‘PASS ON CATALAN’, OR ‘PASS ON CATALAN’: AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE CAMPAIGNS, USES, ATTITUDES, AND IDEOLOGIES SURROUNDING THE CATALAN LANGUAGE IN CATALONIA

Bryn Mawr College
Fall 2013
Katherine Marcoux

Abstract

Catalan has had a long history during part of which its use was suppressed. After the dictatorship of Francisco Franco ended, Catalonia became an autonomous community and Catalan became co-official with Castilian. Since the language was suppressed for so many years, various language campaigns were developed to increase the use of Catalan. In this thesis, I examined the campaigns of La Norma in the 1980s as well as “Wind up Catalan” and “Pass on Catalan” from the 2000s. Examining these campaigns allowed me to evaluate the shift in the approach they took. Additionally, I analyzed statistics provided by Idescat (Institut d’Estadistica de Catalunya) through which I discussed the changes in language use over a span of time. Another key component in assessing Catalan were the ideologies that surround it and I was able to accomplish this by reviewing YouTube comments of the campaigns. Upon conducting my research and analyzing the material, there appears to be discrepancies between the rhetoric and the actual situation; there is a fear for the vitality of the language even though it appears to be a strong language that is institutionalized as SIL International evaluates it (Lewis et al. 2013).1

1 I would like to especially thank Professor Harrison, my thesis advisor for all his support and feedback without which I would not have the thesis I have today, as well as Professor López-Sánchez, who taught "The Politics of Language in the Spanish Speaking World" inspiring my thesis. Additionally, a thank you goes out to all the fellow senior linguistic majors, especially those in the Bryn Mawr Linguistics Hour, who were a constant support throughout the semester. I could not have achieved what I have without the encouragement from my friends (especially Sarah Borjas, as she has been there every step of the way, Darcey Glasser, my partner in crime, and Cindy Columbus, my study buddy) as well as my parents who as cheesy as it may sound, have supported and believed in me.
1. Introduction

While studying abroad in Barcelona during the fall of 2012, I received an email from the Universitat de Barcelona, welcoming international students and professors. I noted it did not start in Castilian\(^2\) or English as I expected, rather it welcomed us first in Catalan, followed by English, only to end the welcome in Castilian. This is one of many examples where which language is emphasized is of key importance. When traveling from Madrid to Barcelona by train, you will hear the conductors first announce the train’s destination information in Catalan, followed by Castilian, and lastly in broken English. Why is it that they chose these three languages in that particular order?

In my thesis I will be exploring the discourse of the language campaigns in Catalonia to increase the use of Catalan. My goal is to understand the underlying motivations of the campaigns, as well as the effectiveness of the campaigns. Assessing the motivations of the campaigns will be undertaken by observing and examining the campaigns, combined with reviewing what experts have to say about the matter. Evaluating comments on YouTube videos as well as analyzing statistics on the use and understanding of Catalan, will allow me to explore language attitudes and ideologies surrounding the language and consequently how these might reflect popular opinion. As a result of these assessments, I will indirectly be able to assess the effectiveness of the campaigns.

Choosing which language to speak is inherently a political decision and a significant act of identity construction, one which people in Catalonia make several times every day. The relationship between identity and language is powerful and plays a key role in the independence movement that Catalonia is currently experiencing. As Bourdieu (1991: 48) discusses, language

\(^2\) I use the term Castilian instead of Spanish in order to refer to the language, following the standard usage by Castilian speakers.
Marcoux 3

has symbolic power, which comes with its recognition. It is key to examine and analyze
Catalonia’s language campaigns to increase the use of Catalan and additionally examine the
attitudes and ideologies surrounding the language.

2. General Concepts: Language Ideologies and Attitudes and Communities of Practice

I believe it is important to introduce general concepts at the beginning of the thesis so that
both the author and the readers share a common understanding of the basic concepts. Therefore,
in the following section, the background will be set in terms of language attitudes as well as
ideologies and communities of practice.

