134). [The spelling used has little connection with the traditional pronunciation of name places] (Hornsby 2008: 133)

A similar situation is apparent in the Galician testimonies. A native Galician-speaking woman in her thirties describes the difficulties she has encountered on a language course that she has attended:

Extract 5.21

G3. *Una reflexión sobre este curso es que el lenguaje gallego está en un continuo cambio (evidentemente como cualquier lengua) pero así se dan situaciones, a modo de ejemplo, de palabras que hace años no se podían utilizar, ahora sí y viceversa. Para mí, esto es un aspecto para su aprendizaje muy negativo, y tampoco comprendo a que se debe. Cosa distinta es que haya un trabajo de recuperación, que sí es cierto que hay palabras que ya no se utilizan, expresiones, etc.*

A point of consideration about this course is that the Galician language is continuously changing (obviously as with any language) but as a result there are situations, to give an example, of words that couldn't be used many years ago, but now are in use and vice versa. For me, that is a very negative aspect of learning, and I also don't understand why it should be like this. A need to recuperate the language is a different matter, as it's true that there are words, expressions etc. that are no longer used.

This change in the corpus is described by two non-native Galician speakers in their twenties:

Extract 5.22

G1. *He notado en estos últimos 4 o 5 años, como se ha producido una tendencia hacia el Lusismo, de manera habitual se utilizan en los medios de comunicación palabras como Galiza en lugar de Galicia, notabel en vez de notable o Grazas en lugar de Gracias, que eran formas que cuando yo estudiaba no estaban reconocidas como normativas.*

I've noticed during the last 4 or 5 years, such as has produced a tendency towards lusism, that the media are regularly using words such as *Galiza* instead of *Galicia*, *notabel* instead of *notable* or *Grazas* instead of *Gracias* [thank you], which are forms that when I was studying were not recognised as a standard.

Extract 5.23

G4. My mother works for the public administration (the Town Hall of La Coruna) and therefore she must speak both Spanish (her mother tongue) and Galician (which she had to learn recently with intensive courses) and when she speaks Galician she must say “*Grazas*” instead of “*Gracias*” (Thank you) because they have invented this new term. If you travel across Galicia you will not find any old Galician speaker who has ever heard of that but there is a new trend (apart from the “Normative Galician” one), called “*Lusista*” or “*Reintegracionista de Minimos*” which consists in taking elements of Portuguese or “galegize” already Galician [sic] words so that they look “more authentic” and they impose them in the legal realm. If a person who has studied normative Galician reads a “*reintegracionista*” text [they] will think that this is another language. It seems that languages, instead of enjoying the observation of Galician usages where it is widely spoken prefer to play in their labs and invent words that never existed (as it happened with Basque) when there is no need to do so.<sup>37</sup>

The grammatical forms applied to Galician to isolate it from Portuguese or from Castilian include the replacement of Portuguese verb endings with Castilian endings while maintaining the Portuguese radical: *dicir* [to say/tell] instead of the Castilian *decir* and the Portuguese *dizer* (see Frías Conde 2008). These changes to the corpus are part of a strategy to embed the language within its territory and/or ethnic heritage, but create the kind of problems highlighted within my testimonies and other sociolinguistic discourse. As part of the process to construct a unique form of language, new words that are not part of the vocabulary of the older speaker are coined by the language planners. As Coulmas (1989) writes:

When a speech community wants to express a concept for which there is no word in its language it can either borrow one from another language or coin a new one; it can, in other words, borrow the form and the meaning or the meaning only. (Coulmas 1989: 15)

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<sup>37</sup> This respondent replied in English. See 4.1.4 for choice of language in extracts.

The problem is that there is a difference between the academic/standardised variety of language and non-standardised vernaculars. Ibrahim (1989) has commented on the difference between the standard and the non-standard language in the context of Arabic. To relate that to the context of the languages under discussion in this dissertation I cite the following:

When two language varieties, one of which is highly stable, exist side by side for such a long period of time, it is easy to imagine some of the consequences and problems inherent in such a situation. The gap between the varieties can only grow wider and become more and more unbridgeable. (Ibrahim 1989: 41)

The gap in language varieties was particularly noticeable in the following extract (5.24) from a non-native Occitan speaker in his seventies from Toulouse:

Extract 5.24

CD *Est-ce qu'il y a des problèmes de compréhension quand vous parlez occitan avec d'autres gens (les dialectes, par exemple)?*

O17 *énorme, on comprend pas ceux de nice (les nissarts) par exemple...*

CD Do you consider there to be any problems with comprehension when you speak Occitan with other people (problems with dialects, for example)?

O17 Enormous, you can't understand those from Nice (*les nissarts*) for example...

As far as Catalan is concerned, differences in language were linked to a pragmatic role with the perception that Catalan had acquired an academic function among younger speakers<sup>38</sup>. A native Catalan-speaking lady in her sixties describes the change in quality and use of Catalan in this example:

Extract 5.25

C9. *Ha cambiat, abans el parlaven i molts no el sabiem escriure correctament. Ara el coneixen de l'escola però juguen en castellà a Barcelona i rodalies, això no fassa a les ciutats petites ni a la resta del territori.*

It has changed [the state of Catalan], before they spoke it [Catalan] a lot [but] we didn't know how to write it correctly. Now they know it from school but they play in Castilian in Barcelona and on the *rodalies* [Barcelona commuter trains], that [using Castilian] is not done in the small towns or in the rest of the region.

A native Catalan speaker in his sixties comments that the quality of Catalan has improved although the quantity has diminished:

Extract 5.26

C8. *De petit parlava el català però pitjor, ara es parla menys però millor.*

As a child Catalan was spoken but {it was} worse, now it's spoken less but [it's] better.

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<sup>38</sup> See section 6.1.1.2 on Catalan networks concerning the academic role for Catalan.

Similarly, a native Galician speaker in the over-sixty age group has perceived a difference in quality and quantity of Galician:

Extract 5.27

G12. *Os nenos aprendeno nas escolas e eso está moi ben. Pero estas novas xeneracións falano pouco.*

The children learn it [Galician] in schools and that's very good. But these new generations don't speak it very much.

However, there were testimonies that refuted inter-dialectal difficulties. As far as Breton is concerned, the grandparents of another of my Breton respondents (extract 5.28) comment on the belief by some older Breton speakers that there is a pronounced difference between the Breton of the younger generations and the Breton of the older generations:

Extract 5.28

B9 & B10. *Certaine [sic] personnes disent qu'il est difficile de comprendre le breton des jeunes, qui est plus uniformisé, mais nous ne trouvons puisque nous comprenons très bien nos petits enfants qui parle ce breton uniformisé.*

Some people say that it is difficult to understand the Breton that the young people speak, since it is standardised, but we haven't found that since we understand our grandchildren very well, and they speak this standardised Breton.

I have defined a generational divide and a divide between native speakers and non-native speakers in terms of 'exclusion'. The issue is whether older speakers can understand younger speakers who are non-native speakers of the target language or have been raised as native speakers but have been exposed to a standardised language variety at school. Additionally, there is the issue of whether new speakers, such as immigrants, are understood by native speakers. This is why some linguists emphasise the importance of intra-community links. Hélot and Young (2005), for example, cite a project at a primary school in the Alsace region of France in which parents were asked to talk about their language backgrounds and the languages they use with their children. This type of project enables the school to integrate within its community. As far as intra-community projects are concerned for the languages under discussion in my research, *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* describes, in its language plan, the events that exist to promote intergenerational links so that Breton can be learnt from the native speaker:

*De nombreuses associations et structures se sont attachées à développer des activités permettant des occasions de pratique du breton (hors stages et cours) : conférences, balades, veillées, concours, stages de chant ou de théâtre...*



Several groups and structures are in place to develop activities that offer opportunities to practice Breton (other than on courses): conferences, walks, evening events, competitions, singing or drama courses... (Louarn 2004)

An example of the contribution of the older generation is that of one of my Occitan respondents. This speaker is in his seventies and describes himself as a bilingual Occitan-French speaker. Occitan was an oral language for him until he reached his fifties. He now runs an Occitan course.

**5.1.3 Exclusion: (b) education that does not encourage a language to be used in a variety of domains**

A critique of language education is that the skills are not transferred beyond the classroom because of insufficient intra-community links. Edwards (1985) – in a critique of immersion education – cited research from the early 1980s on French immersion-teaching programmes in Canada that confirms this point. Edwards referred to Genesee:

Differences between immersion students and those studying French in more traditional ways are very slight. The former do little French reading and, like their counterparts, report essentially instrumental rather than integrative reasons for learning French. Although more likely (unsurprisingly) to use more French in personal encounters, the immersion students do no more than the others to seek them out or initiate them. (Genesee 1981 in Edwards 1985: 128)

As part of my analysis into the usefulness of education programmes, I posed a question in the student questionnaires concerning satisfaction with university courses. The following chart merges these results with the questionnaire responses from young Breton adults, in answer to a question on the standard of Breton education in school:

	No need to attend university courses <sup>39</sup>	Good	Uncertain	Bad	Missing responses	Total
Breton	1	6	3	6	0	16
Occitan		3	4	2	0	9
Catalan	7	19	12	0	2	40
Galician	3	0	4	0	0	7
Total	11	28	23	8	2	72

Chart 5.6 Feelings towards university and school minoritised language courses

<sup>39</sup> Responses were influenced by language background. Some respondents did not need specific language courses because they were native speakers of the languages under discussion.

As can be seen, the results are mixed. The same is true throughout all the data. As regards negative opinions, these were in general from the French side. The following two respondents, a Breton-speaking student and an Occitan-speaking student critiqued the confinement of language to an academic role:

Extract 5.29

B4. *Une langue "scolaire", comme le latin par exemple*

A “school language”, like Latin for example

Extract 5.30

O1. *Le vrai problème est qu'on ne peut pas utiliser l'occitan dans la vie quotidienne. En plus, l'école doit suivre certains programmes, l'université doit former des étudiants en lettre, ce qui ne donne pas trop la possibilité de pratiquer l'occitan oral (on fait beaucoup de commentaires de texte à l'oral mais pas des conversations qu'on pourrait avoir dans la vie de tous les jours). Cet apprentissage des conversations de la vie quotidienne se fait plutôt dans les couloirs entre les cours, dans la cours de récréation, dans des structures comme l'école occitane d'été, dans des bars occitans...*

The main problem is that you can't use Occitan in everyday life. Moreover, the school must follow certain programmes, the university most produce students who are well read, which does not offer many opportunities to practice spoken Occitan (there are a lot of oral commentaries but not many everyday conversations which you could have during your day to day life). Everyday conversations are learnt more often in the corridors between lessons, during breaks, through organisations such as Occitan Summer School, in Occitan bars...

According to Lissandre (O1), the formal education programmes do not alter the everyday trends. It is the voluntary organisations and motivation of the students that promote an Occitan that could enable it to be used outside the classroom. Of course, if the aim is to rebuild a language so that it can be used in formal domains, such as different work environments, as well as informal domains, such as cafés, then that would presume a need for courses that promote the relevant level of language competence.

Choice of domains for language use is a concern expressed by the respondents from Spain. The problem area is competition for linguistic space, which is a difficulty within the final stages of Fishman's 'GIDS', which concern the integration of the minoritised language into the domains used by the state language [media, government departments and education ...]. To cite Fishman:

Attempting to influence these two stages [last two of the GIDS] means taking on the most powerful and the most central institutions and processes of the polity as a whole and, therefore, also the ones most firmly and exclusively under Yish [state language] control. Yish, the constant competitor, is always part of the local 'heartland' scene too, not to mention

that its undisputed domination in all other parts of the polity and its role as lingua franca between the regions and the national center usually also remains inviolate. (Fishman 1991: 106 & 108)

The following two extracts from native Catalan speakers in their early thirties illustrate the co-existence of Catalan and Castilian in the workplace, highlighting the point by Fishman of the presence of Yish as a *lingua franca*:

Extract 5.31

CD. *Em podria descriure una situació típica en la qual vostè parla català (els llocs i les persones amb les quals vostè parla la llengua)?*

C4. *A la feina amb els companys i amb els inferiors jeràrquics.*

CD. Could you describe a typical situation in which you speak Catalan (the places and the people with whom you speak that language)?

C4. At work with colleagues and junior bosses.

CD. *En quines circumstàncies parla el castellà?*

When do you speak Castilian?

C4. *Amb els superiors jeràrquics que ho fan en aquesta llengua*

With senior bosses when they use this language

Extract 5.32

CD. *¿Puede Vd. describir una situación típica donde Vd. habla catalán los lugares y las personas con las cuales Vd. habla la lengua)?*

C2. *En la empresa con algunos compañeros de trabajo.*

CD. Could you describe a typical situation in which you speak Catalan (the places and the people with whom you speak that language)?

C2. At work with some colleagues.

CD. *¿Cuáles son las situaciones donde Vd. habla castellano?*

C2. *En el ámbito laboral, trabajo en una empresa multinacional en la que trabajan gente que procede de toda España y el castellano es la lengua común en la que nos comunicamos habitualmente.*

CD. When do you speak Castilian?

C2. In the work place, I work for a multinational company [project technician for a company in Tarragona in the petrochemical sector], in which there are employees from all over Spain and Castilian is the common language in which we usually communicate.

These two extracts show language use at a pragmatic level and regional level. The second extract highlights the use of Castilian as the Yish *lingua franca*, from which we could perceive that Catalan is a localised language. An additional difficulty in Catalonia, which is also apparent in the second extract, is immigration. Consequently, incomers, as regards language acquisition, are faced with the choice of Castilian courses and Catalan courses. On this choice, one of my native-speaking Castilian respondents from Catalonia in the 18-30 age group thought that Catalan proficiency courses for non-native Catalan speakers were in direct competition with Castilian courses:

Extract 5.33

CD. *¿Piensa Vd. que cambiará la situación del catalán en Cataluña? ¿Por qué/por qué no?*

C6. *Creo que la situación ya está cambiando, pero no beneficia a la lengua catalana. Con la adecuación de los estudios superiores al proceso de Bolonia, muchos de estos estudios se ofrecen en castellano para facilitar a la inmigración el acceso. Esto entra en contradicción con la realidad profesional, en la que el nivel C de catalán es en muchos sitios imprescindible.*

CD. Do you think that the situation of Catalan in Catalonia will change? Why/Why not?

C6. I believe that the situation is already changing, but not to benefit the Catalan language. As far as the suitability of the higher-education programmes offered under the Bolonia agreement [an agreement signed by 29 European countries to ensure the provision of language courses that supports incomers and so encourages migration and the freedom to move from one country to another without the need to down-scale employment because of a lack of language skills] is concerned, many of these programmes on offer are in Castilian to help immigrants gain access to the region. This contradicts what is really happening in the workplace, in that in many positions it is essential to have reached level C in Catalan.

The official legislation from the Generalitat concerning Catalan language proficiency in the workplace is that there are four levels ranging from basic (level A) to advanced (level D). The level required is dependent upon the nature of the employment, and level C, which is equivalent to the Spanish Baccalaureate, is usual (Generalitat 2011 and Gencat 2011b). There is a system in place to provide Catalan acquisition (see 2.3.3 and, in relation to Europe-funded provisions, 3.3.1). There is also a system in place to provide Galician acquisition for the workplace, although again the nature of two languages sharing the same linguistic space was a query from within my data. Thirty-four-year-old Clunia, a bilingual Castilian-Galician speaker from A Coruña, wondered if incomers to Galicia would be faced with a linguistic dilemma of whether to master Castilian, Galician or both languages to acquire employment:

Extract 5.34

G7. *Me parece estupendo que todos los papeles sean impresos de forma bilingüe, que el personal de la administración sea bilingüe...pero que pasa con los emigrantes retornados e inmigrantes que llegan a Galicia [sic]? ¿Tienen que aprender los dos idiomas antes de poder trabajar? Y no es aprenderlos lo suficiente para ser entendidos, se les exigirá un nivel alto de gallego para acceder a puestos administrativos, entre otras cosas.*

I think it's great that all documents are in a bilingual format, that those working in administration are bilingual... but what happens with returning migrants and immigrants to Galicia? Do they have to learn two languages to be able to work? And if they don't learn them to an adequate standard to be understood, they will be asked to reach a high level of Galician in order to obtain administrative positions, among other things.

To comment on the above extract, Galicia does not have the same situation as Catalonia regarding immigration. The percentage of incomers to Galicia is small and mainly consists of returning Galicians (see 2.2.4). Also, while incomers affiliated to the European Union can, in accordance with free trade, apply for work in any of the Spanish autonomies, there are restrictions concerning access to administrative positions. The main specification for Galician tests in the ley on the *Organización de la Función Pública* [organisation of the state sector] is for the administrative positions, although there are also assessments in Galician for areas of employment that require the skill (Noticias Juridicas 2011 a & c). Assistance is available at school for incomers with limited knowledge of Castilian and Galician, and there are adult courses for Castilian as well as for Galician (Xunta de Galicia 2008a). The general ethos of linguistic rights in Galicia is one that endorses the ethnic rights of the individual.

Turning from the co-existence of languages in one domain to the specifics of competition for resources, another problem is the provision of materials. One of the Galician students, a male native Castilian speaker, thinks that the teaching material for Castilian is more extensive than that of Galician:

Extract 5.35

G2. *El gallego sigue siendo un idioma secundario incluso en la educación. Por ejemplo la materia que se enseña en Lengua Castellana es más amplia [sic] que la contenida en los manuales de Lingua [sic].*

Galician continues to be a secondary language including within the education system. For example the material used to teach the Castilian language is much more extensive than the content used in the Lingua manuals.

One theory for such a discrepancy is to ensure a difference in standards between languages. Tollefson (1991) cites the example of English language integration courses in the United States of America to illustrate how education can be manipulated so that it does not best serve the interests of those enrolled on the course:

The function of language policy for refugees arriving in the United States is to regulate the role of the educational system in integrating them into the social, political and economic life of their new country. [...] Language policy for Indochinese is designed to channel them into jobs in the peripheral economy, primarily at or near minimum wage. This means that refugees are educated for work as janitors, waiters in restaurants, assemblers in electronics plants, and other low-paying jobs offering little opportunity for advancement, regardless of whether the refugees have skills [...] suitable for higher-paying jobs. Thus refugee ESL classes emphasize language competencies considered appropriate for minimum-wage work: following

orders, asking questions, confirming understanding, and apologizing for mistakes (Auerbach and Burgess 1985 and Tollefson 1986 in Tollefson 1991: 108)

This example differs from the position of Breton, Occitan, Catalan and Galician in that the American programmes are designed to assimilate minoritised language speakers into the culture of the majority language in order to fill certain sectors of the work force. Nevertheless, there is the issue of whether educational programmes, whether school, university or professional training can produce a standard of language that is suitable for any function.

#### **5.1.4 *The benefits of education***

The previous two sections have involved an implicit criticism of education programmes at all levels because of perceptions that they promote exclusivity through the material taught and do not enable the student to integrate into all linguistic domains. A question mark was also drawn over immersion teaching, since my small sample did not greatly favour immersion teaching over other models. Yet, Mercator (Mercator Education 2001) is critical of non-immersive teaching models and there are other studies that have shown the benefits of immersion teaching. Huguet (2007) states that the level of Catalan acquired by native Castilian speakers who have attended Catalan immersion programmes is higher than the level of Catalan reached through attendance at other bilingual models. These conclusions were based on the results of academic surveys conducted in 1996 and 2002 respectively. In 2004, Huguet conducted her own survey with first year students at Girona and Lleida universities in Catalonia. Her data revealed that the education programme followed at primary and secondary level affected linguistic attitudes. Students who were taught in Catalan had the most positive attitudes to Catalan while those who were taught in Castilian had the most positive attitudes towards Castilian (Huguet 2007). One of my Breton respondents was quite clear that immersion teaching was the best form of Breton education:

Extract 5.36

B1. *Le niveau des écoles publiques bilingues (Diwyezh) est très faible par rapport aux écoles Dihun (privé) et extrêmement faible par rapport aux écoles Diwan (école par immersion).*

The level at bilingual state schools (*Diwyezh*) is very weak when compared with the *Dihun* (private) schools and extremely weak compared with the *Diwan* schools (immersion schools).

Given my analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of various types of education programme, it seems that it is too simplistic to say that one programme has a benefit over another programme or that the role of the family is more beneficial to language motivation than the role of the school, university or college. One thought that does seem significant is access to a minoritised language for incomers to the region. I was struck by the testimonies of one of the Occitan-speaking students and his mother. The family had come from Normandy, which is outside the Occitan-speaking regions. This meant they had no prior knowledge of Occitan and no particular reason to learn the language other than maybe an urge to adapt to the culture of their new community. The student's access to Occitan was through attendance at a private Occitan-French shared-teaching school. The decision to enrol him at the school was because the school was available rather than an implicit desire on behalf of the parents for their son to learn Occitan. This example, even though it is one isolated case, is at variance with Paulston's (1994) claim that the decision to provide education programmes depends on prior motivation.

In light of the experience of Occitan respondent Eric (015), but with the usual note of caution concerning sampling, a consideration is whether education programmes should be the first priority for language recuperation, whereas it is not the first step on Fishman's 'GIDS'. Criticism of the 'GIDS' is that it is too static a list in which one step must be completed before the next step and only in the order specified. Hornberger and King (2001) in their research into the fortunes of Quechua explain that the problem stage concerns intergenerational transmission, which is the stage before the use of the minoritised language in the schools. They feel that all the stages need to work together rather than on a step-by-step basis, and that acquisition planning in all its forms has played a major role in reversing the fortunes of Quechua (Hornberger and King 2001: 185). The view here is that the 'GIDS' should be used as a heuristic guide. This is in fact what Fishman says in his defence (Fishman 2001: 467): the stages are interlinked and not separate steps.

My findings coincide with Fishman's position that education works in harmony with the community, and that it is not a case of any one phase of language recuperation weighted as more important than another phase. There are many factors that determine the success of language acquisition and subsequent attitudes and use, of which

education, the family and the social network are just some. I do not think it is helpful to single out any one of them as more beneficial than another.

## 5.2 Status planning: the role of the volunteer

In the arguments on the benefits of acquisition planning, one area of considered import was the role of the community at grassroots level. As far as the promotion of the status of the minoritised language is concerned, my testimonies, especially those that represent Breton and Occitan supported voluntary groups and voluntary efforts. Local initiatives were singled out, such as musicians, private radio stations, Breton movements and *Ofis ar Brezhoneg*.<sup>40</sup> One of the Occitan speakers in the 30-60 age group talked about the work she does with the group CIRDOC:

Extract 5.37

*O7. Je suis responsable informatique du CIRDOC. Mon travail [sic] consiste à faire marcher correctement tout le matériel informatique du CIRDOC, mais je m'occupe aussi de 2 projets importants.*

*- l'informatisation du catalogue de la médiathèque du CIRDOC (60000 livres qui sont en occitan ou qui parlent de l'occitan)*

*- lo portal d'OC, un projet de portail internet qui permettra d'avoir les actualités de toute l'occitanie [sic], les coordonnées des acteurs du monde occitan et l'accès à des outils internet (correcteur orthographique par exemple)*

I'm in charge of the I.T. at CIRDOC. My work consists of correctly entering all the computerised data for CIRDOC, but I'm also involved with 2 important projects.

\_. making a computerised record of CIRDOC's library (60,000 books in Occitan or about Occitan)

\_. lo portal d'OC, an Internet portal which will provide news on the whole of the Occitan region, addresses for those involved with Occitan and access to Internet tools (spellchecker for example)

In the questionnaires with university students, I asked the respondents if they had heard of various language groups and organisations, and how they rated these bodies. Charts 5.7 and 5.8 show the results:

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<sup>40</sup> See appendix C for a selection of advertisements for Breton and Occitan cultural events.



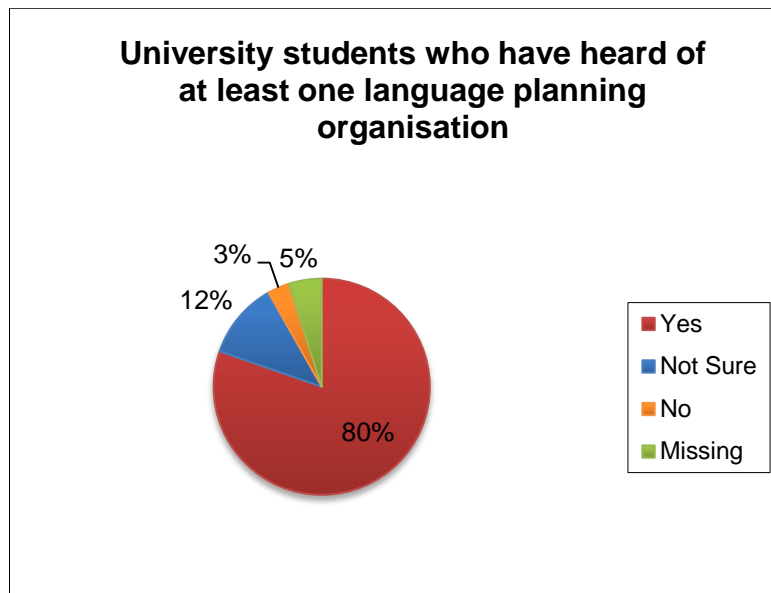


Chart 5.7

	Good	Not Sure	Bad	Missing	Total
Heard	78%	16%	0%	6%	100%
Not Sure	29%	43%	29%	0%	100%
Not Heard	0%	50%	50%	0%	100%
Total	66%	20%	5%	10%	100%

Chart 5.8 Feelings on role of organisations

The organisations that were to be identified were:

- Breton, *Ofis ar Brezhoneg*;
- Catalan, *La secció de Política Lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya*;
- *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*;
- Occitan, the *Centre inter-régional de développement de l'Occitan*;
- the *Institut d'Estudis Occitans*;
- the *Fédération des Enseignants de Langue et Culture d'Oc*;
- the *Centre Régional de l'Enseignement de l'occitan*;
- Galician, the *Real Academia Galega*;
- *La secció de Política Lingüística de la Xunta de Galicia*;
- the *Instituto Gallego de Estatística*;

- the *Servicio de Normalización Lingüística* within the Galician university concerned;
- the *Centro de Documentación Sociolingüística de Galicia*;
- the *Movimento Defensa da Língua*, for Galician

The Breton and Occitan groups are all NGOs and voluntary groups while, with the exception of the *Movimento Defensa da Língua*, the Catalan and Galician groups are controlled by their respective autonomous government. The Galician and Occitan speakers had more groups to identify than the Bretons and Catalans. Consequently, there was more variation in the results for the Galicians and Occitans, where not all the data showed a complete understanding for all groups. As far as the Galicians were concerned, all the students had heard of the *Real Academia Galega* while the *Centro de Documentación Sociolingüística de Galicia* and the *Movimento Defensa da Língua* were less well known. There was also variance of opinion concerning thoughts on the role of the organisations. This was true for Occitan as well, so that the statistics – whilst favourable towards the language planning organisations – do not paint a complete picture.

An inference from the data on thoughts on language organisations is that attitudes are intricately linked to knowledge. There was more uncertainty about the usefulness of the organisations by those who knew little about them. This poses the question of public awareness of language planning. I asked the Galician and Breton respondents involved in the main survey (this does not include the Breton young adults who answered the exploratory questionnaires, as they predate my awareness of the language plans) if they had heard of the Galician and Breton language plans and for their views on these plans. The following chart records the awareness of the plans:

Age	Heard of language plans					
	Breton			Galician		
	Yes	A little	No	Yes	A little	No
18-30	1	1	3	10	4	4
30-60	2	0	4	1	2	3
Over 60	0	0	8	0	0	5
Total	3	1	15	11	6	12

Chart 5.9 Awareness of language plans

As can be seen, there was less awareness among the older respondents and more of the Galician respondents were aware of the Galician language plan – the *Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega* – than the Breton respondents about Breton language plans - *Brezhoneg 2015* and *Le plan linguistique pour la langue bretonne*. As regards criticism about the Galician language plan, it was considered by some respondents, as critiqued in 3.2.1, that the plan was superficial in detail:

Extract 5.38

G5. *En mi opinión es un plan elaborado simplemente para quedar bien, pero que no tiene casi ningún resultado real, y es que desde que existe este plan el gallego ha perdido más hablantes que nunca antes en su historia. Creo que su gran error es que es un plan que se centra en hacernos ver a los gallegos que tenemos derecho a usar nuestra lengua en cualquier contexto, se limita simplemente a informarnos. Pero pienso que de poco vale esto si las personas que hablan gallego reniegan de hacer uso de ese derecho porque consideran que el gallego es una lengua inferior al castellano. Pienso que el plan se debería centrar en acabar precisamente con esos prejuicios pero que no lo hace quizás por dos razones: por una parte es una tarea muy difícil desde el punto de vista sociológico (son prejuicios que existen desde la época de los Reyes Católicos); y por otra parte creo que intentarlo en serio supondría una importante inversión económica y supongo que la Xunta prefiere invertir en otros campos más rentables.* In my opinion it's a plan that has merely been drafted to be inoffensive, but it has almost no tangible results, and since the existence of this plan Galician has lost more speakers than ever before in its history. I believe that its big mistake is that it's a plan that concentrates on giving Galicians the right to use our language in any context; it simply limits itself to informing us. But I think it's of little use if Galician speakers refuse to use this right because they consider that Galician is inferior to Castilian. I think that the plan should concentrate specifically on putting an end to these prejudices but it doesn't perhaps do it for two reasons: on the one hand it's a very difficult task from a sociological point of view (these are prejudices that have existed since the time of the Catholic Monarchs); and on the other hand I believe that to seriously attempt this would suppose a large financial injection and I suppose that the *Xunta* prefers to finance other more profitable fields.

Ideological and sociological concerns were the main points of debate about the *Plan de Normalización*.<sup>41</sup> On the one hand, these support the above position. One Galician man thought the plan did not sufficiently elevate the status of Galician within the education system and that there was no clear evidence that the outlined language planning methods would be any more effective than what was already in place (G6,

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<sup>41</sup> The ideological debate reflects the landscape of language contact in Spain. The respondent in extract 5.38 is concerned that Galician will always come second to Castilian while the respondent in extract 5.39 thinks that Galician could displace Castilian. Both respondents reflect the concerns about bilingualism and the perceptions of diglossia, which is a discussion point in chapter 6. Also, respondent G5 (Pepe) refers to a strand of ideology that is linked to power (see section 1.2) in which the idea has become implanted that, in this case, Castilian is the prestigious language. I discuss this form of ideology in section 6.1.2 on ambivalence.

Fran). On the other hand, there is a fear that Galician would replace Castilian as the dominant language:

Extract 5.39

G7. *Con esta [sic] plan, a mi parecer, lo que se está buscando es una diglosia más que un bilingüismo. Teniendo la suerte que tenemos de ser bilingües, me parece un atraso el imponer como se quiere imponer el Gallego.*

With this plan, in my opinion, what they're looking for is diglossia more than bilingualism. We are lucky to be bilingual; it seems to me to be a backward step to impose Galician in the way that they want to impose it.

Praise for the language plan focussed on the extensiveness of the document in its reference to all domains. Criticism concerned both superficiality and an unhealthy competition for financial resources as the result of too broad a focus: the language plan targets too many domains. A native bilingual Galician-Castilian speaking man in his twenties (G8) said that some employment sectors such as website design companies could subscribe more easily to the linguistic measures, and benefit from financial assistance, than other areas of employment, so that some domains were at an unfair disadvantage.

The Breton respondents who had heard of the Breton language plans thought that the infrastructure in France – the lack of autonomous control – did not augur well for successful implementation of the language plans. The reality is that it is too soon to assess the success of the Breton and Galician plans but also that plans are not necessarily noticed by the majority of people within that community whereas concrete measures such as the availability of the relevant language in shops and on the radio are noticed.

Concerning concrete measures, a recurring argument throughout this dissertation in favour of the governmental organisations is that they have the resources to implement policies of which media outlets is one. However, this does not necessarily mean that the quality reflects the wishes of the community. The discussion in section 4.2.1 about the content of media productions, especially television programmes, for non-state languages raised as a concern the level of quality. My data show mixed views on the level of quality of media. The Occitan and Breton response was that there was little choice. One of the Occitan speakers, a native French-speaking man in the 30-60 age group, thought that the problem with some of the media is that it is still relatively new:

Extract 5.40

O16. *Télévision et Radios sont des phénomènes nouveaux, qui doivent être développés.*  
Television and radio are new phenomena that need to be developed.

A response from the mother of one of the Breton students, a native French speaker in the 30-60 age group, was that Breton television was dependent upon the French state:

Extract 5.41

B11. *La télé s'est fait bernée par les grands groupes audio visuels français, et la diversité qu'on attendait on ne l'a pas eue*

The large French audio-visual companies have deceived us about television, and we're still waiting for diversity.

Meanwhile, the Galician response was more favourable on the subject of choice, which was not the case in the preliminary data. A native Castilian speaker in her twenties preferred the quality of Galician programmes to Castilian programmes, and she acknowledges that there has been improvement in Galician media:

Extract 5.42

G4. Galician is more present in TV and radio and the Galician TV channel has finally good quality programmes which is quite an achievement if you remember how it formerly was. TV series are better made than Spanish ones, films are increasingly good and so are documentaries.

Catalan media received some criticism:

Extract 5.43

C1. *D'aleshores ençà es pot escollir, només dues de la desena d'emissores freqüents emeten sempre en català, tot i que els qui ho volen hi parlen en castellà (sense subtítols).*

Since then [the arrival of Catalan television] there is still little choice, only two of the ten channels that transmit in Catalan always use Catalan, so that those that wish can speak in Castilian (without subtitles).

Extract 5.44

C5. *Només i ha dos diaris importants en català i una televisió d'abast nacional (TV3)*  
There are only two major newspapers in Catalan and one television channel with national frequency (TV3).

The issue is then whether grassroots initiatives are more in touch with the needs of the speech community. Certainly, the academic debate on acquisition planning extolled the virtues of intra-community links. This leads on to whether language

planning from the top – governments and councils – accurately reflects the speech community, and academic debate would suggest otherwise.<sup>42</sup>

### 5.2.1 *Competing domains*

Grassroots initiatives for minoritised languages may more accurately reflect the wishes of the community, but they are in direct competition with state planning. I posed a question in the student questionnaires about the availability of the state language versus the non-state language in the media. The following chart shows the results:

Media Use	Language							
	Breton	French	Occitan	Fr	Catalan	Castilian	Galician	Cas
Never						5		
Little	5		7		6	9	5	
Some			2		7	9	2	1
Lots				1	16	13		5
Always		5		8	9	2		1
Other					2	2		
Total	5		9		40		7	

Chart 5.10 Media output for minoritised language and state language

These results, while allowing for the sample size, reveal that there is more material available in Catalan than in the other languages. As far as the use of the state language in the media is concerned, the Breton, Occitan and Galician responses indicated diglossia that favoured French/Castilian over the minoritised language. The results on language in the media in Catalonia were mixed. It can be seen that there was no general consensus as to whether Castilian was widely available in the media while it was thought that Catalan generally was widely available. Two of the respondents specified that Catalan was used in Catalonia while Castilian was used across Spain.

<sup>42</sup> See Strubell (2001), Edwards (1985), Spolsky (2004) in particular.

Figures from a survey in 2003 by the *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* show that Catalans are able to choose the language that they wish to read in the written press or the language that they hear on the radio or television. The statistics reveal that in the more densely populated Castilian-speaking areas – Barcelona for example – Castilian is the language of choice as a written language but Catalan and Castilian are more evenly matched as the chosen languages in audio-visual material. Meanwhile, Catalan predominates as the language of choice in the Catalan areas, and my respondents attended university in one of these Catalan areas.

In France, on the other hand, there is not the same degree of linguistic choice. The Auvergne branch of the *Institut d'Etudes occitanes* conducted a survey in 2006 on the awareness of languages spoken in the area with a sample of 804 adults living in that region. 86% of those surveyed said they rarely or never listened to radio programmes broadcast in an Occitan language variety and 94% said they rarely or never watched a television programme broadcast in Occitan (La Section régionale de l'IEO de l'Auvergne 2006). These results were supported by a statement from the survey compilers that '*les émissions de radio sont très marginales à l'heure actuelle sur la région*' [radio broadcasts are greatly marginalised at the moment in the region] and '*les émissions de télévision sont inexistantes à l'heure actuelle sur la région*' [television broadcasts are inexistent at the moment in the region]. These results agree with my data that access to Occitan in the media is limited. This is also the case for Breton, especially noticeable in the responses from the young Breton adults.

As regards other domains, as can be seen from the section on networks in chapter 6, diglossia is more prevalent in France than in Spain. The results from the students showed that Catalan is the most accessible language in public domains, such as hospitals. A point arising from these data concerns a clarification by one of the Catalan students that Catalan was the language of choice in localised domains like hospitals but Castilian predominated in inter-regional domains like post offices. This statement embeds Catalan within Catalonia and endorses the ideological strand of language linked to territory. This is a situation that is not possible for the minoritised languages in France, while Galician has not experienced the far-reaching benefits of a public-endorsed cultural movement coinciding with industrial growth (see 2.3.3 & 2.3.4) that has allowed the language to grow, whether through media output or public domains, in the same way as Catalan.

Catalan, though, does experience problems concerning competition with Castilian, as discussed on the use of language in the workplace (5.1.3). This is particularly noticeable in the written media, as discussed by Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes (2006). They analysed quantitatively and qualitatively the language chosen by advertisers for advertisements in the Catalan newspaper *El Periódico de Catalunya*. They chose this newspaper because it is one of the more popular newspapers in Catalonia and there are two versions of the newspaper: a Catalan version and a Castilian version. The newspaper has, therefore, made a conscious linguistic choice that conforms to ‘linguistic accommodation’ where the consumer is accommodated so that they can choose the language they wish to read. Logic would then dictate that advertisements would meet the same criteria: Catalan adverts in the Catalan newspaper and Castilian adverts in the Castilian version of the newspaper. Nearly 40% of the advertisements analysed by Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes did conform to the ‘linguistic accommodation’ model but of the remaining 60%, nearly 40% of advertisements were in Castilian regardless of the version of the newspaper. Further analysis of the advertisements revealed that Catalan was chosen to advertise minoritised language associated events such as festivals but Castilian was chosen for anything perceived in Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes’ words as ‘modern’ like cars and travel. The argument made by Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes is that a hierarchical struggle is in place within the written media that is a microcosm of the competition for domains in Catalonia.

The struggle in the media is one confirmed by Piulats (2007). She has noted that since the death of Franco and, in particular, since the 1998 *Llei de Política Lingüística* (see section 3.2) that media output in Catalan has increased. Nevertheless, she has also observed that Castilian still dominates in the media. Television output is 70% Castilian to 30% Catalan and the output in the written press is 75% Castilian to 25% Catalan (Piulats 2007). These results endorse my findings that there is a desire for more publicity for Catalan as well as the other languages that form the focus of my dissertation. An observation is that the status of a language is not easily resolved regardless of state regime or the stage of language recuperation.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The main research question for this dissertation is whether state regime is an important factor behind the long-term survival of minoritised languages. A question of



this nature easily lends itself to a contrastive approach which focuses on differences, and indeed, in the context of language planning, there are noticeable differences that focus on resources. My data indicate that there is greater access on the whole to Catalan and Galician than there is to Breton and Occitan. However, the discussion in this chapter suggests that, at the grassroots, there have been similar concerns from all the regions regardless of the status of the minoritised language and the regime in place.

Language planning for the most part was only considered relevant as far as visible concrete measures were concerned. Language plans themselves were not known or considered to be too superficial. In chapter 3, I postulated that ‘evaluations’ and ‘post-evaluations’ were the stages of language planning that indicated the success of a language plan. Similarly, it is only when policies are in place and recognised by the community – language classes, television channels and books in the target language as examples – that language planning can be commented upon by the speech community as a whole.

A principal concern from my respondents was the status of the minoritised language versus the status of the state language. The difference between France and Spain was reflected in the differing stages of language recuperation. As far as the Catalans and Galicians were concerned, their preoccupation was the role of Catalan/Galician versus Castilian whereas the Bretons and Occitans were concerned about greater recognition for Breton and Occitan. All of the language groups, though, had an opinion on the relationship between the minoritised language and the state language whether negative or positive.

As well as concerns about the relationship between the minoritised language and the state language there were similar concerns from both countries about the quality and suitability of language courses. This illustrated a divide between the language planners and the rest of the speech community, so the focus of chapter 6 is to determine at an ideological level possibilities of cohesion throughout the speech community. I shall then try to determine what can be done within the parameters of a decentralised or a centralised regime. That may mean less legislation from above and more freedom from below.

## **Chapter 6. Identities, networks and domains: language ideologies at the grassroots level**

### **6.0 Introduction**

In chapter 5, I focused on views at the grassroots level on language planning and language policy. In this chapter I will explore the ways in which the minoritised languages are used and the ideologies that inform that behaviour. As part of this exploration, my methodology has incorporated the use of data from official language surveys (see section 4.1.4). I shall highlight ideologies that concern group identity formation and group interaction. In order to do this, I have identified three key factors within my data that influence language use, whether mentioned by some or all respondents: nationalist ideology, networks and ambivalence. In discussing these factors, issues of what I shall term compartmentalisation and de-compartmentalisation come to the fore. In concluding this chapter, I shall illustrate through corpus ideology how the agents at the top can align with the rest of a speech community.

The overriding theme of my discussion on nationalist ideology is divisiveness. I explore perceptions that state nationalist ideology and regional nationalist ideology promote a message of group inclusivity that leads some people to feel excluded. The theme of social networks (see Milroy 1987) allows me to explore the conditions within which minoritised language use thrives. The idea of ambivalence allows me to explain contradictory behaviour among the older speakers of minoritised languages.

### **6.1 Three key factors influencing language use: factor one, exclusion linked to nationalist ideology**

Exclusion was a point of discussion in chapter 5 from the point of view of the relationship between language planners and non-language planners and between different demographics. To continue this theme I shall explore the relationship between native and non-native minoritised language speakers. Charts 6.1 to 6.4 synthesise findings from a series of questions in the student questionnaires to gauge, from a small sample, feelings of exclusion or cohesiveness between native and non-native speakers of the languages under discussion. I asked the students for their perceptions on current and future dominant languages and cultures in the affected regions, the current and future proportion of state language speakers to minoritised language speakers, the approachability of minoritised language speakers and whether contact with speakers of the minoritised languages encourages a desire to use the minoritised language:

	Current dominant language						Future dominant language				
	State	Non-state	None	Other	No response	Total	S	NS	N	NR	T
Breton	100					100	60		20	20	100
Occitan	100					100	100				100
Catalan	15	58	23	3 <sup>43</sup>	3	100	23	38	40		100
Galician	71		29			100	71	14	14		100

Chart 6.1 Current and future dominant languages<sup>44</sup>

	Current dominant culture					Future dominant culture				
	State	Non-state	None	No response	Total	S	NS	N	NR	T
Breton	60		40		100	40		40	20	100
Occitan	78	22			100	89		11		100
Catalan	13	50	38		100	18	38	45		100
Galician	43	43	14		100	57	29	14		100

Chart 6.2 Current and future dominant cultures

	Breton		Occitan		Catalan		Galician	
	Current	Future	C	F	C	F	C	F
Nobody								
Minority	0/100	0/60	0/100	0/100	35/8	18/8	14/29	0/86
Half		20/40			45/50	63/70	29/57	14/14
Majority	20/0		44/0	56/0	20/40	20/20	57/14	71/0
Everyone	80/0	80/0	56/0	44/0	0/0	3/3	0/0	14/0
	State/non-state	S/NS	S/NS	S/NS	S/NS	S/NS	S/NS	S/NS
Total	100		100		100		100	

Chart 6.3 Current and future proportions of state and minoritised language speakers

<sup>43</sup> Spanish dominant in Spain

<sup>44</sup> Frequencies are given in percentages to the nearest whole number in all four tables.

	Minoritised language speakers are friendly and welcoming				The more minoritised language speakers I meet the more I want to speak the language correctly				There is usually a lot of contact between minoritised language speakers and the state language speakers			
	BR	OC	CA	GA	BR	OC	CA	GA	BR	OC	CA	GA
I completely disagree			3		20		5	14		11	5	
I don't quite agree		11	10			11				22	5	14
Neutral	40	22	23	43	40	33	20	29	40	33	20	29
I slightly agree	40	33	20	43		11	10	14		11	33	43
I completely agree	20	33	43	14	40	44	13		60	22	38	14
Other <sup>45</sup>							53	43				
No response			3									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Chart 6.4 Approachability with and contact with minoritised language speakers

There are no definitive conclusions from within the above data that there are feelings of a lack of cohesiveness between native and non-native minoritised language speakers. However, what is apparent is an observation of the relationship between language and territory that is linked to the contrasting regime structures of France and Spain and historical backgrounds of the affected regions. Catalan is the most dominant of the minoritised languages presented within these data, which is consistent with the geographic nationalist ideology and the fact that these respondents are from the Catalan-dominant area of Girona. Meanwhile, the respondents from France show the more dominant position of French to the extent that some of these respondents commented on the difficulty of questions that demarcated French speakers from minoritised language speakers, because everyone speaks French (a problem I mentioned in the methodology in 4.1.2.2). The overriding theme is one of pragmatism or language use and perceptions of language use according to everyday experience. This trend is consistent with the research of Rodríguez Calavia (2002) into the use of Catalan and ethno-linguistic behaviour among first and second-generation immigrants in Tarragona, a more Castilian dominant area of Catalonia. She observed that the first-generation immigrants used Castilian pragmatically, because of language competence, while the second-generation immigrants used language according to their contacts: Castilian if they remained within their families' circles and Catalan if they moved outside these circles. This use of language is linked to domains/networks (see section 6.1.1 and sub-sections).

<sup>45</sup> Question is not relevant, because the respondents were native speakers of the minoritised language.

The fact that certain languages dominate in certain territories and domains does present conflict, nevertheless, concerning ethnic rights. This conflict was prevalent in a small number of the student responses and other primary data. In the student responses, five non-native Catalan speakers, three of them incomers to Catalonia from Peru and other parts of Spain, revealed possible sentiments of exclusion. They thought that while there was a shift towards linguistic parity in Catalonia there was segregation between Catalan and Castilian speakers and that Catalans were unfriendly. The replies from four native Catalan speakers also indicated exclusion, of which there was an equal spilt of those who saw linguistic parity and those who believed Castilian was the dominant language. All four respondents queried either the friendliness of the Catalans or contact between Catalan speakers and Castilian speakers.

Highlighted in the critique on ethno-linguistic vitality in Catalonia is immigration. This issue came to the fore in the following extracts (6.1 and 6.2) from a respondent who is an incomer from France and a native Catalan speaker:

Extract 6.1

C15 *Aunque vivo en Barcelona, solo hablo castellano.*

[Although I live in Barcelona, I only speak Castilian] And to be honest, people here appear to be very very "nationalist" when it comes to their language, and it doesn't really entice me into learning it. I'm better off with people from South America and other foreigners who strive to learn castellano [sic]... BCN is a great city though.<sup>46</sup>

Extract 6.2

CD *Hi ha algun aspecte negatiu de la situació actual del català a Catalunya?*

C13 *Si, hi ha molta gent imperialista espanyola que ve aquí i es creu que tu has de canviar d'idioma "por sus huevos".*

CD Are there any negative points about the current situation of Catalan in Catalonia?

C13 Yes, there are a lot of Spanish imperialists that come here and think that you have to change your language "for their balls" [strong term meaning ego].

Both extracts refer directly or indirectly to Castilian-speaking incomers, in which implicit in that fact is the impact that Castilian has on the linguistic landscape. Nicole (C15) lives in a more Castilian-dominant environment, so that Castilian is more practical for her than Catalan. Meanwhile, for Joan (C13), a view shared by a fellow native Catalan speaker and a non-native Catalan speaker, Castilian has a negative effect on the use of Catalan. In the two extracts, as well as pragmatism on language use there are references to nationalism in a negative context. Joan refers to an issue that has formed part of the debate on nationalism in Catalonia: bad nationalism/imperialism and good nationalism/nationalism without ethnicity, as I discussed in section 2.3.3. The Castilian speakers, as far as Joan is concerned, are aligned with imperialism, which Joseph (1987: 45-7) cites as 'conquering nations' as opposed to 'uniting

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<sup>46</sup> Respondent replied in a mixture of Castilian and English.

peoples'. However, Nicole (C15) considers nationalism and Catalan as a disincentive to the acquisition of the Catalan language. The different types of nationalism criticised by Joan and Nicole provide an insight into the conflict of group identity formation and, in particular, nationalist ideology. This poses the question of whether it is more beneficial for language to be separate from nationalist discourse and, by extension, whether language should be separate from political discourse. Native Catalan speaker Esteve (C2), who is in his thirties, is of this persuasion. In his discourse, as part of his argument against language aligned with nationalism, he raises the problem pertinent to the languages of Spain of political tensions (see my discussion in 4.3.2):

### Extract 6.3

*C2 Veo mal y creo que es muy negativo que se asocie el uso del catalán a connotaciones políticas de corte nacionalista. El catalán como lengua es un bien cultural a proteger, y debe quedar al margen de cualquier consideración política.*

I see it as a bad thing and believe it to be very negative that Catalan is associated with political connotations linked to the nationalist court. It is good to protect Catalan as a language for cultural reasons and it [Catalan] must remain on the margins of any political consideration.

The political connotations to which Esteve refers are apparent in the following discourse by the former president of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* Jordi Pujol:

*Vaig parlar del que vaig anomenar “política de nacionalització de Catalunya”, que afecta els nostres signes d’identitat, els nostres símbols, la nostra consciència col·lectiva. Iniciatives com [...] el reforçament de la política de normalització de Catalunya, amb especial accent en l’ús social del català [...] i com aquestes, moltes més iniciatives. [...] L’important és que volem reforçar el sentiment i la consciència nacionals de Catalunya i tots els seus signes d’identitat. [...] Per tant, que ningú no s’inquieti [...] si aconseguim, com ens proposem fer, que Catalunya sigui en tot més forta, també en la seva consciència nacional.*

I spoke about what I called “Catalonian nationalisation policy”, that affects all our signs of identity, our symbols, our collective conscience. Initiatives such as [...] the reinforcement of Catalonian normalisation policy, with special emphasis on social use of Catalan [...] and lots more initiatives along these lines. [...] The important thing is that we want to reinforce Catalonian national sentiment and conscience and all their signs of identity. [...] So that, that no-one need worry [...], if we succeed, as we propose to do, then Catalonia will continue to be stronger, in its national conscience as well. (Pujol 1989b in Süselbeck 2008: 180)

The above discourse emphasises the position of Catalan as the language of Catalonia. Similarly, in Galicia (again discussed in 4.3.2) language and politics are intertwined. The difference is that immigration is not a concern, whereas the history of Castilian dominance within Galicia has had a strong bearing on the linguistic landscape, so that in the student responses there is a stronger perception of the presence of Castilian than in the Catalan responses. Conflict is connected to the relationship between Galician and Castilian, and in the

extract (6.4) by non-native Galician speaker Manuel (G2), from the eighteen-thirty age group, tensions come to the fore about the presence of Galician:

#### Extract 6.4

G2 *A la derecha española se la "refanfinfla" que en Galicia estemos luchando por nuestro idioma, cultura y condición nacional, pues para ellos todo es un ataque, su único fin es que aquí se admire el "idioma cervantino" y la cultura de "olé olé". Todo esto es fruto del centralismo y sentimiento nacional patriotero traído de Francia con la dinastía de los Borbones.*

The Spanish right 'does not give two hoots' that in Galicia we are fighting for our language, culture and national consciousness, since for them it is an attack, their only aim is that the 'language of Cervantes' and the culture of 'olé olé' is admired. All this is the product of centralisation and a feeling of national patriotism brought from France by the Bourbon dynasty.

In the above extract Manuel describes the struggle between the state and the region in which nationalism as a pejorative term is an association with the state. In this critique he is dissatisfied with the role of the principal governmental party in Galicia: the right-wing state representative *Partido Popular*. However, regional nationalism as a counter reaction to state nationalism is also problematic, as twenty-seven-year-old non-native Galician speaker Olga from A Coruña explains:

#### Extract 6.5

CD *¿Hay algunos aspectos negativos de la situación actual del gallego?*

Are there any negative points about the current situation of Galician?

G4 The nationalist policies which try to impose *Galiciano* over anything else. In this sense this is as bad as trying to impose Spanish over anything else. In my opinion, regional nationalism (Galician), state nationalism (Spanish...) are always negative. Nationalism is a diversive [divisive measure] to invest, attract attention and aspire [after] resources to a container without content. There are only two truly important things in policies: Peoples' living conditions and opportunities. Nationalism is a diversive [divisive measure] to invent problems in order to get a budget to solve them. Only the inhabitants are important.<sup>47</sup>

In Olga's testimony she describes territorial based nationalism. The conflict that Olga describes is that geographic nationalism contradicts claims on language identity and endorses the notion of one language one identity. This is also the argument from the small number of Breton and Occitan respondents who referred to nationalism or closely related themes. The difference between the responses from France and Spain though is that in France the debate about nationalism is solely about the relationship between the region and the state. Bilingual Breton/French-speaking Michel (B15) from the thirty-sixty age group highlights the fact that France endorses geographic nationalism whereas he supports, in his opinion, a more tolerant form of group bonding:

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<sup>47</sup> Olga replied in English.

#### Extract 6.6

B15 *Bonjour, bien sûr qu'il faut « changer la situation du Breton », l'empêcher de « régresser », mais au contraire « progresser »! Mais ce n'est pas gagné : la France vient encore de refuser de ratifier la « Charte européenne des langues régionales »...Et les attaques fusent De partout, même de la part de gens \_élus\_ qui se disent « progressistes ».\_ « Caractère culturel », au sens de richesse identitaire /patrimoine original/besoin d'être reconnu en tant que personne « différente » /Fierté, sensibilité, d'appartenir à un « groupe », hors la notion de « supériorité ». L'effet de la « langue bretonne » ? Difficile, car « né dedans » malgré les efforts des parents pour n'utiliser que la langue officielle \_français\_ Préconisée par les « autorités de la république » à PARIS.*

Hello, of course it's necessary to 'change the situation of Breton', to stop Breton 'regressing', but instead to allow Breton to 'progress'! But this has not been won: France still refuses to ratify the 'European Charter for regional languages'... And the attacks were descending from everywhere, even the politicians who call themselves 'progressive'. 'Cultural character', [is] in the sense of an enriched identity/ original patrimony/ being recognised as someone 'different'/ Pride, sensitivity, of belonging to a 'group', outside the concept of 'superiority'. [What is] the effect of the 'Breton language'? [It is] difficult, because it is 'born within' in spite of the efforts of parents to only use the official language, French, stipulated by the 'republican authorities' in PARIS.

Michel's (B15) use of the upper case in his reference to the instigators of state nationalism, Paris, indicates that he is strongly against a regime that imposes its wishes upon others without tolerance of difference; he does not wish to lose a sense of what it means to be Breton. Regional identity can also become a form of escape from state nationalism, which is how sixty-three-year-old non-native Occitan speaker Claudi describes his attraction to Occitan:

#### Extract 6.7

O6 *Le fait de connaître la question occitane me permet aussi de prendre du recul par rapport au nationalisme [sic] français qui est tellement écrasant en France.*

The fact of understanding the Occitan question also allows me to retreat from French nationalism which is so overwhelming in France.

In reacting against state nationalism there are again concerns that the use of one language is preferable to multiple language use. Twenty-one-year-old non-native Occitan speaker Eric (O15) in his critique of some Occitan militants is against the idea of sole Occitan use:

#### Extract 6.8

O15 *C'est l'image occitaniste qui me gêne. Pas celle que j'en ai (militant, culturel et dynamique) mais celle que les gens ont et que je ne cautionne pas : Traditionnaliste, renfermé nombriliste, "imbécile heureux qui est né quelque part" selon les termes de Brassens. C'est peut être aussi pour cela que je ne parle pas occitan ou peu devant les francophones.*

It's the Occitanist image that bothers me [Occitanists that insist on speaking Occitan even when in the presence of those who don't understand it]. Not the way I am (militant, cultural and dynamic) but that of those that I don't support: traditionalist, inward-looking, "happy fool who is born elsewhere" [people living in their own contented world with an



‘ignorance is bliss’ attitude] according to the words of Brassens.<sup>48</sup> It is perhaps also for that reason I don’t speak Occitan or only a little in front of French speakers.

The issues that this discourse raises are domains of use for languages (specific places for the use of a particular language, such as military circles) and whether language is a marker of a single identity. These form further discussion points within this chapter.

### **6.1.1 Factor two: domains or networks of language use**

Language domains, as described in chapter 1, are the places where a language is used, the people with whom a language is used, and the topics for which a language is used. Networks refer specifically to the people with whom a language is used. There is a body of academic research that has explored the influence of networks on language use in relation to gender. Strong attachment to the minoritised language may be associated with males, because of a conviction that females are conservative and drawn to the dominant language or to standard speech varieties (see McDonald 1989 and Laroussi & Marcellesi 1993 citing Maurand 1981). There is some research, though, that has tested the conviction that women are leaders in language shift patterns towards the standard. Thomas (1988: 54) in research into the use of Welsh noted that there were certain domains that favoured the use of Welsh by women who were over fifty years of age. The networks of these women were located within the Welsh-speaking environments of the village and the chapel.

The networks cited by Thomas are what Milroy (1987) refers to as ‘high-density clusters’. She conducted research with inhabitants from three working-class areas of Belfast, and during the course of this research she noted that the greater the social interaction within close-knit community settings the greater the tendency to use non-standard vernacular language forms. This in general showed a strong correlation with gender, so that the vernacular was used more by men, who formed close clusters at work and in bars and men’s clubs, than by women who would travel outside of their local community to seek employment. This observation is consistent with the connotation of women as leaders in upward-mobility language shift. However, Milroy noticed some anomalies in her data-sets that appeared to contradict general trends. One example that she cites is of two women from the same area of Belfast, from the same age group (40-55), and from the same socio-economic background. One of these women confirms the premise that women avoid non-standard vernaculars while the other woman uses the non-standard speech variety. The key determinant for Milroy was that the woman who used

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<sup>48</sup> This quote is from a song by Georges Brassens, who was from the Occitan region. I carried out a web search to see if he had used Occitan in any of his songs, but he had not.

the non-standard vernacular was integrated within ‘high-density clusters’ – family, neighbours and social groups – while the other lady was not integrated within these clusters (Milroy 1987: 132-4).

An inference that can be deduced from Thomas’ and Milroy’s research is that the type of social interaction has a bearing on language behaviour. Language ideology is influenced by personal experience. Eckert (1999) is in agreement on this point, although she slightly rejects the theory that language use is linked to networks. She conducted research with American secondary school students on language use. She had identified two groups of students – ‘jocks’ (ambitious students who integrate fully into school activities) and ‘burnouts’ (students who disassociate themselves from school activities). The male students largely adhered to social status – vernacular language forms spoken by ‘burnouts’ and the non-vernacular spoken by ‘jocks’ – but, as with Milroy’s research, there were anomalies among the females. Eckert observed that the types of activities, communities of practice, influenced language use. Students who stayed within ‘jock’ or ‘burnout’ communities of practice maintained one speech variety of the standard or the vernacular. However, some of the female ‘burnouts’ joined communities of practice within and outside the school, and their speech variety was moderated towards somewhere between the standard and the vernacular.

The key factor that underlines the use of non-standard vernaculars is the environment within which the communicants interact. In this sense languages are analogous with nature, in which there are certain places and conditions in which a particular language thrives in a similar way to the natural world (see section 1.1). As regards the use of language among women, it could be that the minoritised language is the appropriate language, because of access to education or the nature of the society within which a woman operates. Andean women, as observed by Harvey, have Quechua as the dominant language rather than Castilian because of a lack of access to the Castilian-speaking world (Harvey 1994, cited by Romaine 1999).

I have also found networks to have a bearing on language use; these networks are rooted in the history of language shift that I described in chapter 2.

**6.1.1.1 Galician domains and networks**

As far as domains in Galicia are concerned, I have stated (section 2.2.4) that there is a transition away from clear boundaries for Galician and Castilian use. We can see in charts 6.5-6.7 that Galician is used across the range of functions regardless of age group:

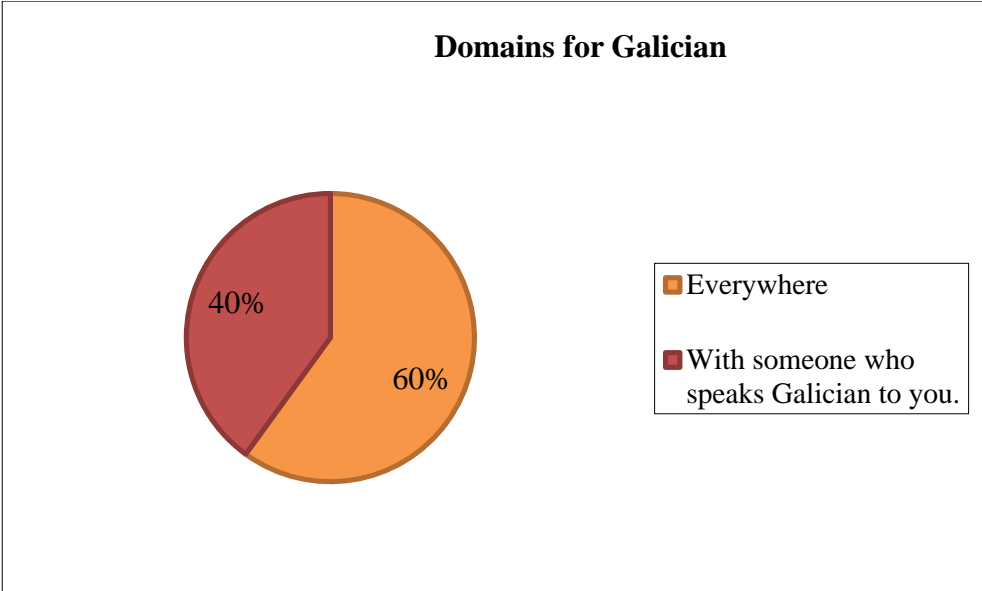


Chart 6.5 Over sixties domains

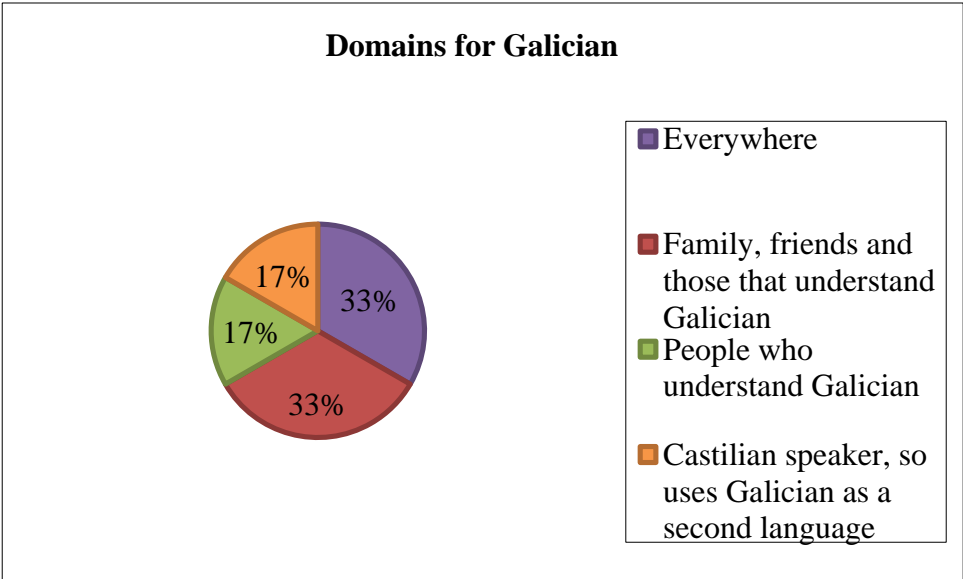


Chart 6.6 30-60 age group domains

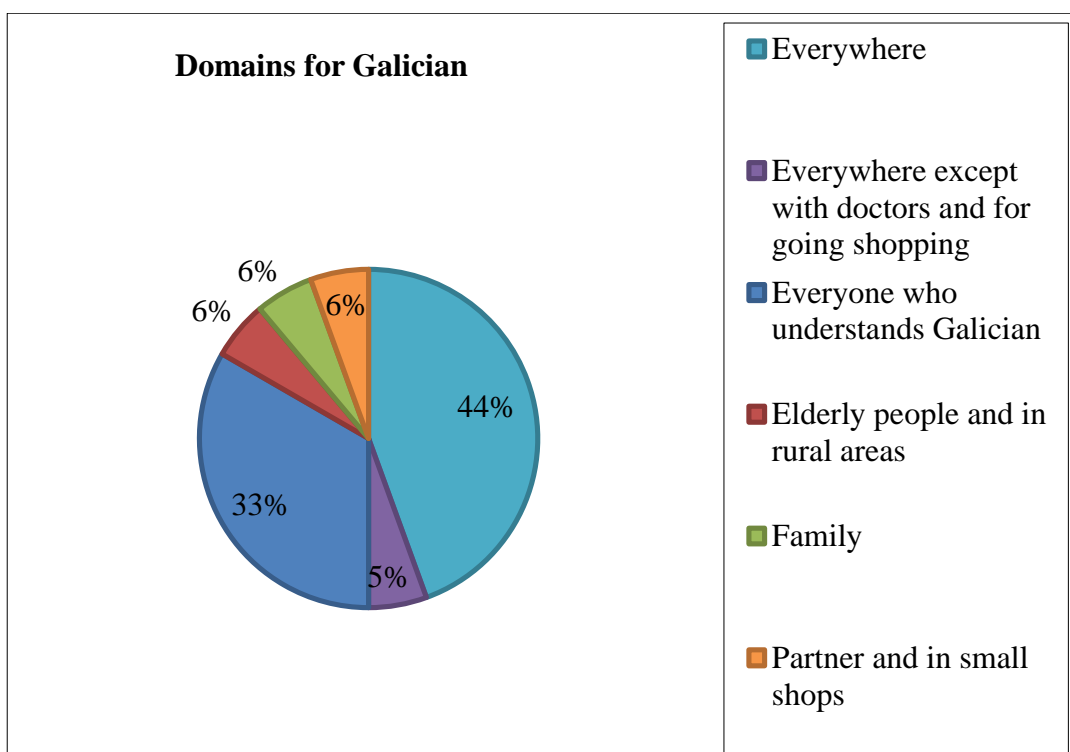


Chart 6.7 18-30 age group domains

In observing these data, a key point of note is the connection between networks and language use and perceptions. My student respondents are all, except one from A Coruña (a native Galician speaker), from and live in Galician-dominant areas. They all have a positive perception of Galician as reflected in their responses that they feel Galician or Galician and Spanish and they like Galician culture or Spanish and Galician culture best. In addition, the respondents from older demographics illustrate the effect of ‘high-density’ interaction on language use which also relates to language and gender. Eighty-two-year-old and seventy-one-year-old native Galician speakers Silvia (G11) and Iria (G10) are from rural, working-class backgrounds: the clothing industry and agriculture respectively. Silvia uses Galician as her everyday language, while the following extract shows how Galician is a natural part of Iria’s life:

Extract 6.9

G10 *Falo sempre gallego [sic], con todos.*

D<sup>49</sup> *En que situacións falas castelano[sic]?*

G10 *Sempre falo gallego.*

D *Para falar coa familia e cos fillos que lingua[sic] é mellor?*

G10 *A gallega*

D *Por que?*

G10 *Porque si, porque falamos o gallego e listo, somos gallegos.*

<sup>49</sup> D = G10’s daughter. The daughter read my questions which were adapted according to the responses from the interviewee as part of a spontaneous interview.

G10 I always speak Galician, with everyone.

D When do you speak Castilian?

G10 I always speak Galician.

D Which language is best for speaking with your family and your children?

G10 Galician.

D Why?

G10 Because well, because we speak Galician and well, we are Galician.

The use of Galician by females is documented in the 2003 survey by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística*, which shows that there is no difference in Galician usage according to gender among the over-sixty-five-year-olds in the rural province of Ourense in the south of Galicia. Men in this age group outnumbered women in Galician usage to the greatest extent (5 points) in A Coruña (Instituto Galego de Estatística 2007). These figures are for provinces and do not show differences between urban and rural settlements. Nevertheless, the figures reveal that in this age group women can speak Galician as much as men and that the difference with the A Coruña province is consistent with a shift towards Castilian in A Coruña – a language shift of which gender is a correlation.

As regards the transition away from negative perceptions towards Galician, Iglesias Álvarez (2007: 166) noted that favourable opinions towards Galician are shared by younger generations and in urban areas. This correlates with the growing presence of Galician in the school setting and workplace documented by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística*. However, I have used the term ‘transition’ to describe the use of Galician, because there are still indications that Galician is a language of the margins. In my data, my younger respondents from Galicia mention that Galician is associated with the elderly, rural areas and used in family contexts. O’Rourke (2003), in research with English philology students at A Coruña University, found that Galician use was still linked to perceived diglossic perceptions of a language used by the elderly and in rural areas. In addition, Iglesias Álvarez (2007) found that there was a misalignment between attitudes towards Galician and use by younger Galicians and urban dwellers.

A key factor in the retention of diglossic perceptions in language use is attitude concerning the *séculos escuros* and the Franco regime passed down through older generations, which is ingrained to the extent that among older generations there are contradictions in statements about language use, which I discuss in section 6.1.2. Consequently, Galician has not been transmitted by parents to the next generation, mentioned by respondents from all the age groups, as part of the search for upward mobility and rural-urban shift (2.2.4). Language recuperation efforts have had to contend with language attitudes in the home. Consequently,

there is a more visible presence of Galician among the younger generations in formal settings, such as the school and the workplace.

**6.1.1.2 Catalan domains and networks**

At first sight Catalan usage among my informants appears strong and does not appear to be segregated according to networks, in which Catalan is the language of Catalonia in the use of the term *llengua pròpia* [own language]. This is confirmed by official statistics: the *Enquesta demogràfica 2007* by the *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* (2010) states that 94% of the Catalan population can understand Catalan while 76% know how to speak the language (see also section 2.1.2). Charts 6.8-6.10 synthesise my findings:

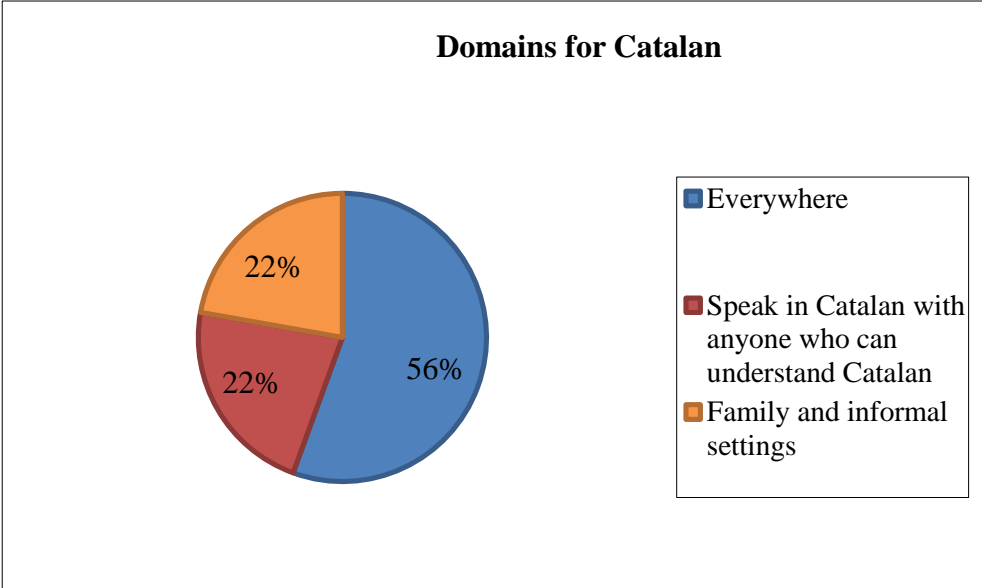


Chart 6.8 Over sixties domains

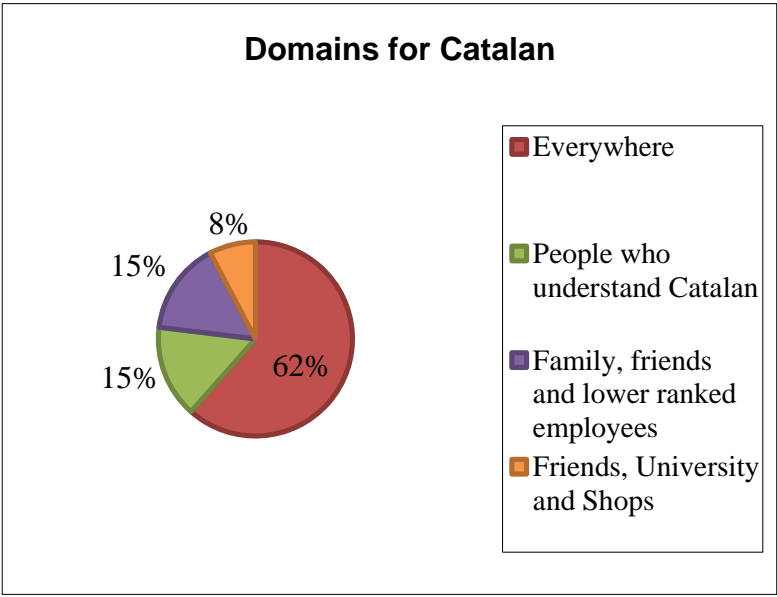
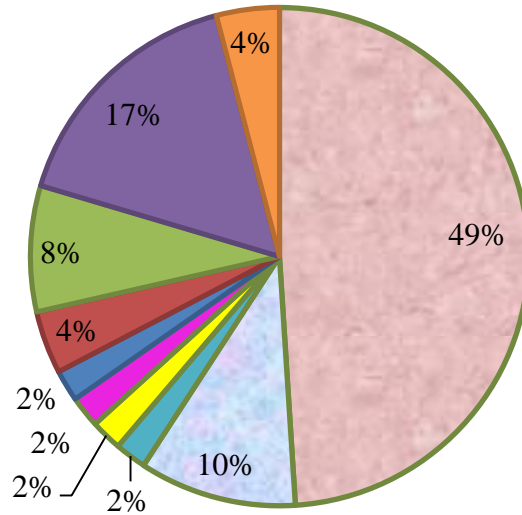


Chart 6.9 30-60 age group domains

### Domains for Catalan



- Everywhere
- Everywhere that Catalan is spoken and with anyone who speaks Catalan
- Initial language for any conversation
- University
- Family
- Friends
- Family as one of a variety of domains that may include friends, doctors, neighbours and university staff
- Close circles that include friends and neighbours but not the family. Also used in localised functions like shopping and asking for directions
- Almost everywhere. Exceptions include the family, neighbours, doctors and some university staff
- Never

Chart 6.10 18-30 age group domains



We can observe, nevertheless, that the data accumulated for the 18-30 year-olds show that there are certain domains for Catalan. In addition, some of my native Catalan-speaking respondents across all age groups specified that Catalan was not used in large towns. Meanwhile, native Castilian speaker Maria (C17) uses Catalan in suburban shops but Castilian in city-centre shops in Catalonia. This difference in language use according to territory is a point I mentioned in section 2.2.3.

In the responses from the students, the influence of networks is apparent in the use of Catalan by the non-native speakers. Three of the thirteen were fully immersed in the use of Catalan in that they speak it in all domains, family included – two of these speakers are the offspring of Catalan speakers. Eight out of the remaining ten use Catalan in specific networks that exclude the family but include friends and teachers. One of the non-native Catalan speakers only uses Catalan with friends, but he is an incomer from Peru who is new to Catalan. Another late exponent to Catalan uses it with the family and neighbours but not with friends and teachers. All of the native Catalan speakers, except for two, use Catalan in all domains regardless of origin. One of the exceptions only uses Catalan with the family while the other does not use Catalan with neighbours and doctors. The integration within a Catalan-dominant environment, Girona, is confirmed by the fact that thirty-four of the forty students feel either Catalan or Catalan and Spanish, and thirty-two like Catalan or Spanish and Catalan culture best. As far as the incomers are concerned, two felt Spanish, two felt Catalan and Spanish, and four felt something else.

As well as a territorial influence on Catalan use there are demographic and pragmatic influences. Some of the respondents mentioned that although Catalan was better taught it was used less in social contexts by the young, and use of Catalan depended on the linguistic capabilities of the interlocutors, such as Castilian in the workplace (see extracts 5.25, 5.26, 5.31 and 5.32). According to a survey conducted in 2006 by the department of education at the *Generalitat de Catalunya* with fifteen-year-old schoolchildren across fifty-one schools in Catalonia, Catalan has a higher presence in the school context than outside school (Sorolla, 2010). Three-quarters of native Catalan-speaking children in the survey always use Catalan in academic contexts inside and outside school, but this figure decreases to below 70% with friends outside school. As far as Castilian speakers in the survey are concerned, three-quarters use Catalan with teachers inside school, just over 40% use Catalan in academic activities outside the classroom and 20% use Catalan with school friends outside school; but the survey does not specify the backgrounds of the friends. Among my student responses, one of the native Castilian speakers, a man from Barcelona but now based in Girona, did not speak Catalan with

friends inside or outside the classroom although his lessons were taught in Catalan and Castilian; but the change of networks and the elapse of time has altered his use of Catalan: he speaks Catalan in all contexts except with the family. Two other non-native Catalan speakers, one from the region of León in Spain and the other unspecified, used Catalan with friends at school for lessons and play but did not use Catalan with friends outside school; the change of networks and elapse of time have also altered their use of Catalan: they speak Catalan in most contexts. All of my other non-native Catalan speakers who spent some or all of their childhood in Catalonia used Catalan with friends at school and away from school.

My data suggest that it is context that influences childhood and adulthood language use. Another possible explanation is class association. Historically, as discussed in chapter 2 citing Giner (1984), the vibrant economy in Catalonia enabled Catalan to thrive among the middle classes. During the early period of the Franco dictatorship Catalan was also adopted by the working classes as a form of protest. However, as immigration increased class divisions strengthened, so that there is a common belief in Catalonia that Catalan is a middle-class language. Criticism by some Catalan language activists is that Catalan language recuperation has reinforced the class division<sup>50</sup>, a point with which thirty-two-year-old native Catalan speaker Oscar (C4) is in agreement:

#### Extract 6.10

*CD Pensa que el català i el castellà tenen funcions diferents?*

*C4 Totalment. Catalunya deu ser l'únic país del món on els senyors parlen als criats en la seva llengua. Franquisme sociològic. Per altra banda, en contra del que volen fer creure, també hi ha obrers i menestrals de llengua catalana. Lo de la burgesia catalana que oprimeix a la obrera castellana, és un tòpic de l'esquerra que ha fet molt mal. Hi ha historiadors que defensen que es pot arribar al catalanisme per mitjà del moviment obrer.*

*CD Do you think that Catalan and Castilian have different roles?*

*C4 Absolutely. Catalonia must be the only country in the world where the masters speak to the servants in their language. [It is] sociological Francoism. On the other hand, despite what they want us to believe, there are also Catalan-speaking labourers and artisans. The Catalan bourgeoisie oppressing the Castilian working class, it is a topic that the left has done very badly. There are historians who argue that Catalanism can be achieved through the working-class movement.*

The historical association of Catalan with the middle classes is specific to Catalonia. However, there is another aspect of class association that is pertinent to all minoritised languages. I have noticed, although there are exceptions, that the majority of the student respondents across the four languages under discussion are from middle-class backgrounds. I feel that there is a correlation between socio-economic background and the level achieved in

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<sup>50</sup> I further discuss ideological pressures on language use in sections 6.3.2 & 6.3.3.

education. The child from a middle-class family can benefit from the educational experiences of their parents which may not be available to the working-class child. Consequently, the child from a middle-class background is more likely to excel in the education system than a child from a working-class background.

Turning back to Catalan, language policy has embedded this language into an institutionalised context, which has been recognised by the *Generalitat* and has prompted a change in the direction of language policy that I cited in section 3.2.2. In academic research, Woolard (2008) noted in her ethnographic fieldwork in Catalonia in the late 1980s and early 1990s that Catalan was used as a vehicular language more by the offspring of the middle classes than by the working classes because Catalan was perceived as a language associated with institutions. The institutionalisation of Catalan is a reinforcement of the historical context concerning middle-class connotations, which is not the case for Breton, Occitan and Galician. Another difference is where, for example, Galician language recuperation efforts have had to contend with the effect of centuries of marginalisation influencing language transmission. Catalan language transmission concerns the recovery from the prohibition of the language during the Franco regime and pragmatic considerations connected with in-migration (problems that I have recounted in 2.2.3). Illustrations of pragmatic consideration and the influence of the Franco regime are in the fact that Eighty-six-year-old Andreu (C19) was for pragmatic reasons raised as a Castilian speaker although his parents were native Catalan speakers and the insight into a subtle and complex linguistic scenario of language transmission provided by bilingual Catalan-Castilian speaker Caterina from the 30-60 age group:

Extract 6.11

*C20 Empecé a hablarla a partir de los 4 ó 5 años porque cuando yo era pequeña España estaba en régimen de dictadura franquista y el catalán estaba prohibido socialmente aunque se hablara en las familias. Yo recuerdo a mi padre decirnos: "Ahora hablar catalán" y viceversa. I started to speak it [Catalan] from the age of 4 or 5 because when I was small Spain was under the Franco dictatorship and Catalan was prohibited socially although it was spoken in families. I remember my father saying to us: "now speak Catalan" and vice-versa.*

### **6.1.1.3 Breton domains and networks**

Breton domains are more clearly demarcated than those for Galician and Catalan. I have shown (section 2.2.1) that Breton is either associated with rural backgrounds and the elderly or with new speakers (*Néo-bretonnants*), and (section 2.3.1) that, unlike Galician, Breton is not an official language that allows the possibility for the speaker to use it in all domains. The combination of marginalised connotations and no official legislation has an impact upon the

extent to which Breton is used by the members of the speech community. Charts 6.11-6.13 show the use of Breton from within my data:

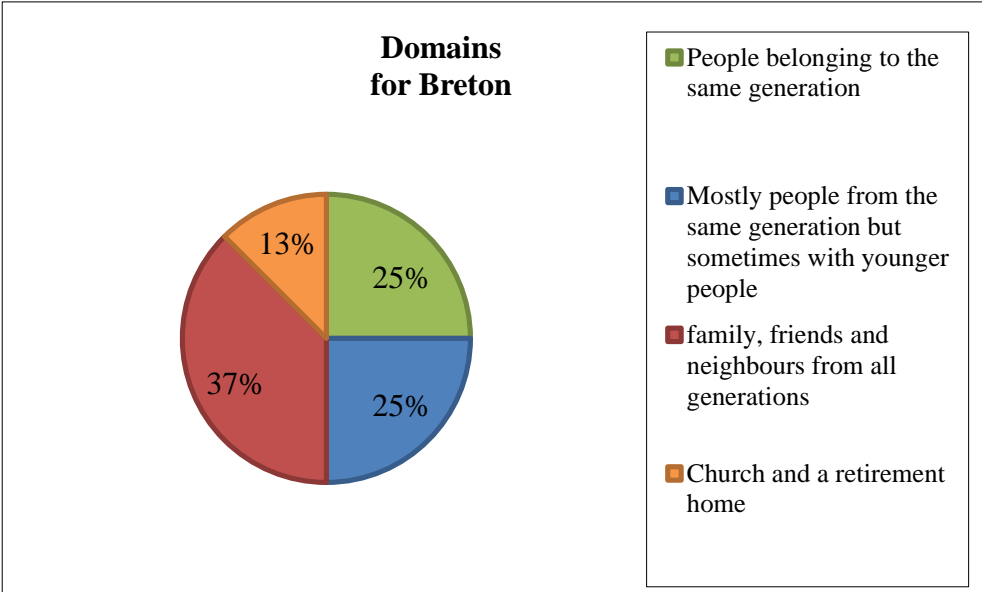


Chart 6.11 Over sixties domains

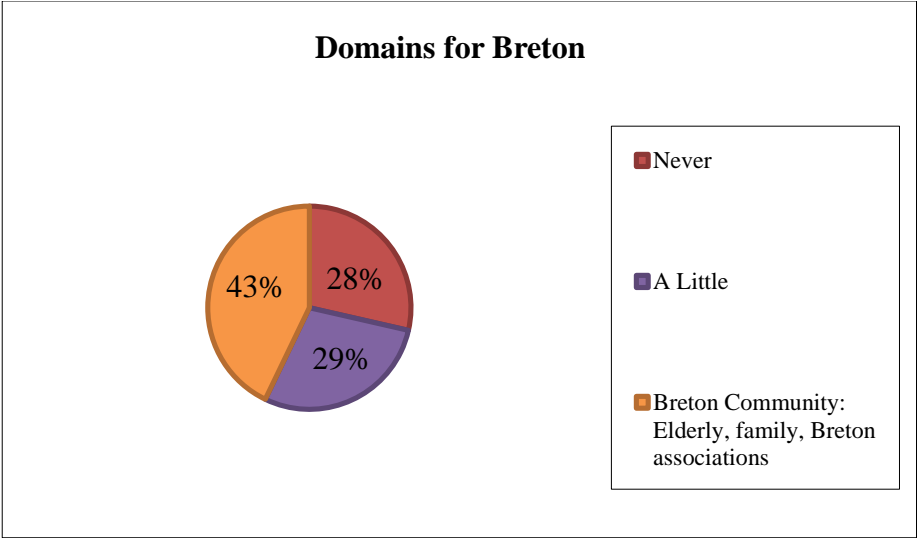


Chart 6.12 30-60 age group domains

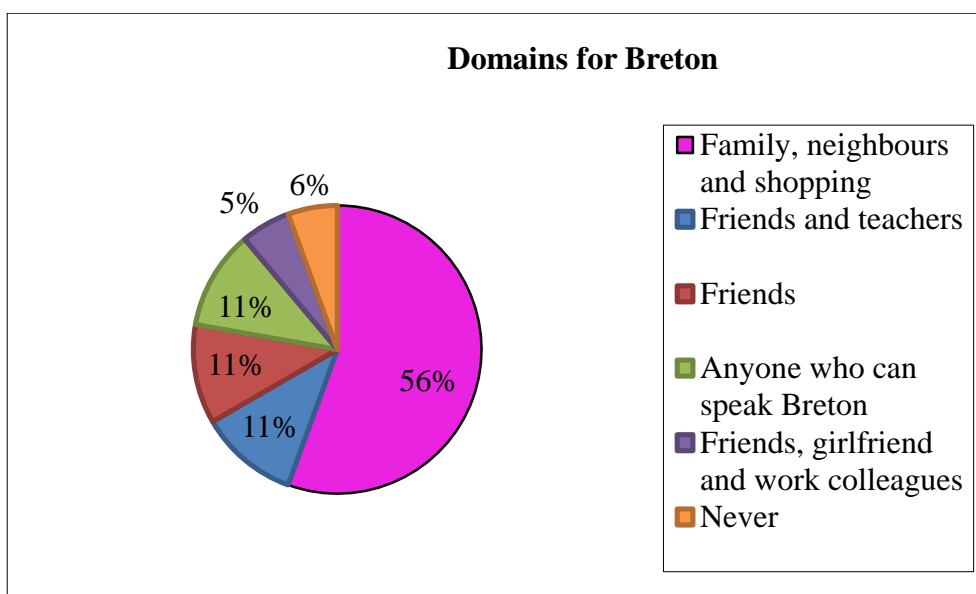


Chart 6.13 18-30 age group domains

To comment on the above data, all the respondents use Breton in the localised sphere. The younger respondents, who appear to have a broader use of Breton, are mainly from the more dominant Breton area of Finistère; the respondents who are not from Finistère come from Nantes in Loire Atlantique and Saint Brieuc, and they are native Breton speakers, speak Breton in a more confined capacity (friends and teachers) or do not speak Breton. A respondent from this age group who never uses Breton qualified her language use based on territory:

Extract 6.12

B18 *J'habite bien en Bretagne mais dans la région de Saint Brieuc dans les Côtes d'Armor où le breton n'a jamais été parlé.*

I do indeed live in Brittany but in the Saint Brieuc area in the *Côtes d'Armor* [department] where Breton has never been spoken.

In the localised use of Breton there are two principal domains: academic context (classes, associative groups and academically-skilled employment, such as teaching and the media) and non-academic, such as use with and for friends, neighbours and shopping. Academic use, despite what my data show, is not limited to younger generations, as is shown by the list of some of the staff involved with Breton education programmes (see Roudour 2011 & Skol an Emsav 2011).

Another feature of Breton use is inter-generational transmission. It can be seen that some of the over-sixty-year-olds refer to Breton use with their own generation. This is influenced by the historical marginalisation of Breton, such as the use of the language in school. Similar to attitudes among the older Galician speakers about language transmission Breton

speakers have preferred to transmit the language that offers a chance for upward mobility. Within my data, there is an indication of transmission loss of Breton in the 30-60 age group usage. Marie (B11), the mother of student Suzanne (B12), explains why there has been transmission loss:

Extract 6.13

B11 *malheureusement nous ne parlons pas le breton alors que c'était la langue de nos grands parents [sic] (ils ont subis beaucoup de brimades et de vexations à l'école lorsqu'ils parlaient breton) et pour partie celle de nos parents également dans leur jeune âge*

Unfortunately we do not speak Breton even though it was our grand-parents' language (they suffered from a lot of bullying and harassment at school when they spoke Breton) and for their part so did our parents in their youth.

Suzanne's (B12) generation, for pragmatic reasons, uses Breton more with grandparents and away from the family. A consequence of this re-acquaintance with Breton is a desire by non-native speakers to re-align with their past (see section 6.2.3), reflected in positive attitudes towards Breton.

**6.1.1.4 Occitan domains and networks**

Occitan use is similar to Breton for the same reasons (see sections 2.2.2 & 2.3.2). Charts 6.14-6.16 show my findings on Occitan use:

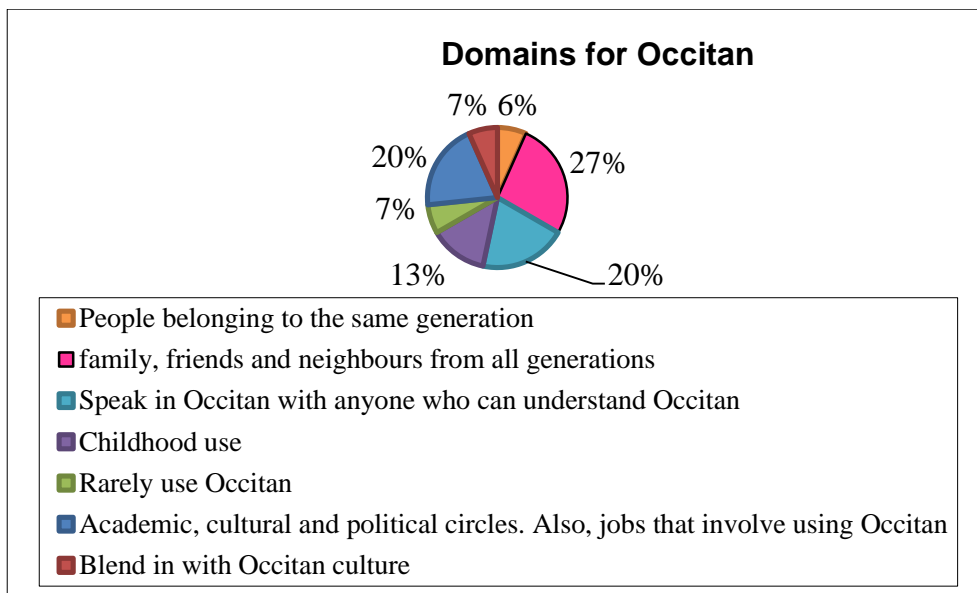


Chart 6.14 Over sixties domains

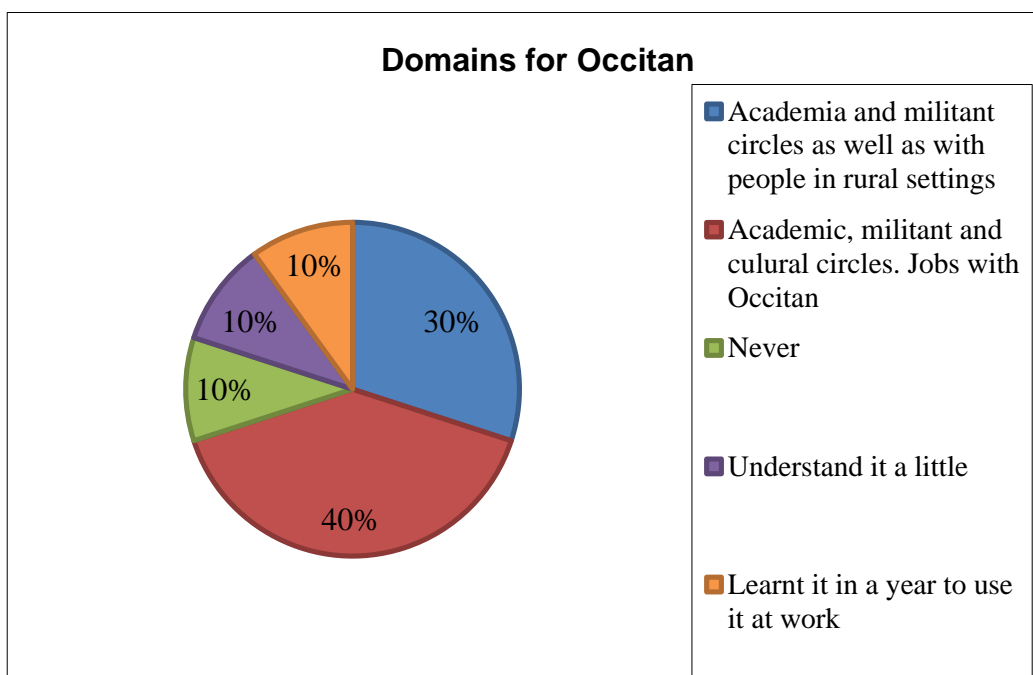


Chart 6.15 30-60 age group domains

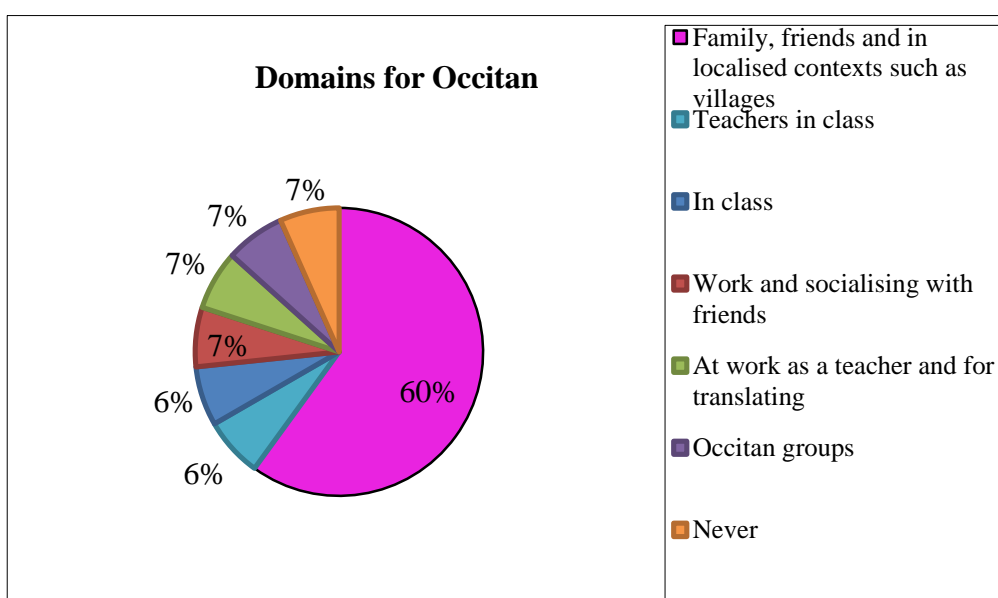


Chart 6.16 18-30 age group domains

Occitan use, as with Breton, has a localised function, in which the main territories are Toulouse and rural southern France (the student respondent with the most wide-ranging use of Occitan that encompasses use with neighbours as well as family and friends lives in a rural area of the Midi-Pyrénées). Usage is again along the lines of academic and non-academic use, which is noticeable across all the age groups. Occitan use by younger speakers is for pragmatic reasons sometimes limited to the classroom, as Occitan has also experienced the same history

of transmission loss as Breton. An aspect of transmission loss is that firstly the student respondents did not see themselves as solely Occitan, and secondly there is a question mark over general interest in Occitan by younger sectors as reflected in this extract by twenty-year-old non-native Occitan speaker Lissandre:

Extract 6.14

O1 *La plupart des jeunes de mon âge ne sont pas intéressés par l'occitan.*

Most of the young people my age are not interested in Occitan.

### **6.1.2 Factor three: ambivalence**

A feature of my data from some of the older respondents is apparent contradictions or ambivalence. Some of these respondents made contradictory statements and/or showed contradictions between what they said and what they did, such as statements that they only used one particular language even though they spoke a different language with their children. Howard (2007: 77-8) noted similar findings from her research in the Andes, in which she also distinguished between the two afore-mentioned types of contradictory behaviour. Her observations of contradictions in the content of her respondents' discourse led her to see these interviews as '*sitios de lucha*' ['sites of struggle']. However, a note of caution is whether to see ambivalence among older respondents as a reflection of societal language behaviour or of age-induced language behaviour. This is true of all observations of language ideologies. Gal, in the context of research into language use in Austria, writes about the difference between age-influenced language shift and generational changes:

Synchronic linguistic differences between speakers of different ages can come about in two ways. Either speakers regularly change their patterns of language choice as they age, so that in each generation young people use more German and then switch progressively to using more Hungarian as they grow older, or, a secular change in language use is occurring in the community. In the latter case, people within a generation retain their patterns relatively unchanged throughout life, but each generation systematically differs from the preceding ones, so that old people's choices constitute a historically older pattern that is being replaced, as the older generations die, by the newer patterns of the young. The simplest way to ascertain which of these is the accurate characterization of a particular community is to compare the patterns of two generations. To assure that age differences are not confounded with generational differences, the two generations must be of the same age when each is observed. (Gal 1979: 154)

Beswick (2007: 202), in her research into Galician, was also cautious about the difference between age-affected language ideologies and generational change. She argues, though, that while a comparison of different age groups at one moment in time could simply



suggest altered behaviour as an individual enters new age groups, a comparison of differences in childhood behaviour is indicative of generational change.

Like Gal and Beswick, I wanted to determine differences between age-influenced behaviour and generational change; this was in order to make sense of contradictions between thoughts and actions, and contradictions in discourse statements. To try and distinguish between changes in age and generational changes, I asked my respondents to describe how they use the relevant language today and if their use had changed. The responses referred to a re-association with the past and adaptation to the present concerning individual language use, society language use and inter-generational transmission. There were more examples of contradictions in the responses from France than Spain, but because of the sample size there are no definitive conclusions, although one possibility is that the greater status afforded to minoritised languages in Spain has allowed for less confusion on the use of Catalan and Galician by these respondents.

To start with France, there were contradictory statements concerning attitudes towards Breton and Occitan. Eighty-one-year-old Breton speaker H el ene's (B14) ambivalence in the first of the two following extracts is a reflection of age-influenced ambivalence and, as far as the people to whom H el ene refers are concerned, a reflection of age-altered behaviour that has sharpened distant memories. However, in the second extract generational language shift is prevalent in which H el ene sees the substitution of Breton by French as a natural progression:

Extract 6.15

*B14 A la maison de retraite il y a des personnes qui ont un peu perdu la t ete et qui quelques fois ne parlent plus qu'en breton.*

At the retirement home there are some people who are a little bit lost in the head [lost some of their mental faculties] and who sometimes only speak in Breton.

*C'est bien de garder le breton et de l'apprendre aux jeunes.*

It's good to keep Breton and teach it to the young.

Extract 6.16

*CD Pouvez-vous d crire une situation typique o  vous utilisez le breton (les gens avec qui vous parlez la langue, les endroits...)?*

*B14 avec quelques personnes de la maison de retraite mais la conversation repart assez vite en fran ais. A la messe, il y a toujours un cantique en breton.*

*CD Si vous parlez breton depuis plusieurs ann es, avez-vous chang  votre utilisation (vous le parlez avec d'autres gens, dans d'autres endroits...)?*

*B14 je le parlais avec mon mari et puis avec les voisins agriculteurs. Maintenant c'est des gens avec qui je parle en fran ais.*

CD Could you describe a typical situation in which you use Breton (the people with whom you speak the language, places...)?

B14 [I speak it] with a few people at the retirement home but the conversation returns quite quickly to French. At Mass, there's always a hymn in Breton.  
CD If you have spoken Breton for several years, have you changed your use (do you speak it with other people, in other places...)?  
I used to speak it with my husband and then with the neighbours who worked in agriculture. Now these are people to whom I speak in French.

In both these extracts the underlying factor is pragmatic behavior in that the acceptance is that French is the more useful language, although H  l  ne has a high regard for Breton. Similarly, eighty-five-year-old Occitan speaker Isabelle has assigned a pragmatic role to language in her thoughts on her *patois*:

Extract 6.17

O10 *non faut pas changer le patois... parce que c'est bien comme   a... sais pas je comprends pas    tout   a comprends pas ce que l'on veut avec   a (elle veut dire pourquoi se tracasser avec le patois)*

O10 No, don't change the patois... because it's good as it is...

I don't know, I don't understand at all what they want with that [response to question about whether French and Occitan had different uses] (she means why bother with the patois)<sup>51</sup>

We can interpret Isabelle's statement in two ways. First of all the use of the word *patois* with its negative connotation (as discussed in section 2.2.2 and in relation to research by Bert & Costa (2009) in their research into Occitan in the Rh  ne-Alpes) and a desire to leave *patois* alone gives an impression that French is more practical, which was the point made by Isabelle's interviewer Lucie (O11). However, we could interpret the statement '*c'est bien comme   a*' [it's good as it is] more literally as a statement of pride, so that *patois* has no hidden agenda. This too has a pragmatic connotation in that *patois* has its own role.

As far as pragmatic acceptance towards the dominant language is concerned, there is academic research that shows it is linked to hierarchical deference, such as Quechua usage in Peru. An inherent sub-conscious deference to a hierarchical structure, according to Harvey (1991), influences the native Quechua speaker to use Castilian with governors and the power elites because of a perception that Castilian is the language of power. Use of the dominant language is thus linked to a search for upward mobility, which is a factor in inter-generational transmission, of which the reaction of Claudi's parents to his decision to speak Occitan is an illustration:

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<sup>51</sup> This is a comment by another of my respondents, an Occitan-speaking lady in her early sixties (one of the non-ambivalent Occitan speakers), who interviewed Isabelle on my behalf. This woman (O11, Lucie) believes that Isabelle is influenced by a background that involved support for the left-wing coalition movement *le front populaire*, and consequently supports the idea that it is France and being French that nourishes you and not Occitan.

Extract 6.18

O6 *Quand j'ai décidé de parler en oc avec mon père et ma mère, c'est une habitude qui a été bouleversée. Ils devaient faire quelque chose d'inhabituel pour eux: me parler en oc; cela [sic] devait créer une sorte de gêne. Cette gêne, chez mon père et ma mère, a très peu duré, il me semble. J'avais une volonté très forte de parler en oc avec eux.*

*Très rapidement, ils ont été heureux de mon choix, et fiers. Leur vieillesse avec moi a été dans cette langue; c'était bien, très bien.*

When I decided to speak in Occitan with my father and mother, it was behaviour that turned things upside down. It would be unusual for them: to speak to me in Occitan; that would cause some sort of embarrassment. This embarrassment, for my father and mother, it seemed to me, lasted a very short time. I had a very strong desire to speak Occitan with them. Very quickly, they were happy about my choice, and proud. During their old age they spoke to me in this language; it was good, very good.

The word *inhabituel* is key to understanding that there was an alteration in pragmatic behaviour, in which the decision regarding language transmission was influenced by the historical context of language shift, although seventy-two-year-old non-native Occitan speaker Julie is of the opinion that the responsibility for the switch to French resided with the Occitan speakers:

Extract 6.19

O9 *C'est le toulousain lui même qui l'a abandonné (le patois)*

O9 It's the Toulousain [person from Toulouse] himself who has abandoned it (le patois)

I interpret Julie's (O9) statement in two ways. At face value it is a statement of fact; but, the verb *abandonner* could suggest resignation tinged with regret. Other sociolinguists, such as Howard (2007) and Dorian (1981), have observed a more heated emotion in the context of language abandonment among their informants: a sense of betrayal. To cite Dorian:

Anyone who adopts the dominant language will be viewed as something of a traitor to his original group. (Dorian 1981: 102-3)

We could perceive in the above statement that language choice is a calculated decision whether to transmit the local language or the dominant language. The following extracts from Julie (O9), native Catalan speaker Joaquim (C8) and Galician Iria (G10) justify language use. The last of these discourses concerns Iria's use of Castilian with her daughter:

Extract 6.20

O9 *Les rôles différents c'est la culture, les souvenirs d'antan, les expressions du pays mais pour le français c'est la vie en général, notre vie.*

Different roles it's [patois] culture, memories of the past, sentiments of a region but for French it's everyday life, our life.

Extract 6.21

CD *Pensa que és necessari canviar la situació del català a Catalunya?*

C8 *Es inútil. Pèrdua de temps com a cosa cultural.*

CD *Pensa que el català i el castellà tenen funcions diferents?*

C8 *Sí. Català [és] idioma del dic a dic i castellà [és idioma de la] feina i [del] tecnicismes.*

CD Do you think it is necessary to change the situation of Catalan in Catalonia?

C8 It is useless. It is a waste of time culturally.

CD Do you think that Catalan and Castilian have different roles?

C8 Yes. Catalan is the language of conversations and Castilian is the language of work and technical terminology.

Extract 6.22

D *E por que me falabas castellano [sic]?*

G10 *Porque si, porque andabas alí coas cativas [fillas de médico, ferrolás e castelán-falantes] e falábades o castellano [sic] e quería que o aprendeses ben.*

D Why would you speak to me in Castilian?

G10 Because well, because you were mixing with high society [breeding] (doctors' daughters, railway workers' daughters and Castilian speakers) and you would speak in Castilian and I wanted you to learn it well.

I see no sense of deliberate calculation in these extracts; they are reflections of language pragmatism. Indeed, in response to a question by Howard about the decision of a couple not to transmit Quechua to their children, the reply was that it was a spontaneous decision because Castilian was the dominant language for the family as a whole (Howard 2007: 136). [My underline] To comment further on extract 6.22, the contradiction is between the action of Iria to speak Castilian with her daughter and the context of her question responses in which she states that she always speaks Galician. The reflection of language pragmatism is in Iria's immersion in a Galician-dominant background and the desire for upward mobility for her daughter. Likewise, Dorian (1981) and Hill (1998) observed similar phenomena. Dorian, in the context of research into the use of Gaelic in Scotland, noted that network associations influenced language ideologies, so that within the context of village life Gaelic had a high-prestige rating; but, in order for future generations to achieve upward mobility, English was favoured as the language to be transmitted. Meanwhile, Hill (1998), in her research into Nahuatl Mexicano in Mexico, also found that the state language – Spanish – was linked to upward mobility.

Another feature of Iria's (G10) transmission of the state language is gender. Some academic research has linked the transmission of the state language to females. Markale (1985: 191) in his research into Breton explains that the mother is respected as the head of the family and would most likely be responsible for her children's development which would include language transmission. The survey in Aquitaine on Occitan (*Conseils Régionaux de l'Aquitaine: 2008*) shows, with successive generations, that Occitan has been transmitted more by fathers than by mothers and that Occitan has a masculine connotation in working-class contexts (see

table 2.1, section 2.2.2). On the other hand, the results from the survey by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística* (2007) do not reveal marked differences between the genders on language transmission. Also, Assémat (2006) (see citation in 2.2.2) refers to a male relation, his grandfather, influencing the use of French.

The presiding factors that arise on the subject of ambivalence are complexity and conflict. The fact that there is no definitive correlation between gender and language transmission is an illustration that there is no simple explanation for language attitudes and language use. The conflict that I have observed in these data is in the reconciliation of a compartmentalised role for language for pragmatic reasons.

## **6.2 Compartmentalised language use**

I use the term compartmentalisation to refer to a clear demarcation of language functions, which is in line with Ferguson's (2003: 345-7) definition of diglossia that I introduced in section 1.2. Language compartmentalisation is apparent in my data on networks. I have noticed that in general there is a greater acceptance of compartmentalised language use among my informants from France than in Spain, which is I believe largely due to the change of regime in Spain. I shall explain why language compartmentalisation is accepted and the problems that this acceptance entails; how the linguistic landscape in the regions concerned can be altered as a response to these problems; and whether there has to be a correlation between language use and language identity.

### **6.2.1 Language in the global context**

As far as this dissertation is concerned, bilingualism, whether diglossic or non-diglossic, has, as a main focus the relationship between the state language and the minoritised language. However, my data also refer to the relationship between the minoritised language and global languages.

An attraction of global languages is, on a practical level, the opportunity to speak with the greatest number of people. De Swaan's Q-value model (2001) judges a language on its instrumental value. This Q-value system evaluates a language according to its usefulness as a communication tool (section 4.3.1). De Swaan argues that the attractiveness of a language is based on its ability to function as part of a network with as many people as possible. He cites the example of the German speaker who would like to learn a second language but must consider which language would be most useful (De Swaan 2001: 34-5). Meanwhile, in the Tanzanian novel - *Miradi Bubu ya Wazalendo* by Ruhumbika- the character who achieves

upward mobility does so through international travel, although the book is essentially rooted in Tanzania (Blommaert and Van der Donck 2002). A conclusion that Blommaert and Van der Donck reach in their analysis of the novel is that language is one of the instruments used to enable people to move from one place to another and to interconnect with other people and other places.

In my data, Castilian functions for some of my respondents as a language that interconnects. Joaquim (C8) refers to Castilian and English as languages that have a practical function. His non-native Catalan-speaking wife endorses the importance of global languages:

Extract 6.23

C8 *Bé però hem de ser pràctics i anar a l'anglès o el castellà.*

C8 Well err we have to be practical and go to English or Castilian.

Extract 6.24

CD *Pensa que és necessari canviar la situació del català a Catalunya?*

C12 *Suficient els canvis que han presentat amb l'idioma. Haurien de dedicar a l'aprenentatge d'altres idiomes i internacionals.*

CD Do you think it is necessary to change the situation of Catalan in Catalonia?

C12 The changes that have taken place with the language are sufficient. They should be dedicated to the learning of other languages and to international languages.

Silvia (G11) accepts the global use of Castilian:

Extract 6.25

G11 *Eu non falo castelán, pero creo que é único idioma que debía de existir, fálase en moitos países. Facía falla non falar galego. Hai moita xente que non entende o galego! Porque se falas castelán, aínda que o fales mal enténdete todo o mundo.*

I don't speak Castilian, but I believe it ought to be the only language that exists, it's spoken in lots of countries. It was not necessary to speak Galician. There are lots of people who don't understand Galician! Because Castilian is spoken by you [respondent's granddaughter], even though you speak it badly everyone understands you.

The role of Castilian as a global language is documented in an article from the Spanish newspaper *El País Semanal*. The headline from the 21<sup>st</sup> November 2004 edition states: '*La fuerza del español; los retos de un idioma en expansión por el mundo* [The force of Spanish; the challenges of a language in the process of global expansion]' (*El País Semanal* 2004 in Woolard 2008: 313-4). The newspaper article explains that the attractiveness of Spanish is that it is practical. The practicality of Castilian is apparent in the language behaviour of my Galician speakers in the younger age groups. Castilian is for them an external language that they will use outside of Galicia or with someone from outside of Galicia.

The position of Castilian as a global language as well as a state language adds an extra layer of competition between it and the minoritised language, which is of particular concern in Catalonia because of immigration. Native Catalan speaker Maite from the eighteen to thirty age group explains that Castilian is the language that is learnt by non-native Castilian-speaking immigrants:

Extract 6.26

C14 *La major part de la gent immigrada aprèn el castellà (si no el sabia) i es conformen amb això sabent que pràcticament la totalitat de la població catalana els entendrà, evitant-se aquest esforç. Així, l'ús del català va disminuint.*

Most of the immigrant population learn Castilian (if they don't know it) so that practically all of the Catalan population will understand them, even if it is with some effort. Thus, the use of Catalan has diminished.

Maite also highlights a three-tiered linguistic scenario in Catalonia that is due to the appeal of global languages in a multinational society – an attraction that is also highlighted by eighty-two-year-old native Catalan speaker Antoní:

Extract 6.27

C14 *A les grans ciutats les diverses immigracions espanyoles, hispanoamericanes o d'arreu del món han fet créixer l'ús del castellà fins al punt que algunes persones només entenen quatre paraules de castellà i pràcticament desconeixen el català.*

In the large cities a diversity of Spanish and Hispanoamerican immigrants as well as immigrants from around the world have meant that the use of Castilian has grown to the point that some people only understand four words of Castilian and practically don't know Catalan.

Extract 6.28

CD *Hi ha algun aspecte negatiu de la situació actual del català a Catalunya?*

C11 *A part de l'allau d'immigrants, també per la globalització que afavoreix les llengües més parlades, particularment l'anglès.*

CD Are there any negative points about the current situation of Catalan in Catalonia?

C11 Apart from the avalanche of immigrants, also through globalisation that favours more greatly spoken languages, particularly English.

Antoní has positioned English at the top of a linguistic pyramid in Catalonia while Maite has Castilian at a higher position than Catalan but at a lower position than other languages. The position of Catalan as a third-choice language is one noted by Juarros-Daussà and Lanz (2009) in their research into the linguistic scenario in Catalonia. They cite Klein (2007 in Juarros-Daussà and Lanz 2009) according to whom, for Europe to function economically European Union citizens should know their mother tongue, English and one other language. As far as Catalonia is concerned, Catalan would have a low status for a sizeable part of the population. Juarros-Daussà and Lanz add that for non-native Castilian-speaking immigrants Castilian's position as a global language is more attractive than Catalan, so that according to Klein's model Catalan will be ignored.

Another attraction of Castilian and English is that they are connected to the western world and provide access to American culture. In my French data there was a view that Anglophone culture is seen as more attractive than minoritised languages and their associated culture. Michelle (B17), a native French-speaking Breton, believes that English is the language that French parents want their children to learn. Meanwhile, Lissandre (O1) states the following about American culture:

Extract 6.29

O1 *La culture américaine envahit tout et les gens oublient leurs racines.*  
American culture is completely invasive and people forget their roots.

In Spain, Castilian serves the role of English as a gateway to other countries, as apparent in the statement by Manuel (G2):

Extract 6.30

G2 *Para acceder a otras culturas extranjeras sólo se puede hacer a través del castellano.*  
Foreign cultures can only be accessed through Castilian.

This position of Castilian as an inter-state language is where Spain differs from France, as in the early twenty-first century French has less of a global presence than Castilian and does not have the same level of connections with North America and access to the associated prestige. On the subject of prestige, one of the Breton student respondents thought that French as well as Breton had little prestige but that French speakers had more prestige than Breton speakers. The French government has tried to increase the appeal of French through policies that have stipulated the presence of French in the media, as I mentioned in section 4.2.1.

### ***6.2.2 Economic vitality for minoritised languages equates to more political control at a regional level?***

In the previous section, I have discussed the idea that minoritised languages are marginalised because of the appeal of economically vibrant languages. One possible way to alter the economic attraction of minoritised languages is to increase the degree of autonomy in the relevant regions. To gauge perceptions about the importance of regional control I posed a question in the stage three questionnaires about the responsibility for language planning for minoritised languages. Chart 6.17 shows the thoughts of the respondents as to whether responsibility resides with the state or the region:



Those responsible for the minoritised language							
	State	Region	Combined effort	Europe	People themselves	Do not know	Total
Breton		6	4			4	14
Occitan	3	4	8	5	6	3	29
Catalan		20	5		3	1	29
Galician		10	2		8	1	21

Chart 6.17 Responsibility for minoritised language planning<sup>52</sup>

The responses from France show confusion on two levels: firstly concerning whether the question posed involved the past or future, and secondly concerning responsibility. To answer the first point, some of the older Occitan speakers thought they were commenting on why Occitan was marginalised. These responses either considered Occitan marginalisation to have been the result of the speakers' decision not to use the language or that responsibility resided with the state. As regards the other Occitan responses, there was a perception that the state and the region should work together to help Occitan. However, some respondents thought that the state, the region or a united European axis was more appropriate. On the subject of state responsibility, the view was that since the state marginalised Occitan, the state should take responsibility for the protection of Occitan. Meanwhile, Breton and Occitan respondents who saw responsibility with the region linked language to group identity.

The question of group identity raises the problems that I have discussed earlier in this chapter about nationalist ideology and the notion of a single identity. There is the fact that some of the Breton and Occitan respondents saw language planning as part of a dual process between state and region, in which the region is part of the state. Consequently, at stake is the issue of whether Bretons and Occitans perceive themselves as a separate identity or as multiple identities. The responses by the students about identity association suggest that there is some gravitation towards multiple identities, in that some of these respondents selected the dual identity of Breton/Occitan and French. Other research into thoughts on autonomy in France highlighted concerns about identity. Le Coadic (1998), in a series of interviews in the 1990s with forty-six Breton speakers, found that autonomy was viewed with suspicion because of

<sup>52</sup> These results exclude the responses from young Breton adults, who had responded to the preliminary questionnaire. Also excluded are two Catalans, one Galician, one Breton and one Occitan, because they did not respond to the questionnaires (they responded to general enquiries).

divisive connotations. Over half of the respondents in his sample thought that autonomy would lead to isolation.

We can see that the responses from Spain endorse the role of the region. However, there was limited support for increased autonomy. The responses showed an acceptance of the current regime in Spain. Indeed, we can see in this extract from Occitan-speaking native Catalan Aina (C3), in her response to a question about the responsibility for language planning for Occitan and Catalan, that the Spanish regime is considered in a positive light:

Extract 6.31

*C3 ah! por cierto, debes saber que el occitano tambien [sic] se habla en Catalunya [sic], y que lo llamamos aranes, porque se habla en el Valle de Aran. Ahí [sic], el aranes es también lengua oficial (asi [sic] pues, esta zona de catalunya [sic] tiene tres lenguas oficiales: el castellano, el catalan [sic] y el aranes). Esta es la diferencia basica [sic] con respecto a Francia [sic], en españa [sic] a la que existe una lengua diferente a la del castellano esta deviene lengua oficial y por tanto de uso corriente y esto no es asi [sic] en francia [sic] con el occitano.*

Oh! Of course, you must know that Occitan is also spoken in Catalonia, and that we call it Aranes, because it's spoken in the Aran Valley. Here, Aranes is also an official language (so that, this area of Catalonia has three official languages: Castilian, Catalan and Aranes). This is the basic difference as far as France is concerned, in Spain there is a different language from Castilian that has become an official language and is therefore used fluently and that is not the case in France with Occitan.

This does not mean though that there are no concerns about the Spanish system of autonomies. Sixty-one-year-old native Catalan speaker Montse is of the opinion that the autonomy structure does not have enough potency:

Extract 6.32

*C9 Una nació sense estat no crec que pugui canviar res.*  
A nation without a state I don't think it can change anything.

We can consider this comment in the context of the pressures from the *manifiesto por una lengua común* and the control that is available from Madrid to overturn or influence regional policy decisions, as discussed in section 3.1.3 on the disadvantages of decentralisation. Under the present regime, while it is possible to impose policies that promote the autonomous language in a territorial capacity, that is not at the expense of the state language. If Madrid were to grant the autonomies separation from the state, the autonomous language could become the sole official language of that territory. That linguistic outcome would be desirable for some of the Catalan respondents, as seen in the following extracts from native Catalan speakers Francesc and Joan (C10 & C13):

Extract 6.33

C10 Això farà que els possibles futures immigrants coneguin que aquí és necessària aprendre una llengua pròpia per comunicar-se a més del castellà o l'anglès posem per cas.

It will happen [changes to the current situation of Catalan] when possible future immigrants understand that here it is necessary to learn a language belonging to the region to communicate rather than Castilian or English.

Extract 6.34

C13 - A les ciutats (Tarragona, Reus, Barcelona,.....) hi ha moltes dependents de fora del país (espanyols, sud americans.....) que no es dignen a aprendre el català i quan els parles en català et miren com si parlessis amb xinès.

In the towns (Tarragona, Reus, Barcelona, ..... ) there are lots of dependents from outside the country (Spaniards, South Americans....) that don't deign to learn Catalan and when you speak to them in Catalan they look at you as if you're speaking Chinese.

The two respondents above perceive Catalan as the language of their territory, but this is not replicated by incomers. If Catalonia were a nation-state, that perception could change. It is a view endorsed by ERC member Antonio (Ci)<sup>53</sup>, because it would remove Castilian from linguistic policy. Also, academic Joan (2005: 132) believes that a change to a nation-state could help languages like Catalan. An alternative position to the nation-state, that Joan posits, is for the Spanish state to confer more freedoms upon the regions whilst maintaining the current autonomous regime. Lebsanft (2008) thinks that for Spain to be recognised as a plurilingual state the 1978 Spanish Constitution needs to be altered. An alteration to the wording of the Constitution could signify a new definition for Catalan, Galician and Basque. These languages could be given the status of state languages instead of national languages, which would mean they have the same status as Castilian. This opinion is used as a counter-argument by Moreno Cabrera (2009) to that presented by the *manifiesto por una lengua común* to justify that Galician could serve the role of a common language.

A point of consideration in any changes to the linguistic landscape is the overall effect on those that live in that community. In Catalonia, there is the history of a territorial association with Catalan, but at the same time there is the effect of immigration. Policy decisions that provide extra potency for Catalan, while popular with native Catalans, will have to contend with the ethnic rights of incomers. Meanwhile, in Galicia there is the fact that Galician/Castilian bilingualism is the norm, so that policy decisions that increase the potency of Galician may not be appropriate. What is clear is that at present separatism and a change to the wording of the Spanish Constitution seem unlikely considering the position from Madrid. Indeed, increased autonomy in both France and Spain was viewed as unlikely by the student respondents.

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<sup>53</sup> See section 4.1.4 for details on difference in code systems.

A change to the political landscape that confers greater status for minoritised languages within the European Union could nevertheless lead to more financial assistance from the EU. Some of the Occitan and Breton responses focused on the financial aid that could come from Europe, and one male non-native Breton speaker in the 18-30 age group compared France with Spain, although he thought that Catalan, Basque and Galician had a higher status within Europe than is actually the case:

Extract 6.35

*B13 Le basque, le galicien et le catalan ont été [sic] reconnus langues officielles de l'UE, pourquoi pas le breton ? Il y a beaucoup de pays dans lesquels il y a plusieurs langues parlées [sic], et pourraient aider la France à bouger de sa situation actuelle. Et bien sûr, les subventions à toute organisation [sic] qui aide le breton à continuer d'être ...*

Basque, Galician and Catalan have been recognised as official languages of the EU, why not Breton? There are lots of countries in which many languages are spoken, and they could help France to change its current situation. And of course, aids from any organisation which helps Breton to continue...

Basque, Galician and Catalan are not official languages of the EU but have greater recognition than Breton and Occitan (see section 3.3.1). More recognition with the EU though was not universally supported. Twenty-one-year-old native Galician speaker Montserrat (G9) believes that EU recognition on its own cannot alter perceptions of language:

Extract 6.36

*G9 La Unión Europea poco puede hacer si buena parte de los gallegos reniegan de su idioma natal.*

The European Union can do little if a large number of Galicians disown their native language.

An alternative to EU assistance through increased autonomy is for Europe to function on inter-state axes instead of as a non-cohesive collection of nation-states. This view was popular with some of the Occitan speakers, and the following extract by Catalan Oscar highlights the negative aspect of a Europe of nation-states:

Extract 6.37

*C4 L' Europa dels Estats (i no de les nacions o dels pobles) ha estat la última gran estafa. Sempre ha estat més fàcil ser català fora d' Espanya.*

The Europe of States (and not nations or populations) has been the last great swindle. It has always been easier to be Catalan outside of Spain.

As far as inter-state axes are concerned, this is already apparent in the cross-border Occitan Language Academy and the organisation by the Occitan group CREO [*Centre Régional de l'Enseignement de l'occitan*] of a festival that celebrates Occitan and Catalan<sup>54</sup>. Also, there

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<sup>54</sup> Email correspondence from CREO, 4 au 24 Juin 2010 – *Total Festum Languedoc Roussillon : fête des cultures occitanes et catalanes*.

is a history of Breton and Welsh student exchanges (see McDonald 1989) and the relationships, although not shared by all sectors of Galician society, between Galicia and Portugal. The EU has tried to group Europeans according to regions, such as the Mediterranean or the Baltic (Wright 1999: 94). Markale was more in favour of liaisons than separations through the creation of more nation-states. He said:

*Quitter l'état français pour constituer un état Breton indépendant ne résoudra aucun des problèmes qui se posent tous les jours à chaque Breton. [Leaving the French State to form an independent Breton State will not resolve any of the problems that face each Breton every day.] (Markale 1985: 199)*

### **6.2.3 *The acceptance of compartmentalised language use: a localised use for minoritised languages***

Discussion has focussed so far on a competition between languages in which minoritised languages should transform into state languages. However, there is the point by Markale (1985) that changes to the political landscape are not necessarily solutions. An alternative is to accept diglossia and embrace minoritised languages in a local capacity. In this way language could provide the means to interconnect with a regional culture. The young Breton adults responded to a question about whether cultural events such as festivals were a positive or a negative for minoritised languages. Meanwhile, although I did not pose specific questions about language and culture in the stage three questionnaires (part of a methodological decision to allow respondents some choice in the themes they chose to discuss), some of these respondents did mention culture within their discourse. The following chart (6.18) combines the results from the questionnaires with young Breton adults and the use of the word 'culture' in the stage three questionnaires to see whether culture is a positive for language:

	Breton			Occitan			Catalan			Galician		
	18-30	30-60	Over 60	18-30	30-60	Over 60	18-30	30-60	Over 60	18-30	30-60	Over 60
Culture as a negative token	4	2							1			
Culture as a positive	5	1		2	6	3	2	3		4	1	
Culture as negative and positive	2	1										
General mention of culture		1		1	1	3	1		1	2		1
No mention			8	2	3	8	4	10	7	5	4	4
Total	24			29			29			21		

Chart 6.18 Perceptions on the relationship between language and culture<sup>55</sup>

We can see that a significant number of respondents did not mention culture and there were some who mentioned culture by way of a passing comment concerning the protection of language and culture, but there were those who imbued culture as a positive. In these positive responses culture was used as a means to express the attraction of the minoritised language, whereby language was thought to be part of the regional culture and a way to connect with the past and to find a fixed location within a shrinking world. This was a feature of all four minoritised languages, but there was a greater tendency to consider the minoritised language in localised functions among the Breton and Occitan informants, as I have shown in sections 6.1.1.3 and 6.1.1.4 on networks. The young Breton adults mentioned specific functions for Breton, such as use in choirs. One of these respondents, Paul (B19), uses Breton in Breton-specific employment – media and education. Occitan speaker Lissandre (O1) also mentioned minoritised language specific employment – media, education and the creative arts. Meanwhile, an example of compartmentalised language use from Spain is that of non-native Galician speaker Olga (G4) who uses the language that she feels best expresses a specific sentiment; she

<sup>55</sup> Excluded from the data are two Catalans, one Galician, one Breton and one Occitan, because they did not respond to the questionnaires (they responded to general enquiries). Also, one of the Bretons in the 30-60 group referred to culture from the point of view of his wife, and as they were both informants I have included it as one piece of data.

also assigns an identity role to Galician – a language she likes to use with her family – so that she feels embedded in a particular place.

A desire to connect with a locality is a natural response against globalism, which is a point made by the father of one of the Occitan-speaking students:

Extract 6.38

O14 *Le retour vers les choses du "local" va devenir logique et indispensable pour compenser les méfaits d'une mondialisation excessive. Les langues, les cultures et les productions locales vont y trouver leur rôle et leur place. L'homme à [sic] besoin de se sentir "de quelque part". L'occitan peut trouver une nouvelle place et un nouveau rôle dans cette situation.*

A return to « local » things is going to become logical and indispensable to compensate for the bad effects of excessive globalisation. Languages, cultures and local produce are going to find their role and place. Man needs to feel that they “belong”. Occitan can find a new place and a new role in this situation.

A common theme among some of my respondents who express an eagerness to connect or reconnect with a locality is that they have spent some time away from the region in which their minoritised language is spoken. They are able to use language to construct or reconstruct an identity (identity construction was a prevalent theme in my preliminary data-set), which can also be perceived as a reaction against the ‘shrinking world’, according to Larraín (1994). Claudi illustrates how time spent away from the Occitan-speaking regions helped him to rediscover his identity:

Extract 6.39

O6 *La décision de parler est venue après mon dernier séjour en Amérique latine. J'avais vécu un an au Pérou (1966-67), travaillé un an au Nicaragua, puis voyagé pendant un peu plus d'un an dans plusieurs pays d'Amérique centrale et du sud. Il m'arrivait de me dire que j'étais plus chez moi dans l'Amérique hispanique qu'en France. Puis j'ai décidé de rentrer. C'était en mai 1971. J'étais alors un peu plus au courant de la question occitane... Mon "identité" culturelle ... Je ne sais pas exactement qui [sic] je suis. Je suis un occitan qui s'intéresse à la diversité de l'Occitanie, et à la diversité de ce qu'il y a autour.*

The decision to speak [Occitan] happened after my last trip to Latin America. I had spent a year in Peru (1966-7), worked for a year in Nicaragua, and then travelled for a little over a year through several Central and Southern American countries. It came to me that I was more at home in Hispanic America than in France. Then I decided to come back home. It was in May 1971. I was then more aware of the Occitan question... My cultural identity... I don't quite know what I am. I am an Occitan who is interested in the diversity of Occitania, and in the diversity of what there is around him.

Claudi expresses a re-connection with his ancestral roots through the use of Occitan. The re-forging of generational links through language is also apparent in extracts 6.40 and 6.41 from the parents (B5 & B16) of one of the Breton students (B4) Meven and thirty-five-year-old native Galician speaker Paula. In both extracts there is a reference to inter-generational

transmission loss, which was the result of the societal pressures that I have mentioned in the historical discussions in chapter 2 and the discussion on networks in this chapter:

Extract 6.40

B5 & B16 *Céline a commencé à parler en breton avec ses propres parents à la naissance des enfants, auparavant elle comprenait les conversations mais quand ses parents lui parlaient c'était en français. A la naissance des petits enfants nous avons changé de langue de communication.*

Céline began to speak Breton with her own parents when the children were born, before she understood conversations but her parents would speak to her in French. When their grandchildren were born we changed our language of communication.

Extract 6.41

G3 *En mi infancia, mis padres hacían un esfuerzo por dirigirse hacia mí en lengua castellana y en el colegio recuerdo a un sólo profesor hablando en gallego. Diferentes razones hacían que la lengua gallega fuese peor considerada que la lengua castellana. Más o menos a la edad de quince años, mi relación con mi familia que vivía en la comarca de Bergantiños y que de forma habitual hablaba en lengua gallega me hizo pensar que debía mejorar en el uso y conocimiento de la lengua gallega, y que la mejor manera era hablar con ellos en gallego.*

During my childhood, my parents made an effort to speak to me in Castilian and at school I remember there was only one Galician-speaking teacher. There were different reasons that made the Galician language to be considered worse than the Castilian language. I was about fifteen, my relationship with my family who were living in Bergantiños [60km from A Coruña] and were using Galician as their habitual language made me realise that it would be better to use and know Galician and that the best thing would be to speak Galician with them.

In addition to the use of language to re-connect with ancestry, language can help to maintain cultural traditions. Patrick (2004) has observed the use of minoritised language to maintain cultural traditions among the Inuktitut, who use their language for food harvesting in the Eastern Canadian Arctic. Claudi (O6), on the other hand, records CDs of songs that he sings in Occitan<sup>56</sup>. Another of my Occitan respondents (O12) is from Belgium, and she uses music as a vehicle for Occitan. She links the state of Occitan to that of the music she plays, because both have been threatened:

Extract 6.42

O12 *Mon approche de la langue occitane s'est faite par le biais de la musique et plus particulièrement de la bodega, cette cornemuse languedocienne dont je suis tombée amoureuse. Son histoire est semblable à celle de l'occitan car elle aussi est passée par une période de déni, de "vergonha", elle est de plus assimilée à une classe sociale défavorisée.*

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<sup>56</sup> Claudi sent me a copy of one of his CDs. This is a verse from one of the songs.

*Passat deman ieu me maride  
cosin vene vos convidar  
se volèz dançar venètz me veire  
si volèz manjar venguessiatz pas.*

[The day after tomorrow I get married  
cousin I come to invite you  
if you want to dance come see me  
if you want to eat don't come]  
(official translation by one of Claudi's colleagues)



*J'ai voulu la remettre à l'honneur, j'ai choisi d'en faire mon métier, apprendre la langue était indissociable pour moi de cette démarche puisque la bodega (ou craba dans le Tarn) n'a pas de nom en français. Je suis maintenant professionnelle dans le milieu de la culture occitane et cela a donné un sens à ma vie.*

I was drawn to the Occitan language by music and more specifically the *bodega*, these Languedocien bagpipes with which I fell in love. Their history is similar to that of Occitan because they have also had a period of rejection, of “shame”, that associates them more with a marginalised social class.

I wanted to restore the honour; I have made that my vocation. To learn the language was inseparable for me from this task since the *bodega* (or *craba* in the Tarn [department in the Pyrenees]) does not have a name in French. I am now a professional in Occitan cultural circles and that has given me purpose to my life.

This localised use of language allows localism to combine with globalism as part of a multilayered eco-system. If globalism is isolated from localism, languages that are unable to perform as communication tools in all circumstances are discarded: the Darwinist view. If globalism and localism combine, all languages can be valued. The latter position is endorsed by Mühlhäusler (2000) and Joan (2005). This type of linguistic ecology involves freedom of language choice whereby the speakers themselves choose which language to use at which times. Mühlhäusler, as part of his discussion on linguistic ecology, lists the different types of language ecology from the eco-system variety to monolingualism:

- Type 1: Balanced equitable ecologies. [People live in a multilingual environment, and will use different languages for different functions]
- Type 2: Mixed endemic/exotic ecologies. [These are often the result of migrations. The different languages do not interconnect as much as in the type 1 ecology]
- Type 3: Competitive ecologies. [A power imbalance between languages]
- Type 4: Language continua and networks. [Language communication that is devoid of national boundaries]
- Type 5: Artificial ecologies. [The imposition of a new language]
- Type 6: Isolated monolingual communities. [Areas where one language is spoken] (Mühlhäusler 2000: 327)

The type 1 form of language co-habitation would appear to be a possible solution to the preservation of multilingualism for some of my respondents, but there is still the fact that other informants refer to a preference for global languages instead of minoritised languages by members of the affected speech communities. If though we consider the way in which the minoritised language is used in the extracts in this section and throughout chapters 5 and 6 in general, we find that there is a common form of language behavior with global languages and local languages. In both scenarios pragmatic behavior is prevalent in which language use is determined by networks and especially communities of practice/particular activities, such as

music or a language lesson. This endorses the type 1 form of language use in so far as different languages are used for different purposes, but there is the fact of gravitation away from the minoritised language that creates an unbalanced linguistic ecology. Another consideration that questions a balanced linguistic ecology is whether some of the ways in which the minoritised language is used are tokenistic. The answer is that the use of a language in a limited capacity is tokenistic, but that is not necessarily a negative way of using a language. The way in which Florence (O12) links language with music elevates the use of Occitan from a negative token to an important part of her life. This is apparent in her use of the word *métier* [vocation] coupled with *un sens à ma vie* [purpose to my life].

A point arising from Florence's use of Occitan is that the language is used in a way that allows it to become a commercial product, which is either a positive token or a negative token. Concerns expressed within my data were that language and culture would be used by the media as an artificial product to attract tourists. The following extract by one of the Bretons in the 18-30 age group describes the negative aspect of the association of Breton with cultural events:

Extract 6.43

B13 *Pour ce qui est de la culture, c'est assez mitigé [sic] : il y a bien sûr [sic] tout un folklore breton avec les fest noz et les défiles [sic] costumes, les creperies [sic]... mais la culture bretonne en tant que culture autre que la culture française [sic] n'est pas vraiment représentée [sic] : les racines chrétiennes, [sic] le chant "kan ha diskan", la celtitude (nature, mer, ...) et surtout la langue !*

*Les fêtes [sic] permettent de promouvoir un folklore, mais ce n'est pas toujours bon pour la culture, et la langue n'a pas souvent sa place dans un fest noz ou un défilé [sic] ...*

As far as culture is concerned, it's rather mixed [the benefits of cultural events]: there is of course something of a Breton folklorisation with the fest noz [night festivals] and costume parades, the crêperies... but Breton culture as far as a difference from French culture is concerned is not truthfully represented: Christian roots, the "kan ha diskan" song [call and response], Celtic aspects (nature, sea,...) and of course the language!

Festivals allow for a folklorisation, but it's not always good for culture, and language does not always have its place at a fest noz or a parade.

This testimony has the view that Breton has a niche function in that it is a tourist product. This can also apply to more widely-used minoritised languages, where we see that Catalan is in the student data, of the four minoritised languages, the language that is used the most at cultural events but has been shown in research, notably that of Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes (2006) into the use of Catalan in the media, that there is a marginalised, negative tokenistic aspect of Catalan use. The problem is if a language is promoted by organisations, such as the media, in a tokenistic/niche capacity as a globally aware local product, it can have a negative association. The term used by Ritzer (2004), as discussed in section 4.3.1, that combines the global and the local is 'glocalisation', and, in the explanation of this term, Ritzer

distinguishes between good ‘glocalisation’ – the ‘glocalisation’ of something – and bad ‘glocalisation’ – the ‘glocalisation’ of nothing. The ‘glocalisation’ of something does not place an importance on financial gain and the creation of an artificial product – crafts that do not truly reflect local practices, for example – to please tourists but is of personal importance to those that are in that community.

The counterpoint to ‘glocalisation’, to follow, is ‘grobalisation’, according to Ritzer (2004). Identical fast-food chains and cinemas are examples of ‘grobalisation’ for this author. Like ‘glocalisation’ there are two versions of ‘grobalisation’. The ‘grobalisation’ of nothing – identical anonymous products – and the ‘grobalisation’ of something – generic products that have been adapted to the needs of the local community – are the two versions. A McDonalds food chain that produces a menu that reflects local food customs would be the ‘grobalisation’ of something but a McDonalds food chain with signs and menus in the local language but a generic menu and the same depersonalised service could be described as the ‘glocalisation’ of nothing – global meets local in an artificial capacity.<sup>57</sup> An example of ‘glocalisation/grobalisation’ of something – these terms overlap – is the use of non-state languages on the Internet. A key advantage of this, according to Wright (2007) and Block (2004), is the non-interference of corpus planning. In Sinner and Wieland’s (2008) analysis of Castilian and Catalan emails and chat-room messages, they noticed in particular the replication of informal oral discourses. Non-interference from corporations, governments and councils is not only an advantage for language corpus but also means, according to Partal (2006: 247) – the chief editor of the Catalan Internet directory *Vilaweb* – that a wide range of websites can be produced at speed without the wait for authorisation.

The Internet was mentioned by a very small number of respondents in the main survey, who acknowledged that there was this resource. However, from my point of view, the Internet has proved beneficial as a means to exchange views on the relevant minoritised language with members of the speech community concerned, and to use and learn the particular language. One Occitan respondent is a member of a language forum that shares comments and translations on any language (O8). A Breton respondent meanwhile, who was asked about the existence of reading material in Breton, replied that she likes to read emails in the Breton language (B2).

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<sup>57</sup> Hornsby (2008) has observed that the use of Breton signage in McDonalds restaurants could be perceived as ‘grobalisation’ or ‘glocalisation’ of nothing.

The Internet, provided that access is widely available, may be seen as a medium for the juxtaposition of the global and the local. It could also be a medium that transforms a local language to a global language; in a linguistic context, it is the twenty-first century version of language expansion: the Internet provides a means of communicative exchange without the need to travel. Earlier versions of language expansion functioned as part of a strategy to build an empire (see Mar-Molinero 2000 in relation to the global expansion of Castilian), through written and audio-visual media and as a consequence of immigration. In Woolard's (2008) citations relative to the global expansion of Spanish, she mentions how *El País Semanal* has linked the practicality of Spanish as a language to the growth of the Hispanic community in the USA and their attachment to Spanish traditions. Woolard posits that the potential for Spanish as a global language stems from localised primordial values: Spanish is the identity of the Hispanic community, but as the community increases in size and consequently in importance Spanish changes from a local language to a language with economic and global significance.

A language in the local domain could be a counter-point to global languages and, possibly, be itself transformed into a global language. This would be an example of language as a positive token or no longer tokenistic. There is one further aspect of language as a token, which was touched upon in my data. This is about the use of language and culture to assert an identity claim, whereby language use becomes a badge/token of identity. It is this area of language use that I explore in the next section on the link between language use and language identity.

#### **6.2.4 Language use as a necessary requirement of language prestige and language identity?**

In the previous section, I have discussed how language has played a role in identity construction and reconstruction, but I also posed a concern that language use for such purposes could be tokenistic. This concern has made me question the role between language use and identity associations. Some of my data express the importance of language use in respect to language maintenance: a popular response, from the Breton young adults, to a question about the safeguarding of Breton was that Breton should be spoken. Meanwhile, Michel (B15) emphasises the correlation between language use with language identity through exclamations, the upper case and bold type:

Extract 6.44

B15 *Exister sans le breton ? sans doute, mais ça fait partie de ce que je suis, je ne le renie pas, bien au contraire ! connaître 2 langues au départ de la vie, permet une telle « ouverture d'esprit ».* Et puis comme disait le POETE « Patrice de la Tour du Pin » : « TOUS LES PAYS

QUI N'ONT PLUS DE **LEGENDE**, SONT APPELES A MOURIR DE FROID » (remplacer « légende » par « langue »)

Can you exist without Breton? Undoubtedly, but it's part of what I am, I don't deny it, on the contrary! To know 2 languages from the start of life, allows a certain 'opening of the soul'. And then as the POET 'Patrice de la Tour du Pin' [twentieth century Parisian poet] would say: 'EVERY COUNTRY THAT NO LONGER HAS A LEGEND IS COMPELLED TO DIE OF COLD' (replace 'legend' by 'language')

Michel's argument about the role of language is one that Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 117) has used to defend language maintenance. As far as Skutnabb-Kangas is concerned, 'language [is] a possible core value in many cultures', and if language is removed from culture it will become 'folkloric' (2000:119). I wished to observe the use of language in my respondents' discourses, which are the responses to open-ended questions that enabled them to choose their language, to gauge identity perceptions about the role of language as a core value. The following chart (6.19) is a synthesis of these results:

	Breton		Occitan		Catalan			Galician		
	French	Other	Fr	Other	Castilian	Catalan	Other	Cas	Galician	Other
18-30	12	0	5	0	6	1	2 <sup>58</sup>	10	0	1 <sup>59</sup>
30-60	6	0	10	0	6	6	1 <sup>60</sup>	6	0	0
Over 60	8	0	15	0	1	8	0	1	4	0
Total	26		30		31			22		

Chart 6.19 Language used in narrative discourse by respondents<sup>61</sup>

In these responses pragmatism, language compartmentalism and identity perceptions come to the fore. The use of French by the Bretons and Occitans reflects the compartmentalised role of language in their lives in that they have assigned specific roles for different languages for pragmatic reasons, as discussed in the sections on networks and ambivalence. This is borne out by the student responses in which their use of the minoritised language is respected, but there is a tendency to use French with outsiders. There are also possibilities of the influence of

<sup>58</sup> One of the respondents replied in French and the other in a mixture of Castilian and English; they are both French.

<sup>59</sup> This native Castilian speaker replied in English.

<sup>60</sup> This native Catalan replied in English.

<sup>61</sup> The respondents are the Breton young adults who filled in the preliminary questionnaires and the stage three respondents who answered open-ended questions or replied to enquiries.

prestige in the choice of French by the older respondents in transcribed interviews with minoritised language speakers. The responses from the Galicians could indicate a shift from Galician to Castilian aligned to prestige, but, in consideration of their domains of use, also reflect pragmatism (choosing a language that is more greatly understood by an outsider) that is corroborated by the student responses. There could be an identity association of Galician as a language for use with Galicians (Myhill (1999: 13) notes that non-members of a linguistic group are sometimes excluded from use of a language on ethnic identity grounds), but the impression from my data is language pragmatism. We can observe a difference between the Galician data and those from France that reflects on regime (Galician is an official language in its speech community) in that the older Galician respondents have used Galician but none of the older respondents from France have used the minoritised language. Meanwhile, the Catalan responses, again reflected in the student data, are in part influenced by territory (the respondents from Girona using the everyday language of Catalan), partly pragmatic (choosing a language that is more greatly understood by an outsider) and partly an identity association (the language that the respondents wish to use). At face value we could say that the greater use of the minoritised language by the Catalan respondents shows this language has a higher prestige association than the other minoritised languages, in that language is a core identity value. However, while the non-use of language can be due to prestige associations, there are other reasons, such as pragmatism and the consideration that language is one of several identity markers.

Language as a core identity marker was part of the nation-state process in the nineteenth century, and language activists have seen this as a means to promote the minoritised language. This leads to an insistence that the minoritised language is the *lingua franca* in militant circles, so that language becomes the tokenistic badge that I mentioned at the end of the previous section (see McDonald (1989: 118) for her observations on language used by militants for identity formation, and see Beswick (2007: 226) on Galician language identity in militant circles). In this scenario language is the primary core value used to construct an identity or to re-assert an existing identity. The difference between the use of language as an identity badge and the use I discussed in the previous section concerning a reaction against globalism is that the former usage assigns language the role of the principal identity marker. There is a growing academic literature that emphasises that identity and language are both subject to change, so that an individual can move between groups via use of a different language, travel or an interest in a different activity (see Beswick 2007, Bausinger 1999, Johnstone 1999, Edwards 1985 and Coupland and Jaworski 2004 in particular). Consequently, multiple identities rather than single identities are more usual. This was a general feature of my data. As far as language as a key

identity marker aligned to prestige has been concerned, while there are indications of a higher level of prestige with Catalan, overall the results are inconclusive refuting language as a sole marker of identity. In the student questionnaires, I posed two questions about prestige: the first question is an evaluation of language, while the second question evaluates the speakers themselves to see if value judgments about language are transferred onto people:

How much prestige does each language [non-state/state] have in the speech communities for the minoritised language? (B12, appendix B)

How much prestige do state language and non-state language speakers have in the speech communities for the minoritised language? (B15, appendix B)

Most of my respondents did not distinguish a difference between the two questions, which is a possible indication of transference of value judgments<sup>62</sup>. Three of the Breton respondents separated language value judgments from speaker evaluations: two thought that the Breton language had low prestige but that the speakers had a high prestige rating, while one respondent made the same observations in relation to French. In general, there was a correlation between language use and language attitudes for the Breton and Occitan speakers: low prestige ratings and marginalised language use. One female Occitan speaker rated Occitan highly but the respondent will only use Occitan in the classroom. My responses from the Galicians, although it is a small sample, use Galician but have assigned a low level of prestige. There was some difference between the native and non-native Galician speakers: all of the native Galician speakers thought that Galician had little prestige but used Galician in all domains while the non-native Galician speakers were slightly more optimistic about the prestige of Galician.

The Catalan responses did not reveal any patterns according to variables of gender, language or place of origin; although clear statistics cannot be produced as some of the respondents provided no personal details. As far as language is concerned, a native Catalan speaker was as likely to assign a high level of prestige to Catalan as a low level. While ‘*mucho*’ [a lot] was chosen by native Catalan speakers for the level of prestige for Castilian, ‘*ninguno*’ [none] was also chosen. ‘*Muchísimo*’ [loads] was chosen as a native Catalan-speaking response to the level of prestige for Catalan. There was some illustration of ethno-linguistic tensions by the selection of the non-native language as the prestigious language.

In addition to the two direct questions on prestige, I also posed two questions that differed slightly but revealed that language attitudes and language use vary according to circumstances. These are the questions:

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<sup>62</sup> See section 4.1.2.2 though about problems with the wording of questions.

I would like to speak only the minoritised language with my (future) children; agree/disagree (A4 in appendix B)

I will speak the minoritised language with my (future) children and or I will enrol them in minoritised language classes; agree/disagree (C6 in appendix B)

The first question presumes an exclusive use of one language, and while this was not rejected as a possibility by all of the respondents – all of the Bretons and a large proportion of the Catalans agreed with the statement – there was some disagreement. The second question, however, provoked a more universal acceptance. These responses presume that there are certain conditions attached to language attitudes and language use, as can be understood in answer to a question about the minoritised language assuming the principal linguistic role in the respondents' lives (A3). The responses from the Catalans and Galicians showed that there is a strong probability that the minoritised language would feature largely in their lives even if they disagreed that they would only transmit this language to their children. As far as the Bretons were concerned, their responses appeared to reflect idealism versus reality: they wished to transmit Breton to their children even if Breton did not feature largely in their own lives.

The fact that a variation in circumstance can alter linguistic perceptions raises, in my opinion, a concern about how language data should be interpreted. I have noticed that some questions about language attitude will produce a positive reply which does not correlate to language use. In a question I posed about the attractiveness of the minoritised language, none of the respondents selected a negative reply even if their use of the language was minimal (question B3). This question also posed concerns about the attributes that can be attached to languages, since a significant number of respondents opted for a neutral response. This confusion was also prevalent in replies to questions about choice of friends (A5), economic conditions for different language speakers (B20) and the questions on prestige.

The conclusions presented in my data indicate that it is unhelpful to view abstract notions, such as language, prestige and identity as static forms. The following extract from non-native Occitan speaker Eric (O15) on his language use demonstrates fluidity, an ability to adopt multiple identity values:

Extract 6.45

O15 *Quand je rencontre des occitanistes dans d'autres contextes j'aime bien parler la langue sauf si il y a autour de nous des gens qui ne comprennent pas. Même s'ils comprennent ils ne peuvent répondre qu'en français et ne répondent pas. Cette pratique serait trop sectaire et fermée à mon gout. Mais on peut toujours parler de l'occitan en français.*



When I meet Occitanists in other contexts [outside academic and Occitan cultural circles] I really like to speak the language except if there are people around us who don't understand. Even if they understand they can only reply in French and don't respond. This practice would be too sectarian and closed off for my taste. But you can always talk about Occitan in French.

An inference from Eric's (O15) extract is that a symbolic value can be attached to language: language has an indirect presence. This is a feature that Edwards (1985) has discussed. Language use is not a necessary requirement of identity, according to Edwards, since a language does not remain static; it is possible, therefore, for symbolic values and language use to separate. Edwards is critical of policies that do not recognise that although a language is not actively used it still has a presence, as discussed in the following extract:

As an objective marker of groupness, language is highly susceptible to change; despite its obvious claims on our attention, its continuation is not necessary for the continuation of identity itself. There is evidence to suggest that the communicative and symbolic aspects of language are separable during periods of change, such that the latter can continue to exercise a role in group identity in the absence of the former. Failure to recognise this separability and inaccurate notions of the indispensability of communicative language for group continuity may lead to unwise and fruitless intervention attempts. (Edwards 1985: 169)

This citation from Edwards (1985) is in contrast to Skutnabb-Kangas's (2000) view of language as a core value. Language subsumes a subsidiary role of non-use or partial use. This kind of linguistic behaviour could be influenced by 'heteroglossic' considerations. Bakhtin (1981, cited by Coupland and Jaworski 2004) has defined two versions of 'heteroglossia': 'heteroglossia without awareness' and 'heteroglossia with awareness'. The former definition is a subconscious switch between languages, which would have ideological overtones. The other definition is a conscious language switch, which is again for ideological reasons or to accommodate non-speakers of a language. Bakhtin's use of the term 'heteroglossia' denotes code switching (see explanation of code-switching in 6.4.3); this differs from Del Valle's (2000) use of the term, where 'heteroglossia' means the existence of more than one speech variety (6.4.3). Eric's (O15) use of language is an example of language accommodation code-switching. Misalignment, therefore, between language use and language attitudes – positive attitudes not always reflected in language use – does not automatically imply sub-conscious stigma; it is a different way of using language. It also shows that language is one of a group of interchangeable identity markers.

### **6.3 De-compartmentalised language use**

The interchangeable use of language means it can either have a pre-determined function (compartmentalised use) or a less clearly defined role (de-compartmentalised). A

disadvantage of de-compartmentalism is that the lack of clear boundaries can lead to unbalanced bilingualism or diglossia that is ideology led. However, de-compartmentalised use when decoupled from ideology is a tolerant form of language behaviour that I call freedom of expression.

### 6.3.1 *Freedom of expression*

In my Catalan and Galician data, there is a transition across all age groups towards freedom of expression that is based on pragmatism. The respondents choose their language according to the linguistic competence of their interlocutor, which conforms to the protectionist policies in place in Spain. True harmonious bilingualism embodies freedom of expression. Juarros-Daussà and Lanz (2009: 12) observed that, ‘true bilinguals [...] want to feel free to alternate between the languages they command’. *Bilingüismo armónico*, in the opinion of Tremlett (2006: 71), has been contentious since the death of Franco partly because there was no climactic release in the form of a revolution. He thinks that a change is apparent now that the Spanish are in the process of a re-analysis of the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s and its aftermath (*Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica*).

Freedom of expression can also result in greater loyalty towards the speaker’s native language. I have noticed this feature in the Catalan data, of which the following is an illustration:

Extract 6.46

C4 *Ja no passo tan ràpid al castellà quan algú no la sap.*

I no longer change so quickly to Castilian when someone does not know it.

I think that this period of re-analysis also allows festering resentments to be more easily aired:

Extract 6.47

CD *Hi ha algun aspecte negatiu de la situació actual del català a Catalunya?*

C1 *L'escassa militància de la majoria dels catalanoparlants.*

CD Are there any negative points about the current situation of Catalan in Catalonia?

C1 The lack of militancy from the majority of Catalan speakers.

Miquel (C1) is from the over-sixty age group and his opinion conforms to findings by Woolard when she visited a secondary school in Barcelona in the late 1980s. The students supported harmonious bilingualism while their teacher, who would be from an older generation, rejected bilingualism (Woolard 2008: 316). However, harmonious bilingualism is

supported by some of my older respondents, and sixty-one-year-old native Catalan speaker Francesc (C10) is an example of this approach:

Extract 6.48

CD *Hi ha algun aspecte negatiu de la situació actual del català a Catalunya?*

C10 *Jo no ho crec. Ho resumiria així: “No ploris per un país que treballa sinó treballa per un país que plora”. El victimisme ens fa molt de mal a tots nivells.*

CD Are there any negative points about the current situation of Catalan in Catalonia?

C10 I don't think so. I would summarise it like this: “Don't cry for a country that works but work for a country that cries”. Victimisation is very bad for us at every level.

A liberal approach is also prevalent in language planning. Catalan language planning is in the process of a transition from formalised language imposition coupled with personal language choice to informalised language promotion. In Galicia, there are recuperation projects that seek to rediscover the informal role of language. Native Galician speaker Paula (G3) informed me that a Galician author, Neira Cruz, has visited older Galicians to hear their oral traditions. There is also a move towards plurilingualism, which is present in the ideology espoused by the *Foro Babel* – a group of Catalan intellectuals founded in 1996 to debate the functions of a multinational society (Villacorta García 1998a & b). The *Foro Babel* supports personal language choice embodied in true bilingualism and plurilingualism.

### **6.3.2 Problems of de-compartmentalised language use**

The following words from Jaume (C7) show the problems attached to de-compartmentalised language use:

Extract 6.49

C7 *La gent de la nostra generació encara arrossaguem el temps de la represi6 Franquista en vers la llengua, i ens costa mantenir-nos fermes quans ens adresem a algu no català i ens pasem fàcilment al castellà d'una manera inconcient.*

The people of our generation still live in a trance-like state from the time of the Francoist resistance towards the language, and it costs us to keep our strength when we address someone who is not Catalan and we pass easily into Castilian without a moment's thought.

It can be observed that a transition towards an acceptance of the end of the Franco regime is in an early phase, as Jaume's (C7) discourse suggests that some of the older inhabitants of Catalonia have not come to terms with the end of this regime. Jaume describes ideology-led language behavior rather than freedom of expression. Meanwhile, in Galicia the linguistic relationship between Galician and Castilian is viewed by some of my informants in diglossic terms governed by ideological factors linked to pragmatism concerning the history of language shift towards the state language, as shown in the transmission of language in the home (6.1.1.1 & 6.1.2). These are ideological pressures, which as discussed by Beswick

(2007: 226), that are prevalent when one language loses its level of currency and prestige to another language. Consequently, the process of allowing people to accept language choice on their terms is not straightforward, and, as shown in the discussion in section 4.3.2, one that generates debate among language activists and language commentators. Possible solutions to managing the linguistic scenario are to increase legislation governing the use of the minoritised language, encourage functional diglossia and accept freedom of expression. These solutions must contend with the differences between Catalonia and Galicia concerning ethno-linguistic demographics and overall perceptions on language linked to territory and language linked to identity.

### **6.3.3 Solutions to combat ideological concerns about de-compartmentalised language use**

The three solutions that I have proposed to combat ideological concerns about de-compartmentalised language use all present problems in Catalonia and Galicia. An increase in the legislation governing the use of the minoritised language has been criticised by some scholars as unviable; the problems are the same as those I posited about nation-state building (6.2.2). In Catalonia, the concern is that in trying to promote the geographic presence of Catalan the language rights of incomers are ignored. This is a point raised by Branchadell (1999), who supports the position of Catalan as a dominant language in Catalonia but recognises that the full imposition of Catalan is untenable in a context where a significant proportion of the population is native Castilian-speaking. He has stated the following on the imposition of Catalan in Catalonia:

*Normalitzar vol dir fer normal, oi? Quina seria la situació lingüística normal? En un territori on hi ha una llengua oficial que a més a més és la pròpia del país, el normal és que tots els ciutadans sàpiguen aquesta llengua i l'emprin en qualsevol situació [...]. Hem de tendir a que el català sigui veritablement la llengua pròpia d'aquí, que tota relació normal es faci en català.*

To normalise means to make normal, doesn't it? What would be the normal linguistic situation? In a territory where there is an official language that moreover is the language belonging to the country, normal means that all citizens know this language and use it in any situation [...]. We have to tend towards the fact that Catalan is rightfully the language that belongs to here, that any normal contact is made in Catalan (Branchadell 1996 in Süselbeck 2008: 173).

The above citation could suppose support towards more rigid legislation but instead he advocates the continuation of the Catalan linguistic model (Branchadell 1999: 301). The Catalan linguistic model juxtaposes territorial rights – Catalan as the language of Catalonia – with personal choice – language choice is decided by the individual. In Galicia, on the other hand, the problem is overcoming prestige associations and the realisation that bilingualism is

more prevalent than monolingualism. Regueira Fernández (2006) has highlighted the different linguistic outcomes in Galicia from monolingualism for Castilian, Galician or *galego-português* to bilingualism and multilingualism. All of these outcomes are unsatisfactory to some on grounds of language identity. *Bilingüismo armónico* though best reflects the overall scenario as of the early twenty-first century in Galicia, a point which Beswick raises in her consideration of Galician and Castilian usage where she has observed an increased tendency towards bilingualism, so that monolingual campaigns would ignore linguistic behaviour (2007: 233). As far as Herrero-Valeiro (2002-3: 304) is concerned, those that advocate a rigid imposition of the minoritised language have mythologised monolingualism. The strong imposition of the minoritised language would produce a similar effect to the strong imposition of the state language: a hegemonic society where choice is removed from the individual.

It would seem that increased legislation is the least tenable solution of the three that I have proposed for encouraging linguistic vitality in Spain. Bilingualism is perhaps more appropriate, which in France operates along the lines of functional diglossia. Vallverdú (1990: 77) advocated the clear demarcation of domains which would allow for the monoglossic use of Catalan in certain functions rather than an attempt towards universal unilingualism in Catalan. Some of my data show that it could also be accepted in Spain. Bilingual Catalan-Castilian speaker Rosa explains how she has compartmentalised Catalan and Castilian:

Extract 6.50

CD *¿Piensa Vd. que el catalán y el castellano tienen funciones diferentes?*

C18 *En esencia, no; pero en mi caso sí me atrevería a hablar de cierto grado de diglosia: llevado al extremo, el catalán sería la lengua empleada en el ámbito de las relaciones sociales y el castellano la empleada en el círculo familiar más íntimo. Aunque siempre hay un margen de variabilidad.*

CD Do you think that Catalan and Castilian have different roles?

C18 In general, no; but in my case yes I would venture to speak of a certain degree of diglossia: taken to the extreme, Catalan would be the language used in social relationships and Castilian would be used in more intimate family circles. Although there is always a certain amount of flexibility.

Functional diglossia is also validated by Romaine (2002), Fishman (1991), Vallverdú (1990) and Atkinson (1999b). Fishman states the following on diglossia:

Diglossia not only constitutes additive bilingualism (rather than subtractive or replacive bilingualism in which one language pushes the other out of use) but stabilized bilingualism that recognizes the need for internal boundaries as much as (or even more than) external ones (Fishman 1991: 85).

Fixed boundaries would counter the criticism levelled at bilingualism policy in Spain that it leaves too much freedom to the public to decide linguistic choice. It is why the efforts of the *Foro Babel* have met with some resistance. Most notably, Branchadell (1999) believes that the message of personal language choice promoted by the *Foro Babel* encourages deference towards the state language, as seen in the relationships with the working class in Catalonia (6.1.1.2). However, what my data show are, on the whole, an acceptance towards a more fluid form of language use. Freedom of expression allows the individual to choose a language spontaneously rather than in advance according to certain scenarios, and that is what *bilingüismo armónico* and protectionist policies in Spain have tried to promote. The problem is how to convey this message so that it is accepted by all members of the speech community.

#### **6.4 A speech community in harmony: the ideology of language corpus**

The different ideologies within a speech community presented throughout this chapter illustrate that it is difficult for everyone to be in agreement about linguistic practice. This is especially true of the relationship between the agents that promote language policy, whether they are government officials or language activists, and the rest of a speech community. In this section, I discuss areas where there is alignment between the top and the bottom and where there is misalignment in relation to language corpus ideology.

##### **6.4.1 Alignment**

An alignment between the top and the bottom, as far as language corpus is concerned, focuses on the quality of language. The following two extracts are from opposite ends of the age spectrum, eighty-two and twenty-five, but both stress the importance of the quality of language:

###### Extract 6.51

GR<sup>63</sup> *Pensas que agora o galego ten máis uso, está máis presente na televisión, na radio, que o fala máis a xente... ou pensas que non, que se fala menos?*

G11 *Nin unha cousa nin a outra, falan castrapo.*

GR Do you think that Galician is used more, that it has a greater presence on the television, on the radio, that more people speak it... or do you that it is spoken less?

G11 Neither one thing or the other, they speak *castrapo*.

###### Extract 6.52

G1 *Pienso que es imprescindible que todos los gallegos sepan hablar español correctamente así como sería conveniente que el gallego se hablase correctamente, puesto que en la mayoría de las ocasiones se habla un gallego mezclado con el castellano que empobrece la lengua.*

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<sup>63</sup> GR = G11's granddaughter.

I think that it is essential that all Galicians know how to speak Spanish correctly just as it would be right that Galician is spoken correctly, since in most cases the Galician that is spoken is mixed with Castilian that impoverishes the language.

The term *castrapo* is a pejorative word that refers to Castilian mixed with Galician, of which the use of this word implies a stigma. Beswick (2007: 149) also discovered a feeling of stigma towards varieties of Galician that were not standardised, in particular the *gheada*. The *gheada*, according to some linguists, is a vocal feature of Galician that is influenced by contact with Castilian, while other linguists stress the unique qualities of this language form (Thomas 2007). Silvia's (G11) use of the term *castrapo* has similarities, and thus aligns, with re-integrationist Carvalho Calero's criticism of the corpus promoted by separatists that I discussed in chapter 2. As part of a process of ideological reciprocation Silvia is integrated within the debate on language corpus. Silvia and Cristina (G1) are drawn towards the authenticity of language.

As far as my Catalan respondents are concerned, their thoughts on language corpus specify the quality of Catalan (see extracts 5.25 and 5.26) in that they consider the form of Catalan that is currently used to be of a higher standard than during the Franco regime. However, one informant (C6) from the 18-30 age group thought there were instances of code-mixing between Catalan and Castilian amongst the young in their written production, and extract 3.2 shows instances of code-mixing. Sinner and Wieland have noted that the individual is drawn towards the official forms of Catalan:

*Las estructuras que no están integradas en la normativa del catalán, basada en la lengua escrita, no por ello dejan de formar parte de la norma de uso, que representa, también, la realidad lingüística catalana. No obstante, la percepción de muchos hablantes es que lo que se encuentra en los diccionarios es 'la norma', sacralizando, de esta forma, los diccionarios, y lo que se halla en ellos no debe utilizarse.*

The structures that are not integrated within the Catalan grammar, based on the written language, have not ceased to form a part of everyday usage. They also represent the Catalan linguistic reality. However, the perception by many speakers is that what they find in dictionaries is 'the norm'. The preservation of this form, the dictionaries, and what is found in them does not have to be used. (Sinner and Wieland 2008: 143)

#### **6.4.2 Misalignment**

I have commented in section 6.4.1 that my data emphasise the authenticity of language, which shows an alignment with language planners. However, language planners do not agree or align on the corpus of an authentic version of language, so it should not be supposed that the rest of the community in which a language is in use is in alignment. I

noticed that the older Breton and Occitan respondents considered the language they used to be different from that of younger and newer speakers (see extract 5.17), and that the younger Galician speakers recognised that the standardised Galician differed from the Galician used by older speakers (extract 5.23). Lorenzo Suárez notes that there is a difference between standardised Galician and un-standardised Galician:

*No tocante ao «galego audiovisual», podemos definilo como un sociolecto profesional que se foi desenvolvendo desde os anos oitenta coa aparición da CRTVG. Asíciase con individuos novos, tanto homes coma mulleres, de biografía lingüística castelanófona e que producen un galego oral moi diferente do galego tradicional e moi achegado, pola contra, ao castelán.* As far as ‘audiovisual Galician’ [standardised Galician used by the media] is concerned, we can define it as a professional sociolect [dialect belonging to a particular sector of society] that has been emerging since the 1980s with the creation of CRTVG [Galician television]. It [audiovisual Galician] is associated with new individuals, men and women, of a Castilian-speaking background and has produced a spoken Galician that is very different from traditional Galician and very close, on the other hand, to Castilian (Lorenzo Suárez 2007: 34)

Lorenzo Suárez has observed that there are demographic divisions over Galician corpus, which is endorsed by Beswick (2011) in her discussion on the use of Castilian-influenced Galician in radio broadcasts in which efforts to produce a standardised, more prestigious version of Galician have resulted in a version that is closer to Castilian and more distanced from the Galician spoken by older inhabitants. A misalignment/difference in language corpus within a speech community, especially between the language planners and the rest of the community, does not necessarily mean though that there is a misalignment concerning ideology. Labov has stated the following:

A speech community cannot be conceived as a group of speakers who all use the same forms; it is best defined as a group who share the same norms in regard to language (Labov 1972: 158).

In this sense, Labov is of the opinion that a speech community can be divided on linguistic practice but not on the rules and ideologies that govern that linguistic practice; this was on the basis of his research into the use and perception of use of the consonant ‘r’ in the English used in an area of New York (Martha’s Vineyard). However, I have noticed that a speech community does not have to be in complete agreement on linguistic ideology. On the contrary, the corpus ideology of my older Breton and Occitan speakers adhere to what Annamalai (1989: 226) defines as ‘identity maintenance’, whereas the ideology of language planners is to promote a version of a language that elevates its status. I contend that the base ideology of language authenticity is the same but that the ideology has diverged into the ideologies of identity maintenance and language elevation. Consequently, I see the divergence



of linguistic ideologies as analogous to the functions of a family so that one speech community can embody different norms. Other researchers – Romaine (1982), Dorian (1982), Milroy J (1982), Milroy L (1982) etc. (in Romaine 1982a) – contend that one speech community encompasses more than one linguistic norm. Romaine has applied a multiple variable rule model to evaluations of language prestige and norms governing grammar. As far as grammatical change is concerned, Romaine is of the following opinion:

In order for change to take place at all in a prototype variable rule community, the community *must* go through a stage in which it does *not* share the same constraints on the application of a rule. In this case, then, the grammar of a speech community *cannot* be described by one variable rule which all speakers use in the same way (Romaine 1982b: 20).

#### **6.4.3 Management or non-management of diverging ideologies**

If diverging ideologies are accepted as part of what Romaine has defined as a variable rule community, there remains the question of how to manage the situation. As far as corpus ideology is concerned, a strategy could involve non-management or non-interference. Woolard (2008) has speculated that the more moderate approach by the *Generalitat de Catalunya* to promote Catalan could stimulate a change throughout the Catalan speech community from an ideology of language authenticity, which links a language to a particular place, to language anonymity, which is not linked to a specific place and is less particular about grammatical and lexical correctness.

An alternative position is to embrace Del Valle's (2000) definition of 'heteroglossia': the acceptance of more than one variety for any one given language. A written codified form of language would co-exist with oral varieties. This position is an accepted practice for Occitan (see Judge 2000); one of my Occitan respondents, seventy-six-year-old Yannig (O5), distinguishes between Occitan as an official language for schools and *patois*.

Some of my respondents accept language change if it is minimal – slight lexical changes – or will accept code-switching provided that the conversation is intelligible. Iria (G10) comments that changes to Galician are lexical and that Galician and Castilian are mixed, but she thinks Galician has improved. In the following extract, it can be noted that Iria has inserted Castilianisms into her Galician: *gallego* instead of *galego*:

#### Extract 6.53

G10 *Había palabras que cambiaban e había cousas que lles chamaban doutra maneira...; aos toxos aquí chamábanlles “maraña” e “toxos” eran os grandes, os de cocer. Nosoutros chamábamoslles “leña de cocer”. Ao fuso do carro chamábanlle “cabezalla”... Sólo había cousas que cambiaban de chamo.*

There were words that they would change and there were things that they would call something else...; the gorse they'd call "bundle" and "gorse" were the big ones for cooking. We would call them "kindling". The plough spindle they'd call "yoke"...

They were only things whose names would change.

*Falamos castrapo, pero bueno. Hoxe está mellor o gallego [sic] porque se fala o gallego e non se fala tan esvárdago [tosco, vulgar] coma antes.*

We speak *castrapo*, but that's ok. Today Galician is better because Galician is spoken and it is not spoken so *esvárdago* [coarse, vulgar] as before.

Xavier (O13) is proud of the mixture of French and Occitan that he speaks:

Extract 6.54

CD *Quelle est votre première langue ?*

O13 *le francitan ! En fait un français parsemé d'occitanismes. Mais l'occitan était la première langue de mes grands parents qui ont appris le français à l'école.*

CD What is your first language?

O13 Francitan! In fact French littered with Occitanisms. But Occitan was my grandparents' first language who learnt French at school.

Dorian (1981: 107) unearthed similar findings on Gaelic/English use among respondents who had learnt some Gaelic passively. She refers to these speakers as 'semi-speakers'. They showed intense pride in their Gaelic despite their limited command of the language – a pride that Dorian believed was in part explained by a close bond with older Gaelic-speaking relatives.

Poplack (2000), in research into the use of English and Spanish by Puerto-Ricans who had migrated to New-York, discovered that there were different nuances to code-mixing. If the grammatical systems of each language are kept intact, a code-switch, according to Poplack, has taken place; but even if there are grammatical errors, provided that the inserted language is largely correct then a code-switch has still occurred. However, if the inserted language is an adapted form of the native language, then it is not code-switching. *Francitan* and *castrapo* could be examples of code-switching or of code-mixing.

There are different reasons for code-mixing and/or code-switching, such as blurred boundaries through frequent contact or insufficient vocabulary in the native language. Howard (2007) witnessed different forms of code-mixing in the Andes as individuals sought ways to interact, and code-mixing was a way to overcome language barriers. Zentella (1997), in research into code-switching by the children of Puerto-Rican migrants to New York, concluded that there are no clear patterns to code-switching in that it does not always follow diglossic (functional or ideological) patterns and is not indicative of a poor command of one or both of the languages concerned. A particular context would inform language choice as Beswick (2007) discovered with the insertion of Castilianisms, to invoke humour, into the

Galician spoken by some of her younger respondents.<sup>64</sup> The use of Galicianisms by Cristina (G1) is an example of code-switching informed by language context:

Extract 6.55

G1 *Pero si que utilizo algunas expresiones típicas gallegas cuando describen mejor que el español una situación concreta.*

But sometimes I use some typical Galician expressions when they describe a specific situation better than Spanish.

The acceptance of different language varieties and code-switching are ways of resolving diverging ideologies on language corpus with minimal management from the top down.

## 6.5 Conclusions

Section 6.4 is a microcosm of chapter 6 as a whole in that it shows how language ideologies can recycle and diverge. As part of a process of language reproduction ideologies can be shared by divergent demographic groups, such as opposite ends of the age spectrum and by those with different levels of education and/or from different social classes. Once the ideologies start to diverge, the demographic variables become more prevalent.

The corroboration of variable-led differences was particularly noticeable with regard to age. The older minoritised language speakers, as part of their linguistic experiences, showed a greater tendency towards ambivalence. A critique of aggressive nationalism was prevalent among non-native minoritised language speakers. This cannot be denied; but there were anomalies. Some of the older minoritised language speakers shared the views of the younger speakers – in particular the older Occitan speakers who wanted to connect with their past. The Galician over-sixty-year-old women were as proud of Galician as some research findings would suggest is the case of males. There were non-native Catalan speakers who identified themselves as much with Catalan as native Catalan speakers.

A reason for these anomalies, as I have shown in this chapter, is that people do not necessarily have one belief on languages and their language beliefs do not always reflect their behaviour. Historical, nostalgic events intermingle with family traditions that can lead to ambivalent behaviour. Meanwhile, global processes and differing group interactions influence language choice, and for the competent bi/plurilingual, language is part of a more complex process than communicating words, so that a decision to assign a marginalised use to a given language is not automatically indicative of a passive interest in that language.

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<sup>64</sup> Code-mixing and language contact is a well-documented subject. Weinreich (1953) provides one of the earlier theoretical discussions on this topic.

In addition to the afore-mentioned complexities of language behaviour, there is a transitional phase in France and Spain at all levels of society. In France, at the top, there is a review of the position of other languages in France (see section 3.1.2). Lower down, there is a desire to connect with a locality and with the past. In Spain, all levels of society are evaluating the linguistic construction of Spain now that time has elapsed since the Franco regime.

A conclusion that can be extrapolated from the interplay of ideologies and this phase of language review is the pivotal role of agency, as introduced in section 1.2. It is apparent from my data that there is a desire to claim a proactive role as instigators of language choice. Historically, the proactive agents of language choice have been group leaders, whether governments or NGOs. My data show that the rest of the populace of the speech communities wants to experience the same proactivity; but for some of the respondents the impact of hegemony, prestige associations and a feeling that they are outsiders has lent itself to reactive behaviour or to behaviour that differs from other members of the speech community. Conflict, which I have noticed throughout this chapter, has concerned agreement over proactive roles as regards language choice. This is particularly evident concerning nationalist ideology and perceptions on the role of global languages and minoritised languages. The linguistic situation therefore, as of the early twenty-first century, in France and Spain is one that appears to warrant a flexible approach that allows the individual to determine language use according to functional diglossia or freedom of expression.

## Chapter 7. Conclusions

### 7.0 Introduction

In this dissertation I have developed a complex response to my initial research question as to the importance of state regime for the long-term survival of minoritised languages, taking into account a range of factors from state ideology and policy implementation to ideologies and language planning at the grassroots level. These factors both support and detract from the argument that regime is indeed important lending weight to a conclusion of null-hypothesis. In this chapter, I shall first discuss these factors in some detail to highlight the null-hypothesis from the perspectives of ideology and language planning resources. I shall then consider possibilities for the future of minoritised languages in France and Spain.

### 7.1 Null-hypothesis on the importance of state regime according to ideology

At an ideological level, the influence of political regime on the fortunes of minoritised languages is evident in the historical overview that I have provided in chapter 2. The difference between the monarchic regime and the nation-state is that while there were policies in place prior to the nineteenth century to impose French/Castilian as the dominant language, they were not enforced in a way that was of direct concern to the speakers of other languages. Once there were direct consequences for language choice (punishments at school, fines and prison sentences during the Franco regime, and upward social mobility for use of French/Castilian) language shift started to have an effect. We can see the impact of this history in the discourses about language transmission in the sections on networks and ambivalence in chapter 6.

In the early twenty-first century, ideological pressures at the state level have an impact on the status of minoritised languages. The state government has the power to overturn policy at a regional level regardless of the level of autonomy, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3. This is apparent in Spain in the decision by the Constitutional Court of Spain (2010) to nullify Catalan policy on language education, language in the media and the overall status of Catalan in relation to Castilian. The *manifiesto por una lengua común* [manifesto for a common language] has influenced both Catalan and Galician language policy. Meanwhile, in France the state government effects control over areas such as media output and education policy.

The main difference ideologically between the French and Spanish state regimes is that the autonomous structure in Spain enables the regional governments to an extent to promote the minoritised language along geographic nationalist lines. I have explained that this is not possible in France because it conflicts with the state ideology. However, the fact that Spain has been able to link language to territory has posed its own problems concerning language rights. In Catalonia, the problem over language identity rights is exacerbated by immigration of which a substantial number of incomers are from other parts of Spain and other Spanish-speaking countries. I have shown that linguistic conflict in Catalonia involves all levels of society from the politicians (chapter 3) to academics (see Branchadell 1999, Strubell 2001 and Pollock 2001 in particular) and the general public (some of the tensions in chapter 6). Galicia also has conflicts at a linguistic level, which concern the hegemonic presence of Castilian since the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Language activists have sought to promote Galician at a geographic nationalist level, but the *Xunta* has had to reconcile prestige associations and bilingual tendencies to promote a dual linguistic territory that protects all language rights. The result is again tension, as shown through the discussion in section 4.3.2 and throughout chapter 6.

Language conflict in Spain is over linguistic space and the fact that Catalan and Galician share the same functions as Castilian, as seen in the domains for Catalan and Galician by my informants. In France, language use is more compartmentalised. However, there is still conflict in France concerning language linked to identity and language linked to territory. The difference is that the struggle is about the assertion of language identity rights in the regions versus the language/territory ideology of the French state. The contrast of state regime has moved the battle grounds so that the language/identity versus language/territory debate is more localised in Spain. This last point confirms the importance of state regime on the status of minoritised languages. On the other hand, the fact that the base ideology about language rights is the same raises a query against my research question.

We can see in the differences of opinion about language corpus among language activists and among the general public that the same problems occur regardless of state regime. My findings have shown that Breton and Occitan corpus planning by NGOs and activist groups has been as divisive as that by the Catalan and Galician autonomous governments. Paula and Olga (G3 & G4; extracts 5.21 & 5.23) commented upon changes to Galician corpus that were inconsistent with native Galician, particularly the

Galician spoken by the elderly. At the same time, though, some of my elderly Breton and Occitan speakers commented that the language of the classroom was different from their language.

As far as the ideological aims of language planning are concerned, all the language plans whatever the regime have the same focus to increase awareness about the minoritised language and increase or maintain use of the minoritised language. There are similarities in the way language plans are worded, such as in the publicity programme *Ya d'ar Brezhoneg* [Yes to Breton] and *Dóna Corda al Català* [Give Life to Catalan]. Breton and Galician language planning efforts have involved intra-community links with older members of the speech community, such as the work that *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* does to promote intergenerational links (see section 5.1.2) and the oral history gathering exercise in Galicia (section 6.3.1).

Turning to the ideological factors that motivate language use, we can again observe similarities across the two regimes of France and Spain. Language decisions tended among my informants to be spontaneous and based on pragmatic considerations about the language that was most able to perform a specific function. It is true that I noticed in Spain that on the whole the boundaries were more blurred concerning linguistic choice, but pragmatism was still the motivating factor behind the favouring of one language over another. A common point between the older informants from both countries was the underlying behaviour of inter-generational language transmission. The discourses from all the speech communities show that the transmission of the state language instead of the minoritised language was linked to practicality, whether for upward mobility or compliance with censorship laws. We then see as a consequence language use by the younger generations limited to outside the family, such as at school. This behaviour reinforces notions of the marginalised role of the minoritised language with the result that sometimes promotional efforts lend an artificial/touristy feel towards the language concerned, as shown with the problems of 'glocalisation' (Ritzer 2004).

Another point of consideration about language ideology is the demographic composition and cultural structures of the speech community. These are extraneous to regime structure. The immigration situation in Catalonia and the political mobilisation of the middle classes have combined to produce a linguistic scenario that is not present in the other speech communities under discussion. The Occitan speech community has experienced immigration but has not been able to mobilise a cultural movement with the

political intent of the Catalan equivalent, and the Bretons and Galicians have also been unable to organise a coherent, functional politicised cultural movement.

### ***7.1.1 Null-hypothesis on the importance of state regime according to language planning resources***

State regime has some bearing from an ideological perspective on the status of minoritised languages but is not an over-riding area of importance. This leads to the possibility of a slight refinement of my hypothesis about the importance of state regime. The same is true regarding the importance of attitudes or ideologies. I have shown in the previous section how perceptions and experiences about language shape language use, but in this section we shall see that another factor can affect the situation of minoritised languages. The resources available to implement overt language policies can over-ride positive language attitudes, which places an onus again on state regime. We have seen that ideologically the state government can exert control over its autonomies or regions; this also applies from the point of view of resources whether material or legislative.

As far as the contrast between France and Spain is concerned, the principal divergence is the availability of material resources. I concluded chapter 3 with the view that the autonomous structure in Spain allowed for greater control of financial resources than is available under the system in France, which was particularly apparent in the case of Breton. The Brittany Regional Council has shown an interest in Breton, but it is reliant upon an allocated budget from the French state in order to implement policies effectively, which was confirmed to me by a member of the *Conseil économique et social régional de Bretagne* [Economic and Social Council] (extract 3.1). Restrictions on the availability of funding for minoritised language education in France were noticeable in the observations by Abley (2005) on the classroom facilities for Occitan. Occitan language planning, like Breton, is reliant upon the budget allocated to the regional councils – the role of the regional councils in Occitan language planning is mentioned in the *Schéma Régional de Développement de l'Occitan 2008-2013* [Regional Schema for the Development of Occitan 2008-2013] (see section 3.2).

As well as the financial implications of the relationship between the French state and the regions of France, there was also direct policy implication which was prevalent in the allocation of teaching posts. The reduction in teaching posts was a major criticism within my preliminary primary-source data on education for Breton and Occitan (see section 4.2). The control of the French state over teaching posts was highlighted in the



Breton *bilan*, which also described the position that minoritised language education has within the French education system. In order to exert more control over the amount of Breton and Occitan teaching and the levels at which the languages are taught, the schools have to opt out of the state system, but the outcome is that the privately-run schools are financially dependent upon private donations and the resources from the Regional Council.

The problems with the provision of resources for Breton and Occitan courses have meant that the type of education received can be dependent upon chance, as was confirmed by the family from Normandy who had migrated to the Occitan-speaking region of France. In Catalonia and Galicia, the autonomous governments had been able to impose their own education systems to meet the needs of their communities, so that there is the contrast of the position of Occitan in the French schools versus the position of Catalan in the Catalan schools as stated by Aina (C3; extract 5.10) – my Catalan Occitan-speaking respondent. Aina's comparison showed that the Catalan education system was largely Catalan based while Occitan and Breton were incorporated within a French-based system. Huguet's (2007) research confirmed the large presence of Catalan within the schools (see section 5.1). In addition, the autonomous governmental systems in place within Catalonia and Galicia have been able to exert control through various departments that has not been applicable within the French regions, such as the establishment of professional training courses in addition to general adult language competency courses.

The level of power from the autonomous governments operates as part of the regime in place within Spain that has aimed to replace 'linguistic convergence' with 'multilingualism'. This regime has enabled Catalan and Galician to be enshrined as co-official languages in their autonomous communities, which in turn has meant that language policy can focus on the spread of Catalan and Galician to all domains in their regions. There is not such a regime in place in France, and that is reflected in the degree of access to the minoritised languages in that country; a degree of access that encompasses all domains from education in all its forms to the media and the workplace.

Another consideration, reflected in my research, on the effect of state regime on language planning is the level of support from the European Union. Catalan and Galician are able to benefit from more support from the European Union, because Spain

signed and ratified its signature of the *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages* while France has yet to ratify its signature of the charter. Adherence to this charter means that, theoretically, Spain is obliged to ensure the protection of Catalan and Galician. Additionally, Catalan and Galician benefit from EU legislation in that because they are co-official languages they can be used to address members of European bodies such as the European Commission. However, the fact that Catalan and Galician are not state languages means that they are not fully enshrined as working languages of the EU, so that my research question about help from European-wide policies is intricately linked to the importance of state regime.

State regime can over-ride language ideologies from the point of view of resources, but I have shown in this dissertation that language policy implementation is not wholly dependent upon state regime. The fact that the *Generalitat de Catalunya* and the *Xunta de Galicia* have more resources at their disposal than the *collectivités territoriales* does not always translate to enforced policy implementation. In chapter 3, I cited the example of the enforcement of Galician in the classroom during the phase of the shared-teaching model, in that education inspectors were not instigating sanctions against schools that were not complying with the educational decrees [*decretos*]. Strubell (2006), to whom I referred in the discussion on language policy enforcement in section 3.1.3, argued that in the Mediterranean there are ways to ignore policies and to ensure that they are not enforced. This lack of policy implementation negates whatever resources are available. I found that in both France and Spain one explanation for poor policy implementation was speculative language plans that did not stipulate a clear methodology.

The adequacy of language programmes and materials is another area of policy implementation that is similar in France and Spain. There were queries from within my findings from both sides of the border about the adequacy of education programmes to produce linguistic competence in the language concerned. Also, some of my Catalan and Galician respondents expressed concerns about the standard and availability of educational and media resources. This is confirmed (see discussion in section 5.1.3) by Fishman's (1991) explanation of the problems encountered by minoritised languages in the final stages of language recuperation, whereby there are difficulties in overcoming the extra resources available to state languages, as observed by Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes (2006) in the differences between Catalan and Castilian publicity in the written press (section 5.2.1).

As regards specific language programmes, I have found that voluntary and private initiatives are sometimes as effective as government programmes. The *Calandretas* and *Diwan* schools perform the same function as the immersive schools in Catalonia, and as the private schools are separate from the state regime there is more freedom and choice. There are shared-teaching bilingual schools under state control in France in spite of problems on the number of available places. Also, some of my Breton and Occitan respondents use Breton and Occitan in ways that promote the language non-confrontationally. The minoritised language is used to express music and plays, which are activities that governments can provide but do not exclusively depend upon government intervention. Another point is that while there is less financial control for the *collectivités territoriales* than the Spanish autonomies, the *Conseils régionaux* can still provide some financial assistance (see section 5.1).

## **7.2 The future of minoritised languages in France and Spain**

It can be seen that it is too simplistic to reach a single conclusion about linguistic vitality as a variety of factors have some influence. Sociolinguistic research has tried to reconcile ideologies from the various sectors of a speech community while recognising the extent of material and legislative resources. In section 1.0, I specified that the methodological angle that I would pursue was the combined language policy with language ideology, and that the purpose of this approach was to align the two strands. I have discovered that even among academics who have not adopted this approach there is the same dilemma of how to cater for all the needs of the speech community.

The researchers to whom I have referred in this dissertation may have adopted different standpoints on the type of policies that should be implemented to protect minoritised languages and whose rights should be protected, but they have all debated the notion of flexibility (how much is done to promote minoritised languages and the rights of the native speaker versus the rights of non-native speakers and non-speakers.) One standpoint is non-interference: it is up to the individuals themselves to decide to what extent they are going to use a given language. Policy implementation should only occur if there is a direct demand from the speech community in a wait-and-see scenario. This was why Paulston (1994) endorsed the view that the provision of language courses for immigrants (section 5.1.2) should depend on prior motivation. Meanwhile, Edwards (1985) believed that too much intervention is at odds with the general process of

language adaptation (see section 6.2.4). The conclusion reached here is that language is organic and change will happen if the public is united upon that decision.

The counterpoint to the arguments of Paulston and Edwards is that through a *laissez-faire* attitude the feelings of the native minoritised language speaker are ignored as is the potential to reach out to people who might not have considered learning about the language in question, but who discover a life-long interest in that language. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) took the view that language is an important part of culture that people should not discard. The general tenet of criticism levelled at *bilingüismo armónico* (see sections 4.3.2 and 6.3 and sub-sections) is that it offers too much freedom of choice, so that the state language or global language is the popular option. The problem though, of which the debate on *bilingüismo armónico* is a prime example, is that if policies are too strident they become counter-productive: the non-native speakers are dissuaded from that language.

Another position within academic literature is to adopt a halfway approach between promotion of the minoritised language and freedom of choice. This strategy would support a model like *bilingüismo armónico* to allow the individual to choose whatever language they prefer for whatever reason while implementing awareness campaigns and programmes that promote the minoritised language. The halfway approach is neatly illustrated by Strubell's (1998; section 1.2) Catherine wheel model, in which he has proposed a monitoring scheme so that there is some form of pro-activity in order to initiate more strident publicity for the minoritised language or toned-down publicity. Therefore, instead of a passive wait- and-see scenario there is an attempt to adapt to contemporary linguistic demands to shape the future.

Adaptation according to the needs and demands of the linguistic community is what Fishman (1991; see section 1.2 in chapter 1) advocated through his GIDS or 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale'. This allows the flexibility to adopt or not adopt policies according to the specific requirements of the region in which a particular language is used. More often than not a policy decision is not an overt decree but a covert system of behaviour that reflects the social mores in place or is a reaction against those mores. Behavioural change is organic or a natural process that does not need manipulation by cultural leaders. However, it sometimes needs the community as a whole to be certain and relaxed about change in order to allow more freedom. Woolard's (2008) observations of the linguistic landscape of Catalonia reached these

conclusions on the acceptance of linguistic freedom, especially with regards to language corpus. It has only been as the *Generalitat* has gained confidence in the status of Catalan that it has been able to relax the message on the version of Catalan that new speakers should strive to speak.

On the subject of relaxed linguistic freedoms other academics to whom I have referred have supported the role of the volunteer or grassroots initiatives. There is the work in primary schools in Alsace to explore the different linguistic heritages of the children's families (Hélot and Young, 2005). Other researchers, of whom Wright (2007) is a case in point, advocate the role of the Internet to encourage language freedom.

One area that is important is that linguistic freedom does not equate to lack of direction. There has been criticism within my field that language plans have lacked clear methodologies which could impinge upon policy implementation. To draw together the messages from within my body of research would suggest that clear and non-antagonistically worded overt policies ought to combine with flexibility to accommodate a natural transition in language use. This could mean an adherence towards ecolinguistics, such as the views of Mühlhäusler (2000, section 6.2.3) that language use adapts to the circumstances of the particular environment. It could also mean an acceptance of discord in that people have different views on language which may include the rejection of the minoritised language.

In consideration of the complexity of shared linguistic space, I most closely align with a halfway approach tailored to the specific needs of that speech community. To start with Catalonia, the main issue is the linguistic diversity through immigration coupled with a strong cultural support for the minoritised language. This creates an awkward juxtaposition of language rights. There is the assertion at a political level that Catalan is the language of Catalonia, which was shared by some of my respondents concerning language choice by incomers. Catalan policy has focused on the marketing of a Catalan-speaking region through policies such as immersion programmes and Catalan awareness campaigns, but there is the problem of state policy and immigrant rights.

On the subject of immigrant rights, there is a possibility that language change can operate along pragmatic lines. The overall trend from within my primary data on Catalan is that language use operates according to practicality, such as the predominate language in a particular community (a town, a school or workplace). To alter the

pragmatic behaviour you would create a scenario whereby in this instance Catalan is the practical language. The options available for that, as discussed in section 6.2.2, are that Catalonia becomes a nation-state or that Madrid adopts the suggestion of Lebsanft (2008) of re-wording the Spanish Constitution to list Catalan as an official language of Spain. However, while pragmatic behaviour is the overlying trend among my Catalan informants, there are still identity and prestige issues at stake. There is the fact that Spain is still in a transitional phase while it evaluates the period of the Franco dictatorship, as illustrated by the discourse by Jaume (C7; extract 6.49) on deference towards Castilian influenced by behaviour during this era. In addition, there is the fact that too dogmatic a stance on language is against the ideological wishes of the speech community, which is reflected in my data by responses that favour language choice according to the preferences of the interlocutor. Consequently, there is a note of caution against legislative change.

In consideration of the delicate linguistic environment that is Catalonia, I feel that there needs to be a balance between policies that are seen by Catalan speakers to promote Catalan but are sensitive to the opinions of non-Catalan speakers. The advantages of the *Dóna Corda al Català* campaign in conjunction with the project *Programa d'acollida i capacitació lingüística de la població adulta nouvinguda a Catalunya* [Programme to welcome and provide linguistic competence for the new adult population in Catalonia] are that they place an emphasis on informality through reaching domains beyond the institutions and the non-insistence of a rigid grammar mastered by new speakers. The disadvantage of the campaign is the wording *Dóna Corda al Català* as the focus is on one language, so is perhaps not sensitive to the multi-linguistic scene of Catalonia.

My suggestion for the *Dóna Corda al Català* campaign is to alter the wording to something along the lines of *La Família Catalana: Els Seus Germans i Les Seves Germanes (Castellà, Francès, Italià, Portuguès, Gallec i Occità...) i Els seus Cosins (Anglès i Alemany...)* [The Catalan Family: Its Brothers and Sisters (Castilian, French, Italian, Portuguese, Galician and Occitan...) and Its Cousins (English and German...)]. As it stands, my version of a title is cumbersome, but it specifies the linguistic ties of the Romance language family and that all languages are in some way interconnected, while, at the same time, the promoted language is in the foreground. As part of this promotional scheme, there can be an emphasis on a family of friends and diversification. The ideas that the *Generalitat* are incorporating the fun side of Catalan

can feature prominently within this project. This is not at the expense of carefully structured language programmes that target specific work domains, which is an area to which the *Generalitat* has already devoted plenty of time and energy. The area of prime importance is that while there are measures in place to improve linguistic competence in Catalan, this should not be to the detriment of individual freedoms of people of any generation, social standing or linguistic background. This means that the individual's right to not use Catalan is respected alongside the right to use Catalan. However, as with all ideas to manage a problem there will be objections even by those who are nominally supportive. Branchadell (1999), as I mentioned in 6.3.3, accepts the model of Catalan as the language of Catalonia with rights for Castilian but was against multilingual campaigns that appeared to offer too much linguistic freedom. That would be a complaint against my proposal, but I feel that the fore-fronting of Catalan would help to placate Catalanists.

As far as Galicia is concerned, we could argue a case that supports separation from Spain on the grounds that the community is largely autochthonous. On the other hand, that would not automatically change language behaviour. There is the issue that there is still an element of prestige association concerning the relationship between Galician and Castilian, which we see in the way language is used in inter-generational relationships reported by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística* and in my findings. Also, my findings show that Galicians like to respect the language of the interlocutor, so that again too dogmatic a stance is contradictory to the overall wishes of the speech community.

The fact that Galicians are on the whole ideologically predisposed towards bilingual use makes me favour *bilingüismo armónico*. Nevertheless, in Galicia we can still draw on my idea for Catalan language planning concerning the wording of language campaigns. In this way we can transfer the systems in place in one region but at the same time adapt them to meet the specific needs of another region. The problem in Catalonia was how to please a linguistically diverse society, whereas in Galicia there is a need to understand the territorial versus ethnic linguistic dichotomy of a bilingual society. Language campaigns should focus on Galician and Castilian, but, in consideration of increased globalisation, market these languages as the gateway to other places and other languages. Also, in the promotion of Galician and Castilian understand that language use is organic and instinctive leading to code-switching and the insertion of loanwords to better convey a meaning.

In the Occitan-speaking regions in France there are three major difficulties concerning the promotion of Occitan. Firstly, Occitan covers a large administrative area leading to discrepancies over resources. Secondly, legislative and material resources are affected by the state regime, and thirdly there are incomers. The first thing to note is the pragmatic use of Occitan coming through my data that has devised specific roles for Occitan versus French, in which Occitan can benefit from voluntary initiatives. These initiatives are a way to overcome financial shortages so that there is no need to completely depend on government-funded resources. Voluntary efforts are a means to reach out into those sectors of the community that are perhaps neglected through institutionalised programmes: the older people, for example. It is also a way to de-institutionalise minoritised languages; the languages are not embedded in the classroom, and they allow all members of the community to be pro-active agents concerning language.

Another way to overcome a lack of resources due to the extent of territory covered by the minoritised language and limitations imposed by state regime is to form intra-community links along the lines of European axes, as currently exists between Occitan and Catalan. As part of this form of cooperation, the idea of a plurilingual language campaign similar to that in Catalonia could draw on desires to promote shared roots and history. A plurilingual campaign would also allow for a sensitive form of language promotion that considers the ideals of the French nation-state and linguistic tolerance.

As regards Breton, it is in a similar position to that of Galician in that there is less of a concern of the rights of incomers. However, as with Occitan there is the sensitive nature of multiple identities and the impact of resources. I suggest therefore a similar approach to Occitan campaigns to benefit from voluntary efforts and intra-group cooperation, as is currently in place through the work of *Ofis ar Brezhoneg* and the *Conseil régional de Bretagne*, while utilising the Galician campaign of the languages of the speech community as the gateway to other people. In all the regions under discussion the aim is to encourage people to use the language of their choice while respecting the rights of others, which is the over-riding message from the research data.



The fact that the over-riding message is the same regardless of regime indicates that while state regime is important it is not the presiding concern. As an extension of this point the issues raised in the other research questions about language attitudes, the contrast of one country versus another country and the benefit of European policies show that there is no single factor or solution to language vitality. State regime, ideologies and individual resourcefulness all have an impact. Consequently, it is not possible to state categorically that one country or one community's policies are completely transferable. Instead, we adapt ideas according to circumstances to consider the state regime in place and the ideological wishes of that community.

## Appendix A. Bibliographical details of informants individually referenced in dissertation

### Preliminary data

- Bi, Michel, male, age unknown, French speaker [other languages unknown], Brittany, 9/2/2007, Technical advisor from the Economic and Social Council [*Conseil économique et social régional de Bretagne*]
- Bii, Jean, male, fifties, L1 French/ L2 Breton, Brittany, 18/6/2004, lecturer in Breton at Rennes University (Université de Haute Bretagne)
- Biii, Hervé, male, twenties, native bilingual Breton/French, Brittany, 10/3/2006, respondent contacted by lecturer in Breton at Brest University (*Université de Bretagne Occidentale*)
- Oi, Pierre, male, forties, L1 French/ L2 Occitan, Toulouse region, 17/5/2004, respondent contacted through inquiries with the Occitan Political Party (*Partit Occitan*)
- Oii, Sophie, female, twenties, L1 French/ L2 Occitan, Toulouse region, 29/9/2004, respondent contacted by lecturer in Occitan at Toulouse University (*Université de Toulouse II- Le Mirail*)
- Ci, Antonio, male, no age provided, native bilingual Castilian/Catalan but from a more predominant Castilian background, Catalonia, 20/6/2004, politician with the Catalan regional party ERC (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*)
- Cii, Ana, female, twenties, L1 Catalan/ L2 Castilian, Catalonia, 30/11/2004, contacted through UACES (student at *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*)
- Ciii, Pilar, female, twenties, L1 Castilian/ L2 Catalan, Barcelona, 12/11/2005, exchange student from *Universitat Pompeu Fabra* in Barcelona
- Gi, Anxo, male, forties, Galician and Castilian speaker [exact details unknown], Galicia, 27/9/2004, member of the *Servicio de Normalización Lingüística* at Vigo University and head of Galician Philology at Vigo University
- Gii, Isabel, female, twenties, L1 Castilian/ L2 Galician, Galicia, 22/9/2004, respondent contacted by director of Galician Philology at the *Universidade de Vigo*
- Giii, José, male, twenties, L1 Castilian/ L2 Galician, Galicia, 13/10/2004, member of pro-Galician group *Movimento de Defensa da Língua* found via lecturer in Galician Philology at the *Universidade Da Coruña*

## **Main data**

### **Breton**

- B1, Maiwenn, female, 18-30 group, native French speaker, Brittany, 8/3/2007, response to preliminary questionnaire distributed by a friend of respondent and returned by email, friend is from Brest in Finistère in west Brittany
- B2, Alexandra, female, 18-30 group, native French speaker, Brittany, 8/3/2007, response to preliminary questionnaire distributed by a friend of respondent and returned by email, friend is from Brest in Finistère in west Brittany
- B3, Justine, female, 18-30 group, native French speaker, Brittany, 18/7/2007, response to query sent by email
- B4, Meven, female, 20, native bilingual Breton-French speaker, 18-30 group, Nantes in Loire-Atlantique, 30/3/2007, follow-up by email to student questionnaire
- B5, Pierre, Meven's father, male, 30-60, native French speaker, Nantes, 10/4/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- B6, Paol, Suzanne's (B12) grandfather, male, over 60, native bilingual Breton-French speaker, Brittany, 29/4/2007, response to stage three questionnaire transcribed by his granddaughter, granddaughter is from Quimper in Finistère west Brittany
- B7, Yann, male, 18-30, native Breton speaker, Brittany, 10/3/2007, response to preliminary questionnaire distributed by a friend of respondent and returned by email, friend is from Brest in Finistère in west Brittany
- B8, Eflamm, male, 18-30 group, native French speaker, Brittany, 10/3/2007, response to preliminary questionnaire distributed by a friend of respondent and returned by email, friend is from Brest in Finistère in west Brittany
- B9, Herve & Tereza, Yann's grandparents, one male and one female, over 60, native Breton speakers, Brittany, 29/9/2007, response to stage three questionnaire transcribed by respondents' grandson
- B10, See B9
- B11, Suzanne's mother, Marie, female, 30-60, native French speaker, Plomodiern, near Châteaulin in mid-west Finistère, 17/4/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email

- B12, Suzanne, female, 21, native French speaker, Plomodiern, near Châteaulin in mid-west Finistère, 10/4/2007, follow-up by email to student questionnaire
- B13, Gwilherm, male, 18-30, native French speaker, Brittany, 10/3/2007, response to preliminary questionnaire distributed by a friend of respondent and returned by email, friend is from Brest in Finistère in west Brittany
- B14, Hélène, female, 80, native Breton speaker, Erdeven in Morbihan in southern Brittany, 1/2/2008, answers to stage three questionnaire sent by email and transcribed by B4, who is the granddaughter of a fellow resident at B14's retirement home
- B15, Michel, male, 30-60, bilingual Breton and French speaker, Brittany, work colleague of a person who lives in Finistère in west Brittany, 1/6/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- B16, Céline, female, 30-60, bilingual French and Breton speaker (although Breton was a passive language during childhood), Nantes, 10/4/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- B17, Michelle, Eflamm's mother (B8), female, 30-60, native French speaker, Brittany, 22/3/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email, son's friend is from Brest
- B18, Odile, female, 18-30, native French speaker, lives near Saint Briec in Brittany [a non-Breton zone], 4/7/2007, response to enquiries about Breton
- B19, Paul, male, 18-30, native French speaker, Brittany, 8/3/2007, response to preliminary questionnaire distributed by a friend of respondent and returned by email, friend is from Brest in Finistère in west Brittany

### **Occitan**

- O1, Lissandre, female, 20, native French speaker, from Narbonne in Languedoc-Roussillon in southern France but now living in a village near Narbonne, 13/2/2007, follow-up by email to student questionnaire
- O2, Eve, female, 30-60 group, native French speaker, from Normandy now living in Montpellier in Languedoc-Roussillon in southern France, 20/2/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- O3, Aure, female, 18-30 group, native French speaker, Languedoc-Roussillon, 3/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email

- O4, André, male, 70, native French speaker, Limousin in the west of France, 4/8/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- O5, Yannig, male, 76, native French speaker, Toulouse, 20/9/2007, response to stage three questions transcribed by a lady from the Toulouse region who works for an Occitan culture group
- O6, Claudi, male, 63, native French speaker, Lot-et-Garonne in Aquitaine in south-west France, 28/8/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- O7, Sylvie, mother of O1, female, 30-60, native French speaker, from Paris but now living near Narbonne in Languedoc-Roussillon in southern France, 19/2/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- O8, Marc, male, 18-30, native French speaker, friend of respondent O1 who lives near Narbonne in Languedoc-Roussillon, 8/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- O9, Julie, female, 72, native French speaker, Toulouse, 20/9/2007, response to stage three questions transcribed by a lady from the Toulouse region who works for an Occitan culture group
- O10, Isabelle, female, 85, native French speaker, living in a retirement home in Muret on the outskirts of Toulouse, 20/9/2007, response to stage three questions transcribed by a lady from the Toulouse region who works for an Occitan culture group
- O11, Lucie, female, 62, native French speaker, Toulouse area, 9/7/2007, response to email correspondence whilst negotiating with this respondent to read my questionnaires and transcribe the answers of respondents such as O10
- O12, Florence, female, 30-60, native French speaker, from Belgium but now living in southern France, 17/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- O13, Xavier, male, 30-60, native French speaker with Occitan interference, Carcassonne in Languedoc southern France, 3/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- O14, Bruno, male, 30-60, native French speaker, from Normandy now living in Montpellier in Languedoc-Roussillon in southern France, 23/2/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email

- O15, Eric, male, son of O2, 21, native French speaker, Montpellier, 16/2/2007, follow-up by email to student questionnaire
- O16, Alain, male, 30-60, native French speaker, Auvergne region in France, 4/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- O17, Henri, male, 79, native French speaker, Toulouse, 10/7/2007, response to stage three questions, transcribed by a lady from the Toulouse region who works for an Occitan culture group, as part of the stage three questionnaires.

### **Catalan**

- C1, Miquel, Maite's (C14) Grandfather, male, over sixty years of age, native Catalan speaker, Catalonia, 29/6/2007, answers to stage three questionnaire sent by email and transcribed by his granddaughter
- C2, Esteve, male, 31, native Catalan speaker, Tarragona in Catalonia, 19/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C3, Aina, female, 18-30 age-group, native Catalan speaker who speaks Occitan, from Barcelona but now living in Toulouse in France, 27/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C4, Oscar, male, 32, native Catalan speaker, Catalonia, 30/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C5, Carles, male, 30-60, bilingual native Catalan-Castilian speaker, Catalonia, based at Barcelona Institute for International Studies, 30/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C6, Unknown, 18-30, native Castilian speaker, Catalonia, 20/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C7, Jaume, male, 65, native Catalan speaker, Girona, 22/12/2007, response to stage three questionnaire distributed and collected by a Catalan language assistant
- C8, Joaquim, male, over 60, native Catalan speaker, Girona, 22/12/2007, response to stage three questionnaire distributed and collected by a Catalan language assistant
- C9, Montse, female, 61, native Catalan speaker, Girona, 22/12/2007, response to stage three questionnaire distributed and collected by a Catalan language assistant

- C10, Francesc, male, 61, native Catalan speaker, Girona, 22/12/2007, response to stage three questionnaire distributed and collected by a Catalan language assistant
- C11, Antoni, male, 82, native Catalan speaker, Girona, 22/12/2007, response to stage three questionnaire distributed and collected by a Catalan language assistant
- C12, Marta, female, over 60, native Castilian speaker, Girona, 22/12/2007, response to stage three questionnaire distributed and collected by a Catalan language assistant
- C13, Joan, male, 30-60, native Catalan speaker, Tortosa near Tarragona, 16/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C14, Maite, female, granddaughter of C1, 18-30, native Catalan speaker, Catalonia, 29/6/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C15, Nicole, female, 18-30, native French speaker, from France now living in Barcelona, 21/6/2007, response to enquiries about Catalan
- C16, Pedro, male, 30-60, bilingual Castilian-Catalan speaker, living in Cambridge, 30/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C17, Maria, female, 18-30, native Castilian speaker, Catalonia, 11/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C18, Rosa, female, 18-30, bilingual Catalan-Castilian, from Barcelona but now lives in Brittany, 10/5/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C19, Andreu, male, 86, Castilian-raised of Catalan parents, Girona, 22/12/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- C20, Caterina, female, 30-60, bilingual Catalan-Castilian, from Barcelona but now living in Garrotxa in the north of Catalonia, 26/4/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email

### **Galician**

- G1, Cristina, female, 25, native Castilian speaker, from A Coruña in Galicia but no longer living in Galicia, 29/8/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email

- G2, Manuel, male, 18-30, native Castilian speaker, Galicia, 20/4/2007, response to stage three questionnaire distributed by a friend of respondent and returned by email, friend lives in Rianxo near to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia
- G3, Paula, female, 35, native Galician speaker, A Coruña, 4/10/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- G4, Olga, female, 27, native Castilian speaker, A Coruña in Galicia, 1/9/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- G5, Pepe, male, 18-30, native Galician speaker, 2/4/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email, is a friend of a respondent who lives in Rianxo near to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia
- G6, Fran, male, 29, native bilingual Galician and Castilian speaker, Galicia, 12/6/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- G7, Clunia, female, 34, native bilingual Galician and Castilian speaker, A Coruña, 13/6/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- G8, Luz, male, 24, native bilingual Galician and Castilian speaker, Ourense in Galicia, 25/6/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email
- G9, Montserrat, female, 21, native Galician speaker, Vimianzo near to A Coruña and Santiago de Compostela, 16/4/2007, follow-up by email to student questionnaire
- G10, Iria, female, 71, native Galician speaker, from San Matiño de Distriz near Lugo now living in Santa María de Xermade which is more rural but nearest city is still Lugo, 25/1/2008, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email but read and transcribed by respondent's daughter
- G11, Silvia, female, 82, native Galician speaker, from the village of Outeiro De Arriba near A Coruña but now living in Santiago de Compostela, 25/1/2008, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email but read and transcribed by respondent's granddaughter
- G12, Lorena, female, over 60, native Galician speaker, Galicia, 14/12/2007, response to stage three questionnaire sent by email but read and transcribed by respondent's granddaughter



## Appendix B. Questionnaires

### Stage one questions

1 When you were a child, did you speak Breton, Occitan, Catalan or Galician with the following people?

*Your father*

*Your mother*

*Your brothers and sisters, if you had any*

*Your grandparents*

*Other members of your family*

*Your friends during school breaks*

*Your friends during lessons*

*Your friends out of school*

2 In which language were your primary school lessons taught?

3 In which language were your secondary school lessons taught?

4 How old were you when you learnt to read Breton..., if you learnt to read it?

5 Where did you learn to read Breton...?

6 How old were you when you learnt to write in Breton...?

7 Where did you learn to write in Breton...?

8 Which language did you prefer as a child?

9 Where do you speak Breton... today?

10 With whom do you speak Breton...today?

11 If you had children, would you speak Breton...with them?

12 Do you think it will be necessary to speak Breton... in the future?

13 Do you want to speak Breton... with your work colleagues?

14 Do you think you will have a job where you can speak Breton...?

15 Which language do you prefer today?

16 If you can read Breton..., what do you read, for example newspapers?

17 Do you think there is enough to read?

18 Do you watch television programmes in Breton... or listen to radio programmes in Breton...?

19 Do you think there are enough programmes?

20 What do you think about Breton... education? Good/bad? Are there enough courses? Are the lessons too difficult or too easy?

21 Do you think there are any comprehension difficulties between new Breton... speakers and native Breton... speakers?

22 What do you think about Breton... cultural events, for example fêtes? Are fêtes a good way of promoting Breton...?

23 Which are the best groups or organisations in your opinion for promoting Breton...?

24 What have been the most important developments for Breton..., in your opinion, during the last ten years?

25 What should be done, in your opinion, to assure the future of Breton...?

26 Do you think that Europe can play an important role for Breton...?

27 Do you think the situation of Breton... will be better or not in 50 years' time?

### **Stage two questions**

Question A1 When was the first time you heard Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician?

1. *As a baby, it's my native language*
2. *When I was very young, it's not my native language but my parents spoke it*
3. *At nursery school*
4. *At primary school*
5. *At secondary school*
6. *At university*
7. *During childhood holidays*
8. *When I was very small, during my daily life (television, neighbours conversations and in shops etc...), although it's not my native language or my parents' language.*

Question A2 Why do you speak Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician or have learnt to speak Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician?

1. *It's my native language*
2. *To help me in my daily life (do the shopping etc...)*
3. *The respect of my neighbours*
4. *I'm interested in the language*

Question A3 It's possible that one day Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician will be the main language in my daily life:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

Question A4 I would like to speak only Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician with my (future) children:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

Question A5 I would like to have more Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician friends:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

Question A6 How did you hear about Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician classes at university?

1. *From my secondary school teachers*
2. *From leaflets*
3. *From adverts in newspapers, on television and or on the radio*
4. *From the Internet*
5. *Other (please state)*

Question A7 When you were a child did you speak Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician with the people listed below? (Choose all the appropriate options or if there aren't any, type @ next to *nobody*)

*My mother*

*My father*

*My brother*

*My sister*

*My grandfather*

*My grandmother*

*Other members of the family*

*Friends during lessons*

*Friends during school breaks*

*Friends outside of school*

*Nobody*

Question A8 Which language did you prefer when you were a child?

1. *Minoritised language*
2. *State language*
3. *Other language*
4. *Neutral*

Question A9 Your primary school lessons were taught in which language?

1. *Minoritised language*
2. *State language*
3. *Minoritised language and state language*
4. *Other language*

Question A10 Your secondary school lessons were taught in which language?

1. *Minoritised language*
2. *State language*
3. *Minoritised language and state language*
4. *Other language*

Question B1 At the moment:

1. *I speak Breton... fluently, it's my native language*
2. *I speak Breton... fluently, it's not my native language*
3. *I do not speak Breton... fluently but I know lots of words and expressions*
4. *I know a few words and expressions of Breton...*

B2 At the moment I use Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician with the following people and in the following situations (Choose all the appropriate options):

*Family*

*Friends*

*Teachers*

*Non-academic university staff*

*Neighbours*

*Doctors*

*Consultant doctors*

*Shopping*

*Plumber, mechanic etc*

*To ask directions in the street*

*Only in class*

B3 I think that Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician is:

1. *Beautiful*
2. *Horrible*
3. *Neither beautiful nor horrible*

B4 If there were no Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician classes at your university, would you study it elsewhere?

1. *I don't need to, it's my native language*
2. *Yes*
3. *No*
4. *It depends on the cost*

B5 Are the Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician classes useful for using the language in your daily life?

1. *I don't need them*
2. *Very useful*
3. *Slightly useful*
4. *Not very useful*

B6 When the Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician classes have finished, I will do some more courses:

1. *I don't need to*
2. *Yes*
3. *No*
4. *Maybe*

B7 The most dominant culture in the region today is:

1. *State culture*
2. *Minoritised culture*
3. *No dominant culture*

B8 The most dominant language in the region today is:

1. *State language*
2. *Minoritised language*
3. *No dominant language*

B9 I feel:

1. *French/Castilian only*
2. *Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician only*
3. *French/Castilian and Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician*
4. *Other*

B10 I like the most:

1. *State culture*
2. *Minoritised culture*
3. *State and minoritised culture*
4. *Other culture*

B11 What proportion of people is French/Spanish speaking and what proportion is Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speaking?

1. *Nobody*
2. *A minority*
3. *Half*
4. *Majority*
5. *Everyone*

B12 How much prestige does each language have in their community?

1. *None*
2. *Little*
3. *Some*
4. *A lot*
5. *Loads*

B13 How often is each language used in public places, for example, hospitals, treasuries, post offices and police stations?

1. *Never*
2. *A little*
3. *Sometimes*
4. *A lot*
5. *Always*

B14 How often is each language used in the media (television, newspapers, radio etc)?

1. *Never*
2. *A little*
3. *Sometimes*
4. *A lot*
5. *Always*

B15 How much prestige do French/Spanish speakers and Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speakers have?

1. *None*
2. *Little*
3. *Some*
4. *A lot*
5. *Loads*

B16 How often is each language used in secondary education?

1. *Never*
2. *A little*
3. *Sometimes*
4. *A lot*
5. *Always*

B17 How many people migrate into the region nowadays (question for Catalan and Galician questionnaires only)?

1. *None*
2. *A few*
3. *Some*
4. *A lot*
5. *Loads*

B18 How many people migrate out of the region nowadays (question for Catalan and Galician questionnaires only)?

1. *None*
2. *A few*
3. *Some*
4. *A lot*
5. *Loads*

B19 How often is each language used in business?

1. *Never*
2. *A little*
3. *Sometimes*
4. *A lot*
5. *Always*

B20 What proportion of French/Spanish speakers and Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speakers live in poverty in the region?

1. *Nobody*
2. *A minority*
3. *Half*
4. *Majority*
5. *Everyone*

B21 How often is French/Spanish and Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician used in cultural activities in the region (festivals, concerts, exhibitions etc)?

1. *Never*
2. *A little*
3. *Sometimes*
4. *A lot*
5. *Always*

B22 Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speakers are usually friendly and welcoming people:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

B23 The more Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speakers I meet the more I want to speak Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician correctly:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

B24 Usually there's lots of contact between French/Spanish speakers and Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speakers in the region:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

B25 Usually Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speakers like to speak to French/Spanish speakers in French/Spanish:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

B26 When I speak to a Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speaker in Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician, they usually answer me in Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

B27 When I speak to a Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speaker in Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician, they often answer me in French/Spanish:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

B28 Do you know the following organisations? (Choose all the appropriate options)

Breton

*Ofis ar Brezhoneg/Office de la langue bretonne*

Occitan

*CIRDOC/Centre régional de développement de l'Occitan*

*IEO/Institut d'Estudis Occitans*

*FELCO/ Fédération des Enseignants de Langue et Culture d'Oc*

*CREO/ Centre Régional de l'Enseignement de l'occitan*

Catalan

*La secció de Política Lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya*

*Institut d'Estudis Catalans*

Galician

*Real Academia Galega*

*La secció de Política Lingüística de la Xunta de Galicia*

*Instituto Galego de Estatística*

*SNL, Servicio de Normalización Lingüística de su universidad*

*Centro de Documentación Sociolingüística de Galicia*

*Movimento Defensa da Língua*

B29 Do you know the following language plans? (Breton and Galician questionnaires only)

Breton

*Le Plan Brezhoneg 2015*

*Le plan linguistique breton*

Galician

*El plan de normalización sociolingüística de Galicia*

B30 Do you think these organisations are good as far as the future of Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician is concerned? (Choose all the appropriate options)

Breton

*Ofis ar Brezhoneg/Office de la langue bretonne*

Occitan

*CIRDOC/Centre régional de développement de l'Occitan*

*IEO/Institut d'Estudis Occitans*

*FELCO/ Fédération des Enseignants de Langue et Culture d'Oc*

*CREO/ Centre Régional de l'Enseignement de l'occitan*



Catalan

*La secció de Política Lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya*  
*Institut d'Estudis Catalans*

Galician

*Real Academia Galega*

*La secció de Política Lingüística de la Xunta de Galicia*

*Instituto Galego de Estatística*

*SNL, Servicio de Normalización Lingüística de su universidad*

*Centro de Documentación Sociolingüística de Galicia*

*Movimento Defensa da Língua*

B31 Do you think the following language plans are any good as far as the future of Breton/Galician is concerned?

Breton

*Le Plan Brezhoneg 2015*

*Le plan linguistique breton*

Galician

*El plan de normalización sociolingüística de Galicia*

Question C1 In about 30 years' time, the most dominant culture in the region will be:

1. *State culture*
2. *Minoritised culture*
3. *No dominant culture*

C2 In about 30 years' time, the most dominant language in the region will be:

1. *State language*
2. *Minoritised language*
3. *No dominant language*

C3 The possibility that in the future there will be more independence than today is:  
Breton community

1. *Impossible or unlikely*
2. *50/50*
3. *Very likely*

C4 I would like my (future) children to be:

1. *Of the state culture*
2. *Of the minoritised culture*
3. *Of the state and minoritised culture*
4. *Of a different culture*

C5 In about 30 years' time, what proportion of people will be French/Spanish speaking and what proportion Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician speaking?

1. *Nobody*
2. *A minority*
3. *Half*
4. *Majority*
5. *Everyone*

C6 I will speak in Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician with my (future) children and or I will enrol them in Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician classes:

1. *Yes*
2. *Maybe*
3. *No*

C7 When I finish my Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician lessons I will feel:

1. *More able to use the minoritised language*
2. *A little more able to use the minoritised language*
3. *Definitely more able to use the minoritised language*
4. *Not relevant, it's my native language the minoritised language*

C8 Whether I do another Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician course or not:

1. *I will not use the minoritised language in my daily life*
2. *I will use the minoritised language in my daily life the same as I do at present*
3. *I will use the minoritised language more than at present*
4. *Not relevant, it's my native language*

C9 I want a job where I can use Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician:

1. *I completely disagree*
2. *I don't quite agree*
3. *Neutral*
4. *I slightly agree*
5. *I completely agree*

C10 It's important that there are more Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician courses that there are today:

1. *Yes at all levels*
2. *Yes at some levels*
3. *I don't know*
4. *No*

C11 It's important that there is more publicity for Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician than there is today:

1. *Yes, everywhere*
2. *Yes a little*
3. *I don't know*
4. *No*

C12 Europe's role is very important as far as Breton/Occitan/Catalan/Galician's future is concerned:

1. *Yes definitely*
2. *A little*
3. *I don't know*
4. *No*

## Appendix C. Breton and Occitan cultural advertisements

An advertisement for a Breton music festival by *Conseil Culturel de Bretagne*

**YAOVANK 2008**  
**ROAZHON/RENNES** **NOVEMBRE**  
**10<sup>ème</sup> vet**

www.myspace.com/yaouankgoue! CONTACT SKEUDENN 02 99 30 06 87

**SAISON 07** MusikHALL RED CARDEL + Dan ar Braz, Dr Das, Jimme O'Neill, Stef Mellino, Gérard Blanchard, les frères Guichen, Louise Ebré  
**ROLAND CONQ** création - LOENED FALL - STARTUENN + invités - PLANTEC - Jean Charles GUICHEN / Sylvain BAROU - IMG - CARRÉ MANCHOT  
**GUICHEN** - ARNAUD ROYER TRIO + Bagad Roazhon project - KENDIRVI - YAO ! - DEUSTA - DAYOT / DEFERNEZ - HAMON / MARTIN  
**LEON** - La CITE KENTAN - #3 - KADIA TRIO - LES FILLES EN GROIGNE - ALAMBIC ELECTRIK - MAON & WIENN - TAN BAN TY  
**HERMINE** - Les CHAMPS LIBRE ESQUISSE - L'ANTIPODE SKOLKOZH - L'ANTIPODE - TY ANNA - BISTROT DE LA CITE - LA BONNE NOUVELLE - 1529  
**OBIS TRIO** - GIMOL DRUBAND - MC COMBO - DUO ROBIC / GUILLERM - SKARAMAKA - IMOSIMA - WIPIDOU - BAUDU / CHEVREL - PERRAN / LENET

3 FOLIOLE FRANCOIS COSTA-BIBERT J.C.L.A.P. SERVICES Credit Mutuel de Bretagne STAR REGION BRETAGNE Ile & Vilaine SKUEDENN RENNES

An advertisement about an Occitan festival involving children from Occitan classes

**Périgueux 13 juin Novelum fête son anniversaire**

1 9 6 9 - 2 0 0 9 - 40 ANS... au service de la langue et de la culture occitane en Périgord  
Esplanade du Théâtre, dès 14 h 00, Village occitan au cœur de la ville (stands, expos, jeux, ateliers,...) Spectacle des enfants des écoles occitanes (Calandreta et classes bilingues)  
17 h 30 : Spectacle de clown - Jules Butane (français-oc)  
18 h 30 : Apéritif musical  
de 21 h à minuit : Grand concert public avec le groupe CORIANDRE (musica occitana trad'actuala e baleti)

A list of Occitan related events

**2. Le calendrier**

**Le calendrier 2009 se remplit, beaucoup de contacts et des dates signées pour jusqu'à l'été ... mais il y a encore plein de trous, contactez-nous !**

**15 novembre à Sommières (30) Balèti d'Automne : Coriandre invite Le Bal en Chantier et Le Carrousel Bancal**

**21 novembre à Vergèze (30) Concert voix du Languedoc avec Michel Avalone, Bangril et ... Coriandre (programmation Courant Scène)**

**10 décembre à Vergèze (30) Arbre de Noël du Conseil Général du Gard (version médiévale)**

**Et bien sûr, réservez le WE des 16 et 17 Janvier pour les 10 èmes Trad'Hivernales (Programme dans un prochain Coriandre infos)**

**24 janvier à Saint Gervasy (30) Balèti (sous réserve)**

**31 janvier à Die (26) Balèti**

**28 février au Vigan (30) Carnaval et Balèti**

Sourced from Coriandre

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