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Multilingualism in Spain

Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects of Linguistic Minority Groups

Edited by
M. Teresa Turell

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Foreword

This book will be an important landmark in our understanding of multilingualism in society. One of its many achievements will be to extend the debate on linguistic diversity beyond the English-speaking world where it has been focused in recent decades.

Challenges to myths of monolingualism are now commonplace in Australia, Canada, New Zealand the UK and the USA. Here they include attempts to chart the nature and extent of different varieties of English, as well as discussions of the so-called 'lesser used' indigenous languages which have been increasingly displaced in recent centuries. In relatively recent times, the languages of migrant groups have also emerged from centuries of marginalisation and 'inaudibility'.

Such is the linguicism of the English-speaking world that administrators, policy makers – and even linguists – have seldom sought to look beyond the situation on their doorsteps to consider similar situations elsewhere. Yet the evidence presented in this volume reminds us that the same assumptions and behaviours associated with multilingualism in the English-speaking world are also influential well beyond. These findings are important for the purposes of description; but they have implications, too, for attempts to understand issues which, it may be argued, have been undertheorised to date.

Multilingualism in Spain reminds us very powerfully that Castilian is only one of the languages spoken in Spain: while no one would wish to underplay the central unifying role which it plays, we ignore the other languages – indigenous and migrant, spoken and signed – at our peril. We are also reminded of the social and political dimensions involved in charting and exploring multilingualism. And while the issues raised have global significance, another important achievement of *Multilingualism in Spain* is to place developments concerning linguistic diversity in Spain very firmly and clearly within a European legislative framework.

Some of the papers report information which is widely available in the Spanish-language literature but rarely discussed in English; some represent the very first attempts to describe a particular community in either Spanish or English. *Multilingualism in Spain* will thus be an invaluable resource for many several groups of readers: those with an interest in Spanish sociolinguistics, those wishing to find out more about a particular community, and those interested in multilingualism *per se*. Well argued,

well documented and clearly presented, *Multilingualism in Spain* adds force to arguments that linguistic diversity is a human resource to be nurtured and cherished, not a problem to be overcome.

Viv Edwards

Acknowledgements

This book is the final product of a long, intense and exciting process which started back in 1993 when the research project, *Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of linguistic minority groups in Spain*, was first conceived. It has been possible in the first place thanks to the disinterested contribution from all our consultants from the different communities into which we have entered. On behalf of all the researchers and on my own behalf I want to express my warmest thanks to all these anonymous consultants who are the real protagonists of this book, designed as it is to become a brick in the building of the desperately needed bridge between cultures, communities and people, particularly now at the turn of the 21st century.

My very special thanks are also due to all the researchers who were originally involved in the project when it was launched as I was co-directing, between 1988 and 1993, a Master's course in Teacher Education in Spanish as a Foreign Language offered by the University of Barcelona, who were part of the research group for several years, but who could not finally finish their research for a number of personal and professional reasons. I want to specially mention the following people: Aliou, Lina Anguera, Alexia Delgado, M. Felicitas Diolazo, Beverley Holliday, Antonio Molina, Francho Nagore, Mercè Pujol and Rocío Vilaró. And naturally, I also want to thank all those researchers who finally contributed to the project and to this book. More specifically, I want to thank Catia Tavares for doing a very good job when transcribing the recordings from the members of the Brazilian community that participated in the pilot study. The highly complex task of bringing together 18 researchers to describe 16 communities has involved on everybody's part compromise and patience, but above all it has resulted in a lot of sharing of knowledge and intercultural attitudes, something which has enriched all of us both personally and professionally. Without them the project and the book would not have materialised.

Some people who offered their help at different stages of the project have contributed with their information, their knowledge and their comments on the general aims and methodology. I am particularly grateful to Viv Edwards, John Edwards and David Sutcliffe for their support for my ideas, helping me develop my own thinking and commenting on some methodological decisions. Many thanks are due to Chris Nicol and David Sutcliffe, who translated a number of chapters which were originally written in Spanish or Catalan, because their work not only involved the

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Finally, I would like to acknowledge the following people and institutions: Manuel Gracia from the Social Services Department at the *Diputació de Barcelona* for allowing me to use their documentation archives and several reports and documents on migration in Catalonia, and the Spanish *Comisión Interministerial de Ciencia y Tecnología* (CICYT) for their support in granting three successive research projects on linguistic minority groups: PBS90-0580, SEC93-0725 and SEC96-0627.

M. Teresa Turell

The Contributors

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Cristina Corcoll obtained her degree in Translation and Interpreting (English and French) at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona) in 1996. Since then, she has been working as a research and teaching assistant at the same university. She has been involved in several research projects, one of which aimed at describing, both linguistically and socially, linguistic minorities in Spain. Her research has resulted in a number of papers that have been read at international conferences, and also provided the basis for her PhD research paper, where she proposes a reassessment of the notion of syntactic calque based on data obtained from two linguistic minorities residing in Catalonia, namely, the British-English and the American-English communities.

Belén Garí received her degree in Spanish Philology from the Universitat de Barcelona in 1986, within the speciality of Literature. She subsequently entered the field of teaching Spanish as a foreign language, focusing on the specific problems of the Maghrebi Community in Spain. In this context she has taught Spanish to Maghrebi immigrants at the Bait

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Reivindicación e Uso do Galego durante o Rexurdimiento (1840–1891) (Xerais) and *A Reivindicación do Galego durante o Rexurdimiento* (Consello da Cultura Galega).

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Ángel Marzo is a psychologist and a teacher in primary education, and since 1978 he has devoted himself to the teaching of adults. He specialises in literacy and education within the Gitano community in Spain, more specifically in Barcelona and Girona. As a literacy expert, he has also been a teacher and a researcher in some of the major prisons in Catalonia. At present, he combines teaching with being Director of the journal *Diálogos. Educación y Formación de Adultos.* He has published extensively in the fields of literacy, in-training service and adult education. His publications include several books *Educación de Adultos. Situación Actual y*

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learning of Italian by means of the electronic journal, *On-Line Specialised Italian*, of which she has been the Director since 1998. In addition to her individual research activity, she is supervising work on a course of Business Italian with the participation of Spanish and Italian scholars specialised in Italian Linguistics, Didactics and Applied Computer Science.

M. Teresa Turell (PhD in Catalan Philology, Universitat de Barcelona) is Professor of English Linguistics at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona) and Head of the English Section of the Departament de Traducció i Filologia at this same university. She has conducted extensive research on Catalan and English sociolinguistic variation, and more recently on qualitative and quantitative studies of language contact. Results of this research have appeared in *Language Variation and Change*, *Language in Society* and *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana.* She is the author of *No One-to-One in Grammar* (1983), *Elements per a la Recerca Sociolingüística a Catalunya* (1984), *Nuevas Corrientes Lingüísticas* (1990), *La Sociolingüística de la Variació* (1995). She has carried out and supervised extensive research on the interplay between internal and external factors in the bilingual speech modes of linguistic minority groups in Spain. Her recent research interests include the analysis of the interface between lexicon and syntax, and between syntax and pragmatics in language contact studies, and global approaches to code-switching practices.

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Chapter 1

Spain's Multilingual Make-up: Beyond, Within and Across Babel*

M. TERESA TURELL

The Genesis of the Book

Multilingualism in Spain deals with the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of both *established* and *new migrant* minority groups in Spain. The philosophy behind the topic of this book involves the idea of a multilingual Europe where all official languages of the historical European nations are respected on an equal footing, and where all the so-called 'lesser used' languages of the regions of Europe are backed and reinforced. However, the philosophy of this book goes beyond that. It promotes respect for all those mainly non-European linguistic minority groups and speech communities, which have had to migrate and leave their country of origin for whatever reason, so that they are respected and given equal social, educational and linguistic opportunities.

Article No. 3 of the Spanish Constitution (1978) recognises Spain's national and linguistic plurality to the extent of granting an official status not only to the Spanish language in the whole territory, but also to the other 'Spanish' (that is, pertaining to Spain as a state) languages spoken in the Autonomous Communities commonly known as 'historical', that is, Basque, in the Basque country, Catalan, in Catalonia and the other Catalan-speaking countries (the Valencian country, including València, Castelló and Alacant and the Balearic and Pitiuses Islands, comprising Majorca, Minorca, Eivissa and Formentera) and Galician, in Galicia. This legal recognition has brought with it twin consequences, as Siguán (1992: 9) points out. In the first place, the fact that nowadays, slightly over 40% of Spanish citizens live in these Autonomous Communities in which Spanish shares its official status with Basque, Catalan and Galician; in the second place, the issuing and implementation of linguistic policies by these 'historical' communities' statutes designed to defend and promote these languages. In my view, this legal recognition takes a stand which has had and will have further, more subtle consequences: the recognition that there are migrant communities and many other languages spoken in Spain.

However, this new deal will have to fight its way through because in origin it is actually a response to not very positive reactions to already

existing bilingualism in the above-mentioned *established* 'historical' communities involving, as mentioned, Catalan, Basque and Galician, and to ignorance of the other *in situ* languages of Spain: Aragonese, Astur-Leonese or Bable and Aranese. The achievement of these new goals will have to confront (1) the monolingual speakers' linguistic intolerance towards speakers of the main minority languages, and of these other *in situ* languages of Spain, and (2) society's linguistic intolerance towards speakers of regional dialects, not only of Spanish (Andalusian, etc.) but also of Catalan, of Basque and of Galician, with preference for the Standard variety and clear attempts to make linguistic diversity non-existent. Furthermore, the achievement of this new deal will have to overcome widespread ignorance of the 'lesser known' but also *established* communities, by which I mean the deaf communities, on the one hand, and the Gitano[1] and the Jewish communities, which migrated in the past but have long been established in Spain, on the other, and the languages they use. The latter include the different Sign Languages, the Caló spoken by some members of the Gitano communities in Spain, and Yiddish, Jaketía, and Judeo Español or Ladino. In the case of the *new migrant* communities, there is a marked hierarchy of host community preferences or attitudes towards them and the languages they speak, so that some languages (and speakers) are granted higher prestige (French, English, Italian, German) than others (Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese, Tagalog, Igbo, Walof, Yoruba, Hausa).

Linguistically speaking, therefore, beyond the implementation of European programmes such as *Erasmus*, *Lingua* and *Socrates*[2] and the 'official' European policy in relation to education,[3] a correct, complete and consistent proposal of multilingualism would have to be predicated on the following: (1) respect for the existing linguistic diversity, and for all the languages of all the countries and nations that constitute Europe, (2) respect for the right of each individual to use her or his own language, not only within that person's territory, but also outside it, and not only by all the citizens from all the states already recognised as forming the future Europe, but also by all those who have abandoned their country and homeland, and (3) respect for the enriching right of each individual to learn and use, two, three or more languages, intent on better communication between humans, based upon understanding and not misunderstanding. The implementation of these premises necessarily involves having information on these minority groups' languages and the extent of linguistic plurality.

Apart from Siguán's *España Plurilingüe* (1992), which only analyses the situation of official and co-official languages as established by the 1978 Constitution, there is no other extensive account of language diversity in Spain. From what has been said above, it should be clear that apart from Spanish, which is the only official language in the whole of the Spanish territory and which has been thoroughly analysed and described, both formally and from the point of view of its variation, and Catalan, Basque and Galician, which are co-official with Spanish in Catalonia, the Valencian

Country, the Balearic and Pitius Islands, the Basque Country, Nafarroa (Navarre) and Galicia, respectively, there are many more languages, and many more speech communities. These have either been present *in situ* for many centuries and contributed to the grounding of what is now known as contemporary Spain, have settled in Spain as a result of past migration, or are relatively recent having migrated into Spain during the last 20 years.

The genesis of this book has to be traced back to the period of 1988–93 when I was co-directing a Master's course in Teacher Education in Spanish as a Foreign Language whose participants originated from many of the communities that have been migrating and settling in Spain for the last two decades. Their motivation for taking such course was basically educational – to be able to teach Spanish to the members of their own minority group and do it with more awareness of their pedagogical and methodological needs. Yearly, the Ministry of Social Affairs provides information on migration, which is published in the *Anuario de Migraciones.* However, available information includes only demographic information on the *new migrant* communities, and although there exist isolated, basically anthropological, studies, there is no integrated account of the historical, social, and especially linguistic patterning of their settlement in Spain. Preliminary observation of these communities also confirmed that there was no detailed study on a number of variables that would give us a more global idea of such aspects. Accordingly, in 1993 a project[4] on linguistic minority groups in Spain was set up to investigate the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of these communities in order to achieve better understanding of Spain's multiethnic and multilingual make-up.

In this respect, the main aim of this book, which derives directly from the need to have available comprehensive accounts of language plurality, is to contribute to the description of all these languages and communities, considering in particular those which have never been described and updating the available data on the officially recognised languages of Spain with the exception of Spanish. A secondary aim is to learn more about the different languages and communities that constitute this multilingual organism in order to contribute to the ever necessary understanding between people and peoples, migrant and host, in a changing world whose future can only be conceived in terms of intercultural exchange.

Minorities in Spain

In the last two decades minority groups have emerged as a major concern for educational and language planning policies. Definitions and taxonomies are always difficult to make in a time of change, and in particular the concept of 'minority' is very difficult to define but, following

Churchill (1986), three types of minority groups can be established: *indigenous*, *established* and *new migrant* minorities. They are generally distinguished by their specific linguistic and cultural traits, although language is not always a decisive factor since a minority group may not have a distinctive language of their own and still be a minority. According to this author, *'Indigenous' peoples* are 'groups long-established in their native countries whose life style follows a traditional mode considered archaic by contemporary industrial societies' (p. 6). *'Established' minorities* are 'groups long-established in their native countries whose life style has generally tended to evolve along the same lines as that of the remainder of their national society, though sometimes falling behind in the rate of evolution (p. 6).[5] *'New migrant' minorities* are 'groups perceived to have migrated recently to their current place of residence' (p. 6).

For analytical and taxonomic purposes, the terms adopted in this book to refer to minority groups in Spain are *established* and *new migrant* minorities, since they are particularly relevant to set up the context of study of *Multilingualism in Spain*. Large e*stablished* communities include the Basques, the Catalans, and the Galicians, that is, the 'historical communities' (so described by law) which have been granted certain linguistic rights in the 1978 Constitution and some social, historical and economic rights through the different Statutes of Autonomy, as well as some economic advantages through the Central Government policy known as the 'Estado de las Autonomías' (the State of the Autonomies).[6] Smaller e*stablished* minorities also include the Astur-Leonese speakers, in Asturias, the speakers of Aragonese, in Aragón, and the Aranese people, the Occitan speech community of the Aran Valley. The Gitano and the Jewish communities, on the other hand, do not fit any of these definitions. In the case of the Gitanos because, even if their life-style is considered traditional and archaic by Spanish contemporary industrial society, they are part of the grounding of present-day Spain; in the case of the Jewish communities because, even if they have adopted the language(s) of the host community and their life-style has generally evolved as that of the rest of the their national society, they keep their traditions and religious practices. And in both cases, while being originally migrant communities, they migrated to Spain many centuries ago, and particularly in the case of the Gitano community, they have been prosecuted for over five centuries; therefore, for our purposes they will both be considered *established* minorities. Finally, the Deaf communities in Spain will also be considered *established* minorities because they have always been present in Spain although they have seldom been granted any recognition and respect.

The *new migrant* minorities are easier to define. They include those communities that have migrated recently or not so recently for several reasons. These include minorities from Western Europe such as, the Austrian, Belgian Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Southern Irish, Italian, Luxembourgian, Norwegian, Portuguese, Swiss, Swedish, and

British; from South America, such as, the Brazilian;[7] from North America, that is, the US American and Canadian, and other English-speaking countries, including New Zealand and Australia; others from Black Africa (the Gambian and Senegalese), from the Maghreb (the Moroccan and Algerian), from Cabo Verde, and Egypt; still others from Asia, including the North Korean, Japanese, Indian, Pakistani, the Middle East (the Lebanese and Jordanian) and Philippino; and finally, from Eastern Europe, including Russia and the former URSS.

Many taxonomies have been proposed (Churchill, 1986; Fishman, 1989; Fase *et al*. (eds), 1992) to characterise minorities. In the case of minority groups in Spain, their study has allowed to establish the most important factors that define them. These factors can be grouped under three typologies: *sociodemographic, sociolinguistic* and *sociocultural* patterns. *Sociodemographic* patterns have to do with absolute numbers (large minorities, such as the Catalan, the Basque and the Galician vs. smaller minorities, such as the Aranese in the Aran Valley, the Astur-Leonese in Asturias, or the Aragonese in Aragón; large migrant minorities continuing to increase, such as the Maghrebi vs. large stable migrant minorities, such as the British); length of settlement (long-standing minorities, such as the three 'historical' minorities, and also the Gitano and the Jewish minorities vs. more recent migrant minorities, such as the *new migrant* minorities; type of settlement (rural (i.e. the Black Africans and some sections of the Maghrebi communities in Catalonia; the Cape Verdeans in León and other areas of Castille) vs. urban (some other sections of the Maghrebi communities, the Gitano communities in their present-day settlement), and other factors such as motivation, family structure and social conditions. *Sociolinguistic* patterns are related to issues such as language maintenance (among the *established* minorities, the Catalans; among the *new migrant*, the Chinese community), language shift (the Jewish communities from Central and Eastern Europe which settled in Spain in the 1880s and adopted the language(s) of the host communities), and different degrees and types of bilingualism (Lambert, 1975): *additive* (in the case of the children of the so-called 'historical' communities vs. *subtractive* (in the case of the *new migrant* minorities from the Third World, such as the Maghrebians, the Black Africans, the Cape Verdean). Finally, *sociocultural* patterns have to do with their culture and traditions, the degree of culture proximity/distance, their degree of contact with the members of the host communities, and their degree of social organisation and political awareness ranging from (1) minorities which migrate and integrate, and have been described as *more open* (i.e. the Brazilians, the Italians, the US Americans), (2) minorities which integrate without giving up their own traditions and customs (the UK community, the Maghrebi communities), although some may give up their language(s) (some of the Jewish communities), have been described as *less open*, and some attain structured social organisation patterns, and finally, (3) those minorities characterised by different degrees of cultural

isolation (the Gitano communities) and even ghettoisation (the Chinese community).

In this book, the terms 'minority' and 'community' have been used indistinctively, although it may be useful to point out that the term 'minority' seems to be more adequate to refer to its situation *vis-à-vis* the state, in this case, the Spanish state. Conversely, the term 'community' seems to be more relevant to refer to its internal idiosyncratic characteristics.

The Context of Study and the Methodology Used

This categorisation of minority groups is hardly precise since the social phenomena that frame these groups are very complex and undergoing fundamental changes. In the case of the minorities present in Spain it was observed that there are three guiding analytical research approaches that cut across them: *language*, *migration* and *discrimination.* Alladina and Edwards's (1991) framework of analysis to describe language plurality in the British Isles was considered a good starting point to situate these three guiding analytical research approaches proposed in this book. The first area of analysis is the *sociolinguistic situation* in the country of origin and in the host country, that is, the languages spoken and their status, the standard language question, and also the degree of literacy of the minority group. The second area of analysis refers to *migration* and *settlement patterns*, in terms of (1) the nature and distribution of each speech community and linguistic minority group, (2) the history of arrival and settlement, (3) the migratory conditions, whether the migration is political or economical, (4) the particular characteristics of the community, in their place of origin and their place of arrival, that is, whether they are of rural/urban origin, whether they are traders or industrialists, professionals or artisans, and (5) also the settlement patterns, i.e. if the settlement is concentrated in small geographical areas, the migrants are going to be able if they wish to maintain very strong community ties, something which is not possible if the settlement takes place over a wide and dispersed area. The third area of analysis has to do with *institutional support*, in terms of the links and the support that the minority group receives from their community or country of origin through any kind of institution or organisation, either religious, cultural or secular, and also from the host country, through employment or the social and public services. The fourth are of analysis the *role of education*, and what Alladina and Edwards (1991: 20) refer to as 'language reproduction', distinguishing three main strands: the family, the community and the school. The fifth area of analysis deals with the changing *patterns of language use*, that is, language choice and codeswitching. Finally, a sixth area of analysis, which proved useful to account for the psycholinguistic aspects of the communities under analysis, refers to the *learning and communicative strategies* used by migrants in the process of learning the host community's language(s).[8]

Thus, it was considered that the first issue which is relevant to the topic under analysis in this book, that is, *language*, would be addressed by considering information related to area 1 (the sociolinguistic situation), area 4 (the role of education), area 5 (the patterns of language use) and area 6 (learning and communicative strategies), although it was felt that in order to understand language maintenance and code change processes it would also be useful to analyse the specific schooling situation and the domains of language use. Secondly, it was considered that the second research approach proposed, that is, *migration*, would be described by considering data collected in area 2 (migration and settlement patterns), particularly in relation to the *new migrant* communities; however, it was felt that some general information should be added on the scope of the migratory processes in Spain and their demographic, social and attitudinal aspects in order to be able to understand their real nature and extent. Finally, it was considered that the third research focus suggested, that is, *discrimination*, would be accounted for by the information collected in area 3 (institutional support) with additional consideration of international and European migratory policy, Spanish legislation on migration and its discriminatory consequences, the policy of 'quotas', and the specific forms that racism takes in Spain.

It was soon noticed, however, that not all three aspects would equally apply to all minorities in the same way: some are characterised by language, migration and discrimination (the Maghrebians, the Cape Verdeans and other African communities, the Brazilian, the Portuguese); other communities are only defined by language and migration, but their members are not discriminated against, socially and culturally speaking (the US Americans, the British, the Italians, the French, the German, the Jewish in contemporary Spain); another group of communities are not characterised by recent migration, but they are discriminated against and/or their languages not even officially recognised (the Gitano, the Aranese, the Astur-Leonese, the Sign Language communities). Lastly, there are some other communities – the ones which have been referred to as the so-called 'historical' Autonomous Communities (primarily, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia) – that do not find enough legal and institutional support and their languages may suffer discrimination in certain situations or find themselves in an asymmetrical situation *vis-à-vis* Spanish.

When the project on linguistic minority groups in Spain (SPALIMG) started in 1993, a common methodology was proposed with which to enter the communities and investigate them from the point of view of the three research approaches mentioned above (*language*, *migration* and *discrimination*) and the proposed six areas of study (*sociolinguistic situation*, *migration and settlement patterns*, *institutional support*, *role of education*, *patterns of language use*, and *learning and communicative strategies*).

In order to investigate the sociolinguistic situation, researchers were asked to consult official educational documents and any documentation on

language normalisation and standardisation, illiteracy and language planning. A similar procedure was used to find out more about the communities' migration and settlement patterns, the role of the host country's education in the maintenance of their mother tongue and culture, the institutional support that they receive both from their country of origin and the host country, and the communities' organisational network in the host country.[9]

Two basic instruments were proposed to investigate these several areas of study: an adapted form of *sociolinguistic interview*, which incorporates elements taken both from the *life story*, an instrument used in anthropological analysis, and from the *sociolinguistic interview* itself, as used in sociolinguistic analysis. The modules forming this version of the sociolinguistic interview ranged from personal domains (family and friendship, both in the country of origin and the host country) to social and professional domains (education, languages used at school, employment, neighbourhood), and included two or three questions which would allow the researcher to elicit narratives and indirectly determine the effect of style (i.e. more or less informal) in the specific forms of the informants' linguistic behaviour and use, and patterns of language contact. This particular instrument was thus devised to investigate the abovementioned patterns of language use and language contact, and to achieve this end the researchers were asked to use two different versions of this same method. Modality A involved the researchers being members of the minority group under investigation. They were asked to conduct the sociolinguistic interview in the informant's mother tongue, in order to describe the modalities of discourse and language contact patterns that the speakers would produce in the L1 → L2 direction (i.e. interference from L2). Modality B involved the researchers being from the host country and using the same instrument conducted in Spanish or any of the other officially recognised languages in order to collect data on the L2 → L1 direction and thus indirectly investigate what learning and communicative strategies they were using.

A second method was used to investigate the patterns of language use and language contact. This is referred to as the *family recording* and it consisted in the recording of a family gathering (a meal, a meeting) or a community meeting, depending on the social structuring of each specific community. In order to comply with the ethical requirements of ethnographic research, one of the family members or a community representative would have authorised the recording and supervised the technological questions related to the carrying out of the recording.

In order to investigate the most psycholinguistic aspects of the present study, that is, the learning and communicative strategies involved in the process of learning and acquiring Spanish or any of the other officially recognised languages of Spain, two instruments were used. One instrument, used with members of the Maghrebi, Brazilian and Chinese

communities, had to do with *class observation* for which the researchers developed an observation template. The other instrument was a sophisticated *questionnaire* on the strategies used by learners when trying to learn the sounds, the vocabulary and the grammar of the Spanish language, in the context of traditional learning skills (speaking, writing, listening and reading).

General information on the total distribution of each community was available from Spanish statistical institutions, such as, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), research institutions and public institutes, such as the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) and the Spanish Ministry of Social Affairs, which publishes the *Anuario de Migraciones.*[10] The specific sample selection for each community was done on the basis of several criteria: (1) community representation (community leaders), (2) overall representative social factors (age, sex, profession), and (3) the researchers themselves, so that being a community member could help in entering the group.

The Final Scope of the Study

Multilingualism in Spain was conceived to give an account of language plurality in Spain via an in-depth study of all non-Spanish speaking minority groups and their languages or varieties of language. In the final version of the book, small *new migrant* minorities, such as the Brazilian or the Cape Verdean and small *established* communities, such as the Aranese or the Astur-Leonese receive as much attention as the 'historical' *established* communities, such as the Catalan, the Basque and the Galician. This apparent imbalance requires an explanation, and so does the fact that very significant *new migrant* minorities, such as the Black African (Gambian and Senegalese), the Indian, the German and the French are not included.

The initial project did not include information on the three 'historical' communities, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia, and the three major officially recognised languages apart from Spanish, that is, Catalan, Basque and Galician, basically because they have been vastly considered, both at structural and sociolinguistic levels. As the project advanced, the editor of the book, the series editor and the publishers envisaged the possibility of including information on these 'historical' minority groups and languages and the other established minorities in order to update and complete available information on them.[11] The latter involved the consideration of the Occitan community of the Aran Valley, the Astur-Leonese community and the Aragonese community and, therefore, the other indigenous languages of Spain, that is, Aranese, Astur-Leonese (or Bable) and Aragonese.[12] The Sign Language communities in Spain were also considered as *established* communities sharing two of the guiding research lines with other *established* minorities, that is, the issues of language and discrimination. And finally, the Gitano and the Jewish

communities were also considered as long-established, even if they were also constrained by migration in the past.

As to the *new migrant* minorities, the final selection was done via the application of two basic criteria: (1) the overall number of members (above 5000), which seems a reasonable figure to guarantee community perspective, and (2) a minimum of five-year settlement at the moment when the project started (1993) to guarantee community stability. According to the data published in the latest available edition of the *Anuario de Migraciones* (1997), there would be 47 migrant minority groups, excluding the Spanish-speaking South American migrants. If criteria (1) and (2) are applied, the number of *new migrant* minorities which should have been considered is 16,[13] including 10 European minorities (the UK (68,359); the German (45,898); the Portuguese (38,316); the French (33,134); the Italian (21,362); the Dutch (13,925), the Belgian (9,847); the Swiss (7,138), the Swedish (6,545); the Danish (5,107)), two communities from the American continent, one from the North (the US (15,661)) and one from the South (Brazil (5,694)), one in Africa (the Moroccan (77,189)), three from Asia (the Philippino (11,770); the Chinese (10,816) and the Indian (6,882)).

Out of those 16 communities which should have been considered in the first place, the non-inclusion of minorities, such as the Belgian, the Danish, the Dutch, the Swedish and the Swiss was due simply to problems in finding any researchers to analyse them. A similar problem was faced with some of the communities which were originally included in the first proposal but have not been incorporated to the book because the researchers dropped out of the project and failed to finish their work for a number of reasons. This applies to the Indian, the Philippino, the French, and the German minorities. Other communities from Eastern Europe, like Ex-Yugoslavia migrants, were not included at all because they involve a much more recent migration.[14]

The final version of *Multilingualism in Spain* includes the analysis of eight *established* and eight *new migrant* minorities. The *established* minorities include large 'historical' *established* communities such as, the Catalan-speaking, the Basque-speaking, and the Galician, 'smaller' *established* minorities such as the Aranese, the Astur-Leonese and the Sign Language communities, and 'other' *established* minorities, such as the Gitano and the Jewish communities. The *new migrant* minorities include the Cape Verdean,[15] the Brazilian, the Chinese, the Italian, the Maghrebi, the Portuguese, the UK and the US American communities. It is hoped that in the near future another project will be able to investigate the remaining minorities of Spain and offer a more complete picture of Spain's multilingual make-up.

Language

Essential to the nature of the situation and future prospects of both *established* and *new migrant* minorities in Spain is the status of the

community language at different levels: (1) as symbol of personal identity and community belonging, (2) as an exponent of language maintenance, language loss and bilingualism, and (3) as an instrument in education to contribute to the cognitive development and socialisation of minority language children. Hence, the importance of establishing the status of community languages.

An approach which has proved useful in the conceptualisation of minority languages in Spain is that of John Edwards (1992). He considers different elements in an attempt to build a useful and generalising taxonomy of minority languages. The first criterion proposed by Edwards is that of the status of the minority language *vis-à-vis* the state: *unique* minority languages are 'unique to one state', *non-unique* minority languages are those which are non-unique but 'are still minorities in all contexts in which they occur', and *local-only* minority languages are those which 'are minority varieties in one setting but majority varieties elsewhere'. The second criterion proposed by Edwards has to do with 'the type of geographical connection between speakers of the same minority language in different states'. In order to conceptualise this situation, Edwards suggests the terms *adjoining* and *non-adjoining.* The third criterion refers to the amount of 'internal spatial cohesion' that there exists among minority language speakers and this criterion gives rise to the terms *cohesive* and *non-cohesive*, which are self-explanatory (Edwards, 1992: 38–9).

Drawing from this approach, in Spain it would be possible to classify minority languages in several groups, depending on whether we refer to *established* communities or *new migrant* minorities. As far as *established* minorities are concerned, group 1 (*non-unique, adjoining, cohesive*) would include Catalan in the Principality of Catalonia and in some of the Balearic Islands (especially, Menorca), Basque, Galician and Astur-Leonese (Bable), spoken in Asturias and parts of León; group 2 (*non-unique, adjoining, non-cohesive*) would include Catalan in the Valencian Country, that is *Valencià,*[16] group 3 (*non-unique, non-adjoining, cohesive*) would include Catalan spoken in l'Alguer (Sardinia) and Occitan spoken in the Aran Valley, and group 4 (*non-unique, non-adjoining, non-cohesive*) would include Caló and the different varieties of Judeo-Español (Ladino throughout Spain and Jaketía in Ceuta and Melilla). As to *new migrant* minorities, further distinctions can be established. Group 5 (*local-only, non-adjoining, cohesive*) would include all the well-established languages, such as English, French, Italian, Arabic and Portuguese, and finally, group 6 (*local-only, non-adjoining, non-cohesive*) would include primarily the Kriolu, spoken by Caboverdeans, and Chinese Mandarin and other Chinese languages.

In the context of language diversity and multilingual settings several aspects are relevant to understand the specific linguistic exponents of minority groups. On the one hand, at the macrolinguistic level the complementarity of issues such as language maintenance, language shift

and bilingualism, and on the other, at the microlinguistic level, the whole question of language contact.

Language maintenance, language shift and bilingualism: the role of education

In the context of large *established* community languages in Spain, that is, Catalan, Basque and Galician, the question of language maintenance and language loss has been framed around the principles of individuality and territoriality. The latter issue can be, and frequently is, politicised, arguing that a specific community, speaking a specific language, lives in a specific territory and therefore has certain national rights, which among other things involves their demand for a state. The path to nationalism is served and language is used as a political flag to serve political ends, a phenomenon described as linguistic nationalism. Naturally, while it is true that in all three communities language is used by nationalisitc politicians as a political weapon, it is also true that not all three languages are in as vigorous use as they might be. While the situation of Catalan is more or less optimistic, particularly in Catalonia, Basque and Galician are not advancing as healthily as Catalan.

The results presented in this book illustrate that the language planning policies implemented by the autonomous governments exclusively respond to their own need to defend their own minority language, officially recognised in the Constitution, that is, Catalan, Basque and Galician. The basic linguistic laws issued by the autonomous governments of those communities regulate the teaching of Catalan (in Catalonia, the *Llei de Normalització Lingüística* (1983), in the Valencian Country, the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* (1983) and in the Balearic Islands, the *Llei de Normalització Lingüística* (1986); Pradilla, Ch. 2); of Basque (in the Basque Country, the *Euskararen Erabilpena Aranzkotzeko Oinarrizko Legea* (1982) and in Nafarroa (Navarre), the *Euskari Buruzko Foru Legea* (1986); Cenoz and Perales, Ch. 3) and of Galician (*Lei de Normalização Lingüística* (1983); Hermida, Ch. 4). However, in both the case of the central government and that of the autonomous governments, the administrations are too busy defending 'their own patch' for there to be space to defend the smaller *established* minority languages of Spain. The two exceptions would be Catalonia, where the Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan autonomous government) cautiously recognises Aranese although leaves it to the local authorities and private initiatives to promote and strengthen the Aranese language and culture (Suils and Huguet, Ch. 5), and the Principality of Asturias, where community and private initiatives (*Conceyu Bable* (1974) and *Academia de la Llingua Asturiana* (1980)) forced the Asturian autonomous government to take the first steps in bringing Asturian into the school system (González-Quevedo, Ch. 6).

What seems to characterise the situation for these large *established* community languages is their necessary living together with Spanish, which involves considering the whole question of bilingualim. The fact is that almost 34% of the Spanish population (13 million people) live in Autonomous Communities with two official languages (Catalonia, the Valencian country, the Balearic and Pitius Islands, the Basque Country, Nafarroa (Navarre) and Galicia). However, the co-existence between the four official languages of Spain (Spanish, Catalan, Basque and Galician) has not been particularly peaceful over the course of the middle decades of the 20th century,[17] particularly during Franco's regime when all languages other than Spanish were repressed and banned from public life and relegated to private settings, and their teaching was forbidden. As mentioned, the new Spanish Constitution recognised this bilingual situation and has protected it since its approval in 1978. So with the dawning of the new democratic era, from 1977 onwards, Catalan, Basque and Galician were granted official status. However, this multilingual richness has not been recognised in state institutions (Parliament, Senate, etc.), or only very recently under pressure from nationalist parties in the Autonomous Communities mentioned above; moreover, people's attitudes, particularly in monolingual Spain (that is, outside the Basque-speaking countries, the Catalan-speaking countries and Galicia) and above all in centralist-oriented regions (Castilla La Nueva and Castilla La Vieja)), have always lagged far behind what was being legislated.

However, it is still the case in contemporary Spanish politics, particularly in monolingual areas, that any linguistic and cultural differentiation would endanger the view of Spain as an indivisible unit. Obviously, Spain's 'historical' *established* minorities view this imposition as an attempt to maintain the *status quo*, only recognising the co-official status of these minority languages on paper and relegating them to an incomplete paradigm, not used in all domains or for all functions.[18] In this context, there is another aspect of bilingualism that should be mentioned. Usually, not only is a monolingual norm all too easily imposed on a community and on an individual, but also it seems that this monolingualism has to be monolithic as well, in the sense that only the standard variety is accepted, ignoring the fact that dialectal varieties,[19] and other varieties linked to register, context and style, can contribute through an imaginative and creative use of language to develop sensitivity for different linguistic forms and for suitable use in a specific context.

In parallel to all that there are other languages, those spoken in the host territory by the members of the *new migrant* minorities, often forgotten and neglected. There are speakers of those languages to whom the principle of individuality must be applied, at the same time that their right to learn the host community language or languages must be ensured. And just as it is not possible simply to consider language as a symbol of personal identity from the point of view of the individual, because one's

individuality is collective at the same time, it is impossible to defend the territory just in community and territory terms because communities and territories are constructs which would not have been perceived and created unless there had been individuals constituting those communities and living in those territories. Furthermore, the individual right to use one's language is only one of the many rights that a human being has to demand. Apart from this linguistic right, people have the right to a job, to a dignified lodging, to public services, to developing their own culture, and cultivating their own art. And ideally, these rights would have to be enjoyed, not only in the country where one is born, but also in the country where one ends up and lives, whatever reason there is for a migration to another country. It is also known that in order to be able to reach a balanced personal identity and benefit from a successful educational and professional upbringing it is important to have a high level of self-esteem. And this self-esteem is developed through the socio-cultural norms and values that one acquires through early socialisation within one's ethnic and social group. And what is more, language is the most important means of human communication and of the transmission of such norms and values. If the role of language is so clear in socialisation and education, it is obvious that socialisation and education should take place primarily in the first language of the people involved, because children acquire their cognitive, socialising and linguistic skills in an integrated way, not in isolation.

Moreover, in the context of migration and minority groups the approach towards bilingualism can and should also be positive. Naturally, anyone that takes that approach will have to overcome a lot of linguistic and educational prejudices. It was during the 1970s that scholars began to consider as beneficial the cognitive and intellectual effects of bilingualism (Cummins & Swain, 1986), and nowadays teachers are beginning to think more in terms of transfer of abilities and less in terms of linguistic interference (Cenoz & Genesee, 1998). Unfortunately, bilingualism has different connotations for minority group and majority group individuals, since most minority group speakers tend to learn the host community language and become bilingual, whereas majority group speakers seldom learn the migrants' language(s). Moreover, bilingualism in minority group children is all too often *subtractive* (Lambert, 1975) where the learning of the host community's language(s) – their L2 – is at the expense of the maintenance and development of their L1, as is the case for most children from those *new migrant* communities in Spain whose L1 is not prestigious (i.e. Arabic, Portuguese, Tagalog, Yoruba, Igbo, Chinese). On the other hand, many majority group children develop an *additive* (Lambert, 1975) type of bilingualism, by being schooled extensively via their L2 but not at the expense of their L1. This would be the case of children in at least two of the historical communities, Catalonia and the Basque country, which can be considered minority groups *vis-à-vis* Spain as a whole, but are

majority groups in their own territory, or at least their language (Basque and Catalan) is as prestigious, locally, as the state language (Spanish). Conversely, for the children from a Spanish-speaking background, usually third generation children from those families which migrated to Catalonia and the Basque country from areas of Spain during the 1960s and 1970s, different models may be adopted, ranging from immersion programmes in their L2 to schooling in their L1 with the gradual introduction of the L2, as Pradilla (Ch. 2), and Cenoz and Perales (Ch. 3) illustrate.

So, even admitting that the newcomers to a state have to try to integrate[20] – rather than *assimilate* – and learn the language of the host community, it is important for the immigrants and their children, above all, to be able to have access to equal opportunities in education. In fact, recent research has shown that *additive* bilingualism in minority group children, particularly from *new migrant* communities, is better attained when their schooling occurs via their L1 (Cummins, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1983). Also, educationalists and teachers have to learn, respect and in some cases know the language spoken at home by the migratory group, so that the migratory group's linguistic rights are ensured. Every citizen of every country – indigenous or immigrant – has the right to continue using his/her language and the immigrant minorities should be given the equal opportunity of learning the language of the host country and communities.

Accordingly, information is needed on the cultural and linguistic patterning of these minorities. Most of the contributions to this volume include a reference to the sociolinguistic context in the communities' country of origin, in terms of the languages spoken and their status, and its patterning once the communities settle in Spain. In some societies the questions of bilingualism and multilingualism are central issues. In Cabo Verde two languages co-exist, Portuguese and a creole (*Kriolu*), as a result of the country's history in which West African and European Portuguese mingled (López Trigal, Ch. 11) and the linguistic situation becomes more complex as the Cape Verdean community settles in Spain. Maghrebi people (Algerians and Moroccans) live in a complex trilingual situation, where French (the High status language), Arabic (with two status levels, High and Low) and some of the Berber languages of the area from where these migrants come (in this case, the Low languages) are present in a triglossic system (Garí, Ch. 14).

The question of literacy constitutes a point of contrast between communities, the result of different traditions. The majority of Southern and Northern European countries have attained extended literacy,[21] whereas some parts of Africa (Black Africa, the Maghreb, Cabo Verde) are still pre-literate in the case of the majority of their populations. Obviously, different reading and writing systems, such as we find in the Chinese community (Beltrán and García, Ch. 12), are decisive as to the difficulties the migrants encounter when in some instances not having

even achieved a satisfactory degree of literacy in their own language, they are in the process of becoming literate in the host community's language (García, 1993).

The standard language issue is also relevant when considering the sociolinguistic context in the different communities' country of origin. Interestingly, in both China and Italy the path followed in the prioritisation of the standard language variety over other dialects is very similar, although this happened at different periods of their history. Chinese has eight linguistic varieties officially considered in China as dialects (Beltrán and García, Ch. 12), even though these are as different phonetically and lexically as French or Spanish, and beyond that, local variants and dialects can be mutually unintelligible. In Italy, the dialect of Florence (the Tuscan variety) is the basis of a national literary language, largely as a result of the prestige of Dante, Bocaccio and Petrach. This influence was consolidated and codified in the 16th century in a series of grammars. The leap from literary to everyday language – which became the standard spoken variety – has only really been achieved since political unification in 1861. Highly divergent varieties, derived from the original fragmentation of Italy in small states and the substratum effects of ancient languages were used for very long after the unification, and are still used nowadays. From a purely linguistic point of view these varieties, officially considered in Italy as dialects in all cases, could be considered as linguistically independent systems and, therefore, different languages (Torrens, Ch. 13).

When settling in Spain, an inevitable decision that migrants usually face is language choice, since in many areas of the so-called 'historical' Autonomous Communities, the other officially recognised languages (Catalan, Basque and Galician) are in extensive use. In other words, the migrants will have to decide whether they take Spanish, or any of the other languages, as a means of communication and take any formal instruction in one or other of these. Later on, the question of language shift from their mother tongue to the local or national language becomes relevant, although usually the situation involves 'a gradual development (shifting)' rather than total shift (Clyne, 1992: 18). The extent of this shift will vary according to the intersection of several types of factors, beginning with the nature of migration and duration of the settlement: long-standing communities may need to maintain or recover their mother tongue whereas for more recently arrived groups, the acquisition of Spanish and/or one of the other 'official' languages of Spain (Catalan, Basque and Galician) may be a priority and the shift will occur more rapidly. Equally important are socio-individual factors such as the degree of contact with the receptive community or degree of identification with own mother tongue and culture, the community's social structure, social trajectory, culture distance or proximity, duration of contact, and positive attitudes towards the host community.

For example, it is interesting to note that communities which, in principle, are very distant in culture and language, such as the Black Africans and the Maghrebis, show very positive attitudes towards the host communities, soon learn their languages and integrate well,[22] while keeping their own customs and traditions. It is possible to refer to their second generations as having language shifted, although this shift has been accompanied by attempts to achieve language stability. That is, that there has been a reaction towards the learning of their mother tongue and fostering of the culture by the communities' adults and children. At the other end of the scale, it is possible to find communities (Beltrán and García (Ch. 12) on the Chinese), whose adult members can spend 10 or 12 years in the host country without understanding or speaking any Spanish or any of the other official languages. Their children are encouraged to learn Spanish or the other languages because they value progress and social mobility, without excluding the learning of the Chinese language and culture that they use in the family and among friends. Other communities, although they show very positive attitudes and are in fact culturally close (Torrens, Ch. 13) on the Italian community), tend to learn and use Spanish or any of the other languages but rarely to the point of being involved in a process of language shift.

The Jewish and the Gitano communities in Spain, very different in nature from each other in many respects, but traditionally characterised as long-established communities also framed by migration in the past, seem to follow broadly the same pattern as to their attitudes towards the language(s) of the host community. In different periods of their long-established settlements, both communities seem to have adopted the language(s) where they settle (Spanish and/or Catalan, Galician or Basque) and restricted the use of their own language or variety of language to private domains (family, religion, peer group) and to specific functions, depending on the community's cultural and identity patterns. In the case of the Gitano community, the language used is *Caló*, a Spanish based variety of Romani, which is used as an instrument of self-defence *vis-à-vis* the non-Gitano population (Marzo and Turell, Ch. 8).[23] In the case of the Jewish community, a distinction must be made between the long-established Jewish communities which settled many generations ago and seem to have integrated and have adopted the languages spoken where they settled (the Catalan Jewish community, the Sefardies, in Melilla), and the most recent groups of Israeli citizens. For the former, the use of Hebrew, for example, responds to religious needs and traditional individual pride related to 'a glorious past'; for the latter, that use responds to political and national reasons (Vigil, Ch. 9).

Most communities which have migrated to Spain express a will to maintain their own language and culture. This will towards the maintenance of mother tongue and minority culture finds its way through the family at first, as is the case within the Chinese community (Beltrán and

García, Ch. 12) in which Chinese families ensure that their second generation members, who attend schools in the Spanish educational system, are not excluded from the learning of the Chinese language and culture, either paying for private teachers or having them study Chinese as a second language in language schools. This may then spread to the wider community, as is the case of the Portuguese community (López Trigal, Ch. 15) which settled in León and whose members participate in the Portuguese Language and Culture Programmes, sponsored by the Portuguese government.

A further important factor in the discussion of the migrants' language behaviour and use has to do with domains of language use, in Fishman's (1972) sense. Some patterns are constrained by the age factor. For example, in the Gitano community (Marzo and Turell, Ch. 8), *Caló* is used by the older people, among friends, and as a code of self-defence or distinguishing feature of their group. The Maghrebi communities in Spain, particularly the Moroccan, show a very rich network of domains, using five languages (Garí, Ch. 14): Berber in the family and friendship domains, national varieties of Arabic within the family, with friends and in the cultural centre, Classic Arabic in the Mosque, Spanish at work, in the cultural centre and among friends, and French also at work, in the cultural centre and among friends. Other patterns are basically functional, as for example in the Portuguese community (López Trigal, Ch. 15), whose members try to use Spanish as much as they can outside the home, for employment reasons, whereas they show a high use of Portuguese in their communication among adults, parents and children at home. At the same time they mix Portuguese and Spanish and make use of mixed codes such as *Portunhol*, mentioned by López Trigal (Ch. 15), the same as the Brazilian community makes use of both *Portunhol* and *Españogués* (Turell and Lavratti, Ch. 10).

The school can play a decisive role in the direction of language maintenance of a minority language and language shift towards a host community language, and can also affect other domains of language use, particularly in the context of migration. Unfortunately, institutional involvement in the ensuring of the respect for the legitimate right and needs of large numbers of bilingual children is almost non-existent in Spain as far as migrated linguistic minority groups are concerned. The educational policy implemented by the Spanish central government reflects the need that the central administration feels that it has to defend the Spanish language in the monolingual areas and bilingual areas of Spain where it coexists with other languages other than Spanish. In the 'historical' Autnonomous Communities the basic linguistic laws issued by the autonomous governments of those communities regulate the teaching of Catalan, Basque and Galician and the situation of these three languages in the field of education.[24] This means in practice that Spanish primary education involves either the use of Spanish for monolingual children, or

the application of policies that involve different degrees of bilingualism, while the languages of immigrant minority groups are ignored, in general. And yet, there is strong evidence that suggests the effectiveness of bilingual education, of using the mother tongue as both a medium and a subject for children from minority communities (Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988; Artigal, 1993). Obviously, this would bring extra issues to worry about when training teachers (experienced bilingual support teachers) and when providing resources (books, posters, music), pedagogical tools, language awareness, and other matters. This explains, but does not justify, why there has not been any institutional involvement in Spain's linguistic diversity beyond the seven *in situ* languages (Spanish, Catalan, Basque, Galician, Aranese, Aragonese and Astur-Leonese).

There are some exceptions, apart from individual initiatives on the part of some teachers, but nothing planned from the administration, in spite of the fact that the LOGSE (the latest Spanish Educational Act) calls for a compensation of pupils' differences and an adaptation of the teaching methods to their individual characteristics. This point has been taken over by private institutions, such as the Servei Gironí de Pedagogia Social (SERGI)[25] where a pilot experience was designed and is being organised around three axes by means of which the implications of linguistic and cultural diversity are really acknowledged: (1) the understanding of the school, family and social background of the migrant pupil, (2) the development of the pupil's mother tongue, particularly for the metalinguistic advantages that this will involve, and (3) the mastery of the host community's majority language.

However, the Spanish educational system in general reinforces a sort of pathology model whereby a lack of knowledge of any of the recognised languages involves a situation in which something is to be cured. Moreover, it is a model basically centred on the teacher and frequently involves a use of language which is still too artificial, although huge efforts are made to implement more communicative approaches and methods (Pérez Vidal, forthcoming). The model is, consciously or unconsciously, based upon racist, sexist,[26] monocultural, monolingual/bilingual, assimilative parameters. In fact, bringing in new parameters along the lines of pluralism, multilingualism and intercultural integration would involve a new educational context (Churchill, 1986; Spolsky, 1972, 1986) in which the practice of the classroom would imply that (1) minority languages are considered as a *resource*, and not as a problem, and that the family language is worked upon and used, rather than being abruptly substituted by the new language(s) of the host community(ies); (2) there is a mainstream teacher and a support teacher; (3) all courses are taught in the mainstream language, and by the same teacher, and the support teacher organises specific tasks for the minority language speakers, both to be able to continue using their own language and to learn the new school language, which is also socially dominant outside their own ethnic group;

(4) curriculum subjects are used as a vehicle to learn the new language; (5) the teaching is based upon information, discussion and participation.

Language contact

Language contact (LC from now on) constitutes one of the most important linguistic exponents of social contact between the members of *new migrant* and *established* minorities, and also between those from larger and smaller *established* minorities. In the Spanish context, three areas of study can be identified in order to account for LC patterns in which members of linguistic minority groups engage. One area would consider the bilingual speech modes of minority groups speakers that result from the insertion of (Muysken, 1994) or alternation of (Muysken, 1994, Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b) linguistic units from an embedded language (in this case Spanish, or Catalan, Basque and Galician) in the utterances of a matrix language (in this case, their mother tongue), or result from different manifestations of language interference, such as borrowing and calque. Another comparable area to be investigated involves the reverse situation, that is, when such speakers use the language of the host community, which then becomes their matrix language, and then insert or alternate linguistic units from their original mother tongue, the embedded language, either in the course of their same turn, or in different turns. Another related area which will not be considered in this volume is that of mother tongue convergence on or divergence from the standard language or any dialect of the *in situ* communities, and the longer-term processes of language change observed in the varieties of language spoken by immigrant communities away from their countries of origin.

The analysis of the LC patterns observed in the *established* communities and the *new migrant* minorities under consideration in this book is based upon two complementary concepts, that of LC phenomena produced as *reflection*, and LC used as pragmatic *resource*. LC as *reflection* involves the use of *unmarked* (1) codeswitching or situational codeswitching which occur almost unconsciously within the linguistic mode of a speaker who is not trying to achieve a specific goal, or produce an effect on the interlocutor, (2) borrowing, (3) syntactic and semantic calque, and any contact unit produced as a result of language interference at the system level. LC produced as *resource* refers to *marked* use of any manifestation of LC which occurs as a communicative strategy of the speaker who designs his/her linguistic mode in accordance with the different components of the linguistic situation (participants, topic, purpose, tone), and is shaped by the goals to be achieved and the effects to be produced on the other participants in the interaction. Observations within the communities and minorities under study also confirmed the viewpoint taken elsewhere by other scholars (Muysken, 1991; Clyne, 1992; Turell, 1997) that LC

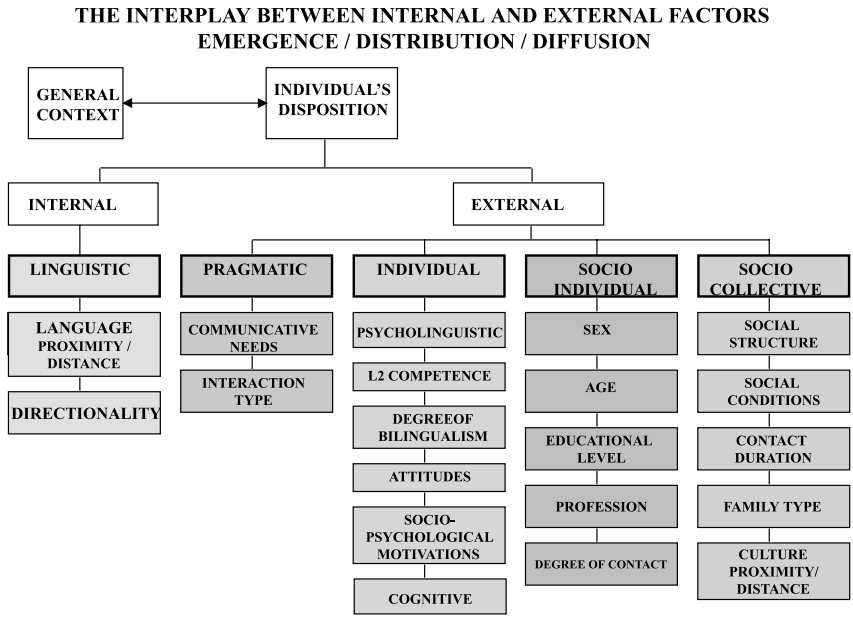

Figure 1.1 Language interaction integrated model (own source)

patterns vary in accordance with several internal and external factors, including degree of proximity or distance between languages, degree of identification with the first language and culture, along with the size of the community, its degree of organisation, and the amount of time that the group has been established in the host country. This being so, LC needs to be accounted for within an integrated, multifactorial model.

The idea behind one such model, namely the *Language Interaction Integrated Model* (Turell, 1997) which is represented in Figure 1.1, is that both internal and external factors constrain LC phenomena. By *internal* factors what is meant are factors of a linguistic nature, basically language proximity/distance which determines the LC type. More specifically, these factors are: (1) the order of constituents, (2) morphological typology, (3) marking typology in the predicate/arguments relationship, and (4) contrastivity of phonological typology and the degree of lexical/morphosyntactic distance/proximity; *external* factors require several subclassifications: (1) *pragmatic* factors, such as communicative needs (in turn affected by socio-collective factors, as will be seen) and interaction type, and others; (2) *individual* factors related to the individual speaker: (a) psycholinguistic, that is, the individual's degree of competence in L2 and degree of bilingualism (with implications for FLA and SLA), (b) cognitive and (c) attitudinal, with positive or negative attitudes towards the host community, its culture and language, which however

very much depend on what the group's attitudes as a whole are, and as such these factors interact with the socio-collective and socio-psychological ones; (3) *socio-individual*, that is, factors such as sex, age (first generation, second generation), educational level, which are individual indices of the speaker's belonging to a specific group; family type (mixed or not mixed); the degree of contact, which, in turn, will interact with the previous psycholinguistic and attitudinal factors, (4) *socio-collective*, that is, factors relating to the community's social structure (that is, whether it is *more* or *less open*), the community's social history (social type of migration and settlement pattern: stability or non-stability of the settlement, social status of community before and after migrating, reasons for migration, social prestige before and after); and finally, cultural distance or proximity (between the migrated and the host communities) and the duration of the contact situation.[27]

The use of codeswitching

Codeswitching is one of the most extensive forms of LC, both as a *marked* or an *unmarked* choice, which has become a major and outstanding research topic, as the proliferation of references testifies.[28] Historically, the beginning of this development can be traced back to a crucial study done by Blom and Gumperz (1972) through which codeswitching acquired a new positive status: that of a *skilled performance*, as Myers-Scotton (1993a) puts it, and a new taxonomy was proposed: that of *situational* and *metaphorical switching*. All the work done during the 1970s and 1980s, which refers to the social motivations of codeswitching, derives from Gumperz' contribution in terms of seeing speakers as exploiting linguistic choices (in this case codeswitching) as part of an interaction and as a social strategy within an interaction.

In the last decades or so, codeswitching has been investigated from very different perspectives. Evidence of these different perspectives was presented at the different Symposia organised by the ESF Network on Codeswitching and Language Contact between 1989 and 1991. These perspectives range from accounting merely for internal linguistic factors, what Muysken (1994) describes as the grammatical dimension of codeswitching (which would include models suggested by Poplack (1980) on universalist grounds; Muysken (1994), Myers-Scotton (1993a)), to cognitive factors (Fontana and Vallduví, 1990), socio-psychological and socio-pragmatic factors (Myer-Scotton 1993b), pragmatic factors (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1992), sociolinguistic and contact situation-bound factors (Pujadas and Turell, 1993; Turell, 1994b, 1995b, 1997).

The observations that derive from the analysis of the bilingual speech modes produced by the members of the linguistic minority groups considered in this book show that when codeswitching occurs as a *resource/marked* phenomenon, and particularly when the speakers' degree of bilingualism is very high, speakers codeswitch in any of the grammatical

slots or within any of the sites that have been proposed (Poplack, 1990; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Muysken, 1994), that is, (1) *intersententially* (where use of two languages corresponds to two sentences in the same turn, and as such, *alternation*s between sentences or clauses, (2) *intrasententially (*switching which occurs when both languages are used in the same sentence, including *one-word codeswitches*,[29] or *constituent switches*, and (3) *extrasententially* (involving peripheral elements of the sentence such as discourse cues, that is, *tags*, *confirmation checks* and *clarification checks*[30] ('oi' (right?) in Catalan, '¿vale?' (okay?) in Spanish, and so forth). However, even if it is also true that speakers seem to be using any and all types of switches, there are certain patterns in terms of type and frequency that appear to predominate and this distribution can only be explained through another group of factors that most models and explanations tend to ignore, that is, the cognitive ones.

Following the general model proposed, a set of predictions can be formulated in relation to the emergence of codeswitching and its diffusion in the context of the migration (into the Basque Country and Catalonia) that took place during the 1960s, but particularly within the linguistic minority groups that migrated to and settled in Spain.

Prediction 1. It is predicted that intrasentential codeswitching (where language directionality is L1 → L2) will appear in individuals and later on be extended to the community if the following factors coincide: relatively high competence, language proximity, cultural proximity, high contact, positive attitudes, communicative needs, need for upward mobility, open-community or open-settlement type, youth, female.

Some of the extracts that follow are from several of the speakers from different *new migrant* minorities considered in this book who conform to the socio-cultural patterns mentioned and make use of codeswitching.[31] In (1), Cintia is a 22-year-old Brazilian who migrated to Spain with her family and who now works as a secretary in Barcelona. She took classes in Catalan before formally taking classes in Spanish, as she mentions:

(1) **Cintia:** Bom, a escola era super difícil, porque eu não sabia nada, nem sabia o **castellano**, e tive que aprender o **català**. Entao, me confundi mais do que eu primeiro tivesse só aprendido o **castellano**, ou depois o **català**. Mas como a sociedade pede que você saiba um poco mais, então … Por isso que eu fui fazer o curso, mas … eu não estava preparada para … para **começar a estudiar** o **català**.

Well, it was very difficult at school, because I couldn't speak anything, I couldn't speak **Spanish**, and I had to learn **Catalan**. Then, I got more confused than if I had

> learnt **Spanish** before, and then **Catalan**. But, because society demands your knowing more, then … That's why I began a course, even if I wasn't ready to … to **start studying Catalan.**
>
> (Lavratti, 1992)[32]

Qualitative observation shows that there is a tendency for more young women than men within the Brazilian community to make more extensive use of intrasentential codeswitching in general. This observation can be explained in terms of socio-psychological motivations within the Brazilian community: the fact of viewing themselves as non-prestige migrants or members of a non-prestigious ethnic group, and thus of indexing status mobility through the use of codeswitching. First-generation migrants show a less extensive use of codeswitching, as predicted.

Within the Italian community, quite a prestigious one in Spain and Catalonia, also viewed as prestigious by its own members, competence in Spanish and positive attitudes towards the receptive community, in this case Catalonia, favoured the appearance of codeswitching.[33] In (2), Tina is a 26-year-old Italian, who has been in Catalonia (Spain) for six years and first came as an Erasmus student, but is now working as a translator and teacher of Italian, and has attended formal classes of Spanish:

(2) **Tina:** (… fanno un mischio terribile no, e questo l'ho notato invece se vai nei paesi già il catalano è più stretto, questo si nota propio assai cioè il **el tornillu** o parole che **amarillu** o cose strane che propio, questo si, il catalano qua credo che **en Cataluña el catal bueno Cataluña**, a Barcellona il catalano non si parla propio bene non so se è una mia impressione o so … parlano un catalano schifosissimo.

… they mix terribly, I noticed this in the villages where Catalan is purer, you can tell by words such as **screw** [Spanish loan with phonological integration into Catalan) and words such as **yellow** (same as above). I really think that **in Catalonia, Catal, well in Catalonia, rather in Barcelona**, it is not real Catalan that is spoken, I don't know, it's my own view, really … they speak a broken Catalan.

(Torrens, 1996)

Prediction 2. It is predicted that codeswitching will be less extensive, if present at all, or will primarily take the form of lexical codeswitching (involving less cognitive effort) with the following speaker profile: a speaker of a typologically distant language (from Spanish and Catalan), from a culturally distant community, of a very 'endogamic' type, and therefore, with low degree of contact, negative or neutral attitudes, no

socio-psychological motivations for mobility, and few communicative needs in the language of the host community.

Along these lines, it wouldn't be surprising then to find that there is no codeswitching within the Chinese community. The members of the latter community have been migrating to Spain over the last 30 years (Beltrán and García, Ch. 12), and constitute a *less open*, culturally distant community type. This pattern, which applies to first-generation and second-generation migrants, is no longer followed by third-generation Chinese migrants, who attend Spanish-speaking and Catalan-speaking schools and make use of a bilingual mode with codeswitching patterns ; however, there is no recorded evidence of this in the linguistic minority groups' corpus. Another group of communities which would fit this pattern would be the Arabic-speaking and Berber-speaking Maghreb communities, the Algerian, and above all, the Moroccan community.

The interplay between internal and external factors

That internal factors, such as language proximity, are not the sole factors explaining the emergence of codeswitching, is shown by the fact that speakers from communities whose languages are very distant from Spanish also adopt codeswitching as a usual modality of discourse. The socio-psychological motivation behind this has to do with positive attitudes towards the receptive community and a wish to integrate in it.[34] Such is the case of the Israeli community, whose members migrated to Spain, more specifically to Catalonia, in 1992, after the Gulf War. Their language is Modern Hebrew, although their speech will also reflect the use of some loans from Yiddish and Jewish-Spanish (Judeo-Español). In (3), Tania, a 40-year-old Israeli woman, who migrated with her husband and small children in 1992 and usually speaks Hebrew to them, codeswitches into Spanish in the middle of her conversation with them:

(3) **Tania:** … yesh li **queja** be inyan ha ze.
(I have a **complaint** in this matter)

… im ein leja **enchufe** lo tujal lehicanes le sham.
(You won't be able to get that job, if you don't have **influence,** (i.e. someone on the inside to help you))
(Vigil, 1997)

The differences observed between the codeswitching practices of the members of the US and the UK communities illustrate the intersection between internal and external factors involved in the model proposed in Turell (1997). Given that internal factors, such as language typology, cannot apply in this case because there are virtually the same structural differences between Spanish or Catalan and American English as between Spanish or Catalan and British English, there would have to be other