2.1 Language Attitudes

Attitudes in general can be defined as “‘a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to
a class of objects’” as Garrett discusses in Bradac et al. (as cited in Llamas, Mullany, and
Stockwell 2007: 116). This definition of attitude can be applied to languages, in that people may
view a language favorably or unfavorably. As Milroy states, people often are under the
assumption that others share similar language attitudes, when in fact this may not be the case
(Llamas, Mullany, and Stockwell 2007: 133). The definition of language attitude that I will be
adopting for this thesis is how favorably people view the language and therefore how the
individual feels about the language on a small scale, such as which language they prefer street
signs to be written in. As we shall see below, language ideologies deal with individual’s
preferences on a larger scale, such as which language to use when delivering material in courses.
Discussing language attitudes and possible explanations, Edwards (2006) comes to the
conclusion that language attitudes are not based on intrinsic differences in languages or aesthetic
differences but rather, they are based on social perceptions. Since language attitudes are based on
social perceptions, “Thus, listening to a given variety acts as a trigger or a stimulus that evokes
attitudes (or prejudices, or stereotypes) about the community to which the speaker is thought to belong” (Edwards 2006: 326).

2.2 Language Vitality and Standardization

Two factors which are important in language perceptions as just described are vitality and standardization (Edwards 2006). As UNESCO defines vitality, it assesses the language situation and examines the potential state of endangerment of a specific language (Brenzinger et al. 2003). It should be noted that this is not a simple process and is connected to standardization. Standardization is a process through which a language is consciously made the norm (Bourdieu 1991: 46). Since a language is made the norm and chosen over another, standardization is associated with social dominance, hence social status and solidarity are key to vitality (Edwards, 2006).

This is crucial for any language campaign, since in order to change an attitude, one would need to change social perceptions. As we shall see, the rhetoric of the campaigns has evolved, alluding to the change in how they want to frame the campaign and in their hopes this will inevitably change how people perceive the Catalan language, and consequently change their language attitudes and ideologies. It would seem that making a language appear fun and enjoyable would garner positive attitudes and ideologies in turn encouraging speakers to use the language more often. This is the case with one of the later language campaigns, “Pass on Catalan”, to be discussed below. However, there is a serious tone to one of the earlier campaigns, *La Norma*, discussed later, in which speakers fear making mistakes in the language because of the repercussions, causing negative language attitudes and ideologies, and not encouraging the use of Catalan as much as a campaign promoting a fun experience may.
2.3 Language Ideologies

A general definition of ideology is that it refers “to the beliefs that individuals or groups have about the world” (Llamas, Mullany, and Stockwell 2007: 216). This can be applied to language and in this sense, Dyer comments how “These ideological stances can provide a means of making sense of the indexicality inherent in language, i.e. how language forms index speakers’ social identities” (Llamas, Mullany, and Stockwell 2007: 107). With this in mind, the definition of language ideology that I will be using for this thesis is how an individual feels about the language on a large scale, such as their opinions on which language the government should use to publish laws in. Language ideologies play out in language, text, and speech communities differently, “This meta-pragmatic, indexical layer of semiotic systems such as language is not neutral; it is evaluative, relational, socially positioned, invested with interests and subject to contestation and dominance” (Blommaert 2006: 511). With this perspective in mind, language is viewed as something that can be dominated, and, “…language is seen as a manipulable, bounded artifact consisting of (grammatical) ‘structures’ with a clear function, denotation” (Blommaert 2006: 512). As Blommaert (2006) discusses, indexicality is at the core of ideologies. Indexicality has not been clearly defined by many experts in the field, however, Dyer discusses how “Silverstein (1992: 316) refers to…” first-order-indexicality as “a direct correlation between a linguistic feature and a social characteristic” (Llamas, Mullany, and Stockwell 2007: 106). The definition of indexicality that I will be using in my thesis is very similar, and refers to the social information that the listener gathers about the speaker by hearing them speak. The manner in which someone speaks can inform the speaker of social factors such as age, gender, social class, among many others and it is this information that is being indexed. For example, if someone is
speaking Castilian with a Catalan accent, the listener understands that the speaker is Catalan. Additionally, this index of Catalan may play into the ideology of language pride.

2.4 Communities: Communities of Practice and Speech Communities

When discussing communities, there exist two leading theories accounting for their nature: communities of practice (CoP) and speech communities. As defined by Eckert (2006), “The speech community perspective views heterogeneity as based in a geographically defined population, and structured by broad and fundamental social categories, particularly class, gender, age, race and ethnicity” (2). Therefore, the speech community will have a “typical” speaker (Eckert 2006). On the other hand, the community of practice is more flexible in the sense that it can account for social and linguistic change (Eckert 2006). As noted by Eckert (2006), “Participants in a community of practice collaborate in placing themselves as a group with respect to the world around them” and two important aspects are “shared experience over time, and a commitment to shared understanding” (1).

Since communities of practice accounts for social and linguistic change, making it flexible as well as incorporating a sense of identity, I will use the term and concept of communities of practice rather than speech communities in my thesis.

3. History of Catalonia

Catalonia is an autonomous community of Spain, located in the northeast, as can be seen from figure 1 below, where Castilian and Catalan are both official languages (Strubell 2011: 121):
For the purpose of this thesis, in part due to its length and to simplify matters, I will not be discussing locations outside of Catalonia such as Valencia and the Baeric Islands where there have also been campaigns to increase the use of Catalan. The issue would cause difficulties in the analysis of the situation in these other parts of Spain since they have different ideologies and attitudes towards the Catalan language. Therefore, I will be focusing on Catalonia and its community’s language campaigns and ideologies.

The history of Catalan is long and complicated; it has experienced various levels of acceptance and prestige over the centuries. Strubell (2011), discusses this history and notes that the first written documents in Catalan are from the eleventh century. This trend of writing in Catalan continues and in 1276, Jaume I declared that official business documents that dealt with the realm, that were previously written in Latin had to be written in Catalan (Strubell 2011).
Skipping forward several centuries, to the 1800s, there was the *Reneixença* which means the Rebirth, during which Catalan experienced new prestige, as Miguel Siguan states “‘...a literary renaissance took place in Catalonia accompanied by the development of community awareness which, spurred on by the new middle classes that had emerged from the process of industrialization, turned into a nationalist political movement seeking self-rule’” (as cited in Strubell 2011:128). In the twentieth century there were various works published to standardize the language. This included the *Lletra de Convit* which was a ten-volume dictionary of the Catalan language compiled from contributors’ submissions by Antoni-Maria Alcover in 1901, as well as publications by Popeu Fabra to standardize the language, grammar, and spelling of Catalan (Strubell 2011). Enric Prat de la Riba was another notable historical figure that played a crucial role in standardizing the Catalan language. He led *Solidaritat Catalana*, a unitary political movement, and founded *Institut d’Estudis Catalans* and *Secció Filològica* all of which were important in the standardization of grammar and spelling (Strubell 2011).

We see that the prestige of the Catalan language begins to change under the dictatorships of the twentieth century. During General Primo de Rivera’s regime, which lasted from 1923 until 1930, one sees the repression of the use of Catalan in public domains, which occurs again under Franco’s dictatorship as well (Strubell 2011). However, in between the two dictatorships, during the Second Spanish Republic, the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, the Autonomous Government of Catalonia was re-established, during which Catalan culture thrived (Strubell 2011). However, this is short-lived, as Francisco Franco’s dictatorship from 1936 until 1975 repressed the Catalan language and culture once more (Strubell 2011). During Franco’s dictatorship, Catalan was not allowed in public domains as was evidenced with the removal of street signs that were in Catalan, as well as the fact that shops had to replace their signs so that they were in Castilian (Strubell
2011). As Catalan was prohibited in the public sphere, such as in schools, teachers could be fired for speaking to students in Catalan (Strubell 2011). Those who spoke Catalan had to do so in the privacy of their homes. As has been noted, during the dictatorship of Franco, there were very strict implementations forbidding the use of Catalan in public spheres.

With the passage of time, during Franco’s dictatorship, they began to relax the rules and the “dialects”, i.e. the non-Castilian languages like Catalan, could be used in “less ‘serious’ activities” in Spain (Mar-Molinero 2000: 85). In the 1960s, international and national news were delivered in Castilian and the local news was provided in Catalan as it was considered “less ‘serious’” (Mar-Molinero 2000: 85). As Strubell (2011) explains, with the death of Franco in 1975 and with the 1978 Spanish Constitution, Castilian and Catalan became co-official. With this, “The objective of the use of Catalan becoming ‘normal’ explains the term used to describe the process as one of ‘normalization’” (Strubell 2011: 131). The issue of languages is outlined in the third article of the Spanish Constitution as discussed in Crameri (2008) below:

1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
2. The other Spanish languages will also be official in their respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their Statutes.
3. The richness of the different linguistic varieties of Spain is a cultural heritage that will be accorded special respect and protection. (50)

The issue of language, specifically Castilian and Catalan is additionally addressed in the 1979 Catalan Statue of Autonomy:

1. Catalonia’s own language [llengua pròpia] is Catalan.
2. Catalan is Catalonia’s official language, as is Castilian, which is official in the whole of the Spanish State.
3. The Generalitat will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, take the necessary measures to ensure that they are known, and create the right conditions for them to become fully equal in terms of the Rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia (Crameri 2008: 51).
In reading the 1979 Catalan Statue of Autonomy, it should be noted that they stress the importance of the Catalan language, arguing that Catalan is Catalonia’s own language and they even mention Catalan’s official status before that of Castilian. Here we can see Blommaert’s (2006) concept of language ideologies come into play with the fact that Catalan is their own language, making it an item that is malleable and can be dominated and commanded. The order in which they discuss Catalan before Castilian strongly hints at the emphasis they place on Catalan and its importance to the region.

This historical background from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries sets the stage for the language policies that proceeded and consequently the language campaigns that were implemented in Catalonia to increase the use of Catalan.

4. Language Policies

With this change in government policies and an increase in the prestige of the language, several laws were put into effect in Catalonia. The 1983 Catalan Normalization Law (Llei de Normalizació Lingüística) states that,

...knowledge of the language must spread throughout the whole of Catalan society, to all citizens regardless of the language they normally speak, within a global framework in which everyone will accept the use of both languages and recognize and contribute to the recovery of Catalan as one of the fundamental aspects of the reconstruction of Catalonia. (Generalitat, 1983; English version) (as cited in Mar-Molinero 2000: 93).

As we can see from the quote, it appears that there is a governmental effort to increase the use of Catalan in society and to help the language “recover”. This metaphor evokes an image of helping a language that has been hurt and rallies the crowd to help the language return to its “normal state”. Crameri (2008) notes that this linguistics normalization act attempted to establish Catalan as the dominant language in specific environments. She also noted that many Catalans supported this law, and promoted the Catalan language in public administration as well as in schools.
The Linguistic Policy Act (Llei de Política Lingüística) that went into effect in 1998 built upon the 1983 policy and added to it, specifying further environments in which Catalan should be used, such as in the media, education, companies, and public administration. This was quite controversial, as indicated by a poll by La Vanguardia in 1998, which found that 31.5 percent were against it while 51.8 percent were for it (Crameri 2008: 57).

These language policies encouraged the use of Catalan in Catalonia, where it was repressed during certain periods. However, as Mar-Molinero (2000) points out, with the increase in non-Catalan working class immigrants, the Catalan hegemony has been challenged, complicating the situation for those who are trying to increase the use of Catalan.

Süselbeck (2008) discusses the relationship between language, identity and nation as it appears in Catalonia and in dealing with these issues illustrates how Catalan politicians and linguists view each matter. This helps the reader to understand the political and linguistic background from which these campaigns have arisen, giving insight to the different views when we analyze language attitudes and ideologies. Süselbeck (2008) sets the stage by describing the dogma of homogeneity, in which societies like to keep things homogenous since it is less problematic than plurilingual societies where issues associated with multiple languages may arise. As Foley (1997) describes the potential problems of plurilingual societies, “Once a particular local language has been chosen as the official national language, this internal variation is seen as problematic: what forms are to be used in official government documents, newspapers, radio and television, and school textbooks?” (411-412). UNESCO’s article on “Language Vitality and Endangerment” also mentions that there is a general perception that with multiple languages there is a threat to national unity because there will be divisiveness (Brenzinger et al. 2003).
Keeping this in mind Süselbeck (2008) discusses Catalan politicians’ and linguists’ views on the situation. As Süselbeck (2008) notes, in regards to the goal of “linguist[ic] normalization” the politicians, Pujol and the linguists viewed the situation differently. While the linguists tended to have a more radical position, where they believed in a monoglossic situation of Catalan, Pujol was looking more at the goal of equal bilingualism (Süselbeck 2008). It is important to keep these views in mind while examining the language campaigns, so that we consider the goals of both the Autonomous Government of Catalonia and the politicians. Is there a move towards a monoglossic situation where Catalan is spoken in many more situations and environments than Castilian, or is there an attempt to create an equal bilingualism and “recover” Catalan after its repression during the dictatorships?

5. Language Campaigns and Ideologies Behind Them

5.1 Authenticity and Anonymity

When analyzing the major campaigns that Catalonia held to increase the use of Catalan, it is key to bear in mind the underlying ideologies. As Woolard (2005) discusses in “Language and Identity Choice in Catalonia: The Interplay of Contrasting Ideologies of Linguistic Authority”, there are two main ideologies, that of authenticity and anonymity. As Woolard (2005) defines authenticity, it “locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community…a speech variety must be perceived as deeply rooted in social and geographical territory in order to have value” (2). As Woolard (2005) discusses Michael Silverstein and social indexicality in regards to minority languages, there is an emphasis on the tie to the local, because of the accent, allowing listeners to connect the speaker to a certain region (5). As Süselbeck discusses, the terminology “llengua pròpia” in the official documents concerning language policies, delineates Catalan “…as private and particular” and therefore is playing into the ideology of authenticity
(as cited in Woolard 2005: 3). As Woolard (2005) stresses, in order for subordinate languages to survive, it is often key that the ideology of authenticity plays a role.

Another ideology that is key is that of anonymity, meaning that the language is an “unmarked standard public language” that can be “used equally by everyone” (Woolard 2005: 5). When a language is anonymous, and it is unmarked, it does not belong to anyone, making it a public language (Woolard 2005). Essentially, the ideologies of authenticity and anonymity are opposites of each other; the authentic language has indexicality and has a tie to a specific community, whereas an anonymous language belongs to no one and becomes a public language. Catalan runs into a paradoxical situation as Woolard (2005) describes, since as there is a move towards anonymity, at the same time there is a loss of authenticity, which is what ties Catalan to Catalonia, “As a rare threatened minority language that makes a bid not just for survival but to become a principal public language, Catalan is indeed in a paradoxical position” (17). Woolard (2005) mentions that Angel López García claims that Catalan cannot be anonymous, however, Sinner and Wieland discuss that the normalization campaigns attempt to make Catalan anonymous and stress the paradoxical situation (as cited in Woolard 2005). On the other hand, Bourdieu disagrees with the concept of anonymity and instead argues that it is in fact “misrecognition” in which “…listeners recognize the authority of a dominant language, but fail to recognize the historical developments and material power difference between social groups that underpin that authority” (as cited in Woolard 2005: 7). As Woolard discusses Bourdieu’s argument of misrecognition, the language does not belong to everybody, but instead belongs to certain people more than it belongs to others (as cited in Woolard 2005).
5.2 *La Norma, 1981*

One of the first language campaigns that I will be discussing in this thesis is one involving a fictional character named Norma which began in 1981, even before the language policies discussed above were in place (Boix-Fuster, Melià, and Montoya 2011). Woolard (2005) argues that the ideology of authenticity plays into this campaign and describes the young girl, Norma, the mascot of the campaign, as “a slightly priggish young girl who admonished people about their linguistic habits and whose very name oriented speakers to normativity” (Woolard 2005: 24). It is quite interesting to note the differences in descriptions of the same campaign, as the *Llibre Blanc* presents Norma as a “likeable, affable young lass” who approaches people in a “friendly, non-confrontational form” (as cited in Boix-Fuster et al. 2011: 156-157). These two descriptions differ significantly and it is key to keep in mind that the authors come from different backgrounds and have different investments in the campaign. The slogan of *La Norma* campaign is ‘Catalan belongs to everyone’ and the goal of the campaign was to move towards a “sociolinguistic normality” in which “all the inhabitants of Catalonia would understand and use Catalan, irrespective of their mother tongue” (*Llibre Blanc*…1982: 17) (as cited in Boix-Fuster et al. 2011: 156).

As we can see from footage of the campaign itself, this young girl Norma comes off as a know-it-all who is constantly reminding the speaker of the correct use of Catalan. In the campaign, she not only confronts kids her own age, but also adults in various situations, from a worker at the Picasso museum to the plumber working on the sink in her house (Llengua Catalana 2012). In one episode, Norma even questions her friend’s use of the Castilian word for ‘cake’ and ‘tray’ in a Catalan sentence but goes on to say that she will forgive her today because it is her birthday; “Pastel? Bandeja? Neus, avui te perdono perquè és teu aniversari” (Llengua
As she repeats the Castilian words for ‘cake’ and ‘tray’, *pastel* and *bandeja* respectively, Norma’s intonation rises incredulously, reflecting the shock that Norma feels when her friend uses the Castilian terms instead of their correct Catalan counterparts. It is interesting to note that Norma scolds her friend by wagging her finger, making the point that it is shameful to use Catalan incorrectly, however, she does not inform her of the correct Catalan terminology. This is counterproductive, because when learning a language it is normal to make mistakes, and instead of making her friend enjoy speaking Catalan, she may feel guilty and fearful of using incorrect Catalan. This reprimanding action by Norma can be seen in figure 2 below:

Figure 2. Norma scolding her friend’s incorrect use of Catalan.

The campaign includes vignettes with various people, and one scene even includes an elephant that understands Catalan. Norma and her friends visit the zoo and they realize that the elephant understands Catalan and Norma proves this by giving the elephant commands in Catalan, which it successfully follows (Llengua Catalana 2012). This really takes the campaign slogan, “Catalan belongs to everyone” to an entirely new level where not only people understand Catalan, but animals understand it as well.

*La Norma* campaign was presented to the public in newspapers, short films, as well as magazines (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011). An aspect of the campaign was specifically aimed at
Castilians, another at Catalans and a third at both (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011). In regards to the Castilians, the campaign “encouraged Castilians to accept and demand the ‘bilingual norm’” (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011: 157). For example, in the section targeted at Castilians, they would be encouraged to ask doctors and bartenders to speak to them in Catalan so that they could learn the Catalan language (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011). One of the concerns I have with the example at the doctor’s office is that the Castilians may not fully understand what medical terminology is needed, which could lead to dangerous situations in which medication or other vital information would not be delivered accurately.

Another target group was Catalans themselves, which implemented a tougher tone, and criticized those who were not interested in improving their Catalan (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011). This seems like a slippery slope since making the speakers feel badly about their use of Catalan, is not the best way to encourage them to increase their use of it. The third group that La Norma targeted was both Castilians and Catalans. In this subsection of the campaign, the emphasis was on correctly speaking the Catalan language as we saw from the example of Norma and her friend above (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011).

As Boix-Fuster et al. (2011) note, the main incentive of the campaign “…was the need for a common identity for both Catalans and Castilians, both ethnically and linguistically” (158). Therefore, in the campaign we see that both Castilians and Catalans are encouraged to use Catalan, and to use it correctly. However, as Boix-Fuster et al. (2011) note, there were many limitations to the campaign, especially as it did not reach many Castilian sectors. In the opinion of Boix-Fuster et al. (2011), they believed that the campaign would have been more successful if there were instrumental motivation and utilitarian incentives involved.
As will be discussed later in the paper, the tone and ideologies behind the campaigns changed and the first campaign of *La Norma* beginning in 1981 is significantly different from following campaigns. The tone of the campaigns as well as the way they approach encouraging people to increase their use of Catalan has changed drastically.

### 5.3 The Second Phase of Language Campaigns

The second phase of the language campaigns began in 1995 and included ‘You are a teacher’ and ‘You are a winner’ in 2003, *La Queta* “Wind up Catalan” in 2005, as well as *Encomana el català* “Pass on Catalan” (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011). I will be focusing on “Wind up Catalan” and “Pass on Catalan”.

#### 5.3.1 *La Queta: Dóna corda al català* ‘Wind up Catalan’

One of the next major campaigns in Catalonia was “*La Queta, Dóna corda al català*” also known as ‘Wind Up Catalan’ in 2005 (Woolard 2005). This campaign is very different in style and tone from *La Norma*. It is much more playful and as Woolard (2005) comments, is using playfulness and irony rather than the ideologies of authenticity and anonymity. The mascot for this campaign is a set of wind-up dentures, which is hard to take seriously and is considered anything but authentic by Woolard (2005). According to Woolard (2005), the campaign is targeted at adolescents in order to make Catalan a “modern” language, and one that is “natural” and related to leisure (24). The target audience as Pia Bosch comments is everyone, however the focus is placed on those who are 24 and 25-years-old, since they decide which language to raise their children in (as cited in Boix-Fuster et al. 2011). This is key, because by convincing this age group to use Catalan, they are influencing the next generation and, hopefully, the generations to follow as well. This campaign was hoping to change the tendency where Catalans switch to Castilian (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011).
As mentioned, this campaign had a large audience, but it shall be noted that part of the campaign is aimed specifically at Catalan speakers, especially “To begin with, speak in Catalan!” since they want to give others the opportunity to speak Catalan, with the assumption that they will understand when they speak in Catalan (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011: 167). Additionally, “Speak freely” encourages those who cannot speak the language to try and make the effort “Because it’s your right” (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011: 167).

As Boix-Fuster et al. note (2011), at the core of this campaign “Wind up Catalan” “...is the idea that all the world’s societies must ‘wind up’ their languages, everyone must make use of them for them to remain living languages, and Catalan is no exception” (167). As in these language campaigns in Catalonia, there exists this goal to increase language use and it appears that there is an element of fear motivating this campaign, as they want to keep Catalan a living language. The issue of the vitality of the Catalan language will be addressed later in this thesis.

The video of the campaign consists of a pair of wind-up dentures going around to different groups of people encouraging them to speak Catalan, and if they make a mistake, to keep trying (BoigPerTu1987 2007). In the campaign, we even see the set of wind up dentures getting knocked down by a tennis ball while it is crossing a tennis court, however, this does not deter it from getting up and trying again (BoigPerTu1987 2007). This message of persistence is also expressed in the slogan of the campaign spoken by the set of dentures’ in a non-native Catalan accent, “Speak without shame, speak with freedom, and for a start, speak Catalan” (Woolard 2005: 23-24).

This is a drastic shift from La Norma campaign in which the emphasis was on speaking the language correctly, whereas in this campaign the specific message is to “speak without shame” and to not worry about making mistakes, since the most important step is to start by
speaking in Catalan. As part of the promotion of the “Wind up Catalan” campaign, they even have the Barcelona soccer team, FC Barcelona reciting the slogan of the campaign in their non-Catalan accents to emphasize that the primary goal is to speak in Catalan, saying it is okay to make mistakes as long as you try (BoiPerTu1987 2007). In figure 3 below, we see the mascot for the “Wind up Catalan” campaign posing with the players from the FC Barcelona team (“Avancem amb el català. 30 anys treballant per la llengua”).

Figure 3. The “Wind up Catalan” mascot with FC Barcelona players.

This shift in tone and seriousness is also evidenced by the fact that the set of wind up dentures taught the audience how to insult others in Catalan (Woolard 2005). One could not imagine Norma, the mascot of La Norma campaign who is correcting people’s language to ever teach these same insults.

While Woolard (2005) believes that “Wind up Catalan” does not play into the ideologies of anonymity and authenticity, Boix-Fuster et al. (2011), view the matter differently. As they claim, the goal of the campaign is for Catalan to become an anonymous campaign as can be seen in the assessment of the campaign by Informe, “This is a popular campaign that must be acceptable to everyone...The campaign must be able to involve everyone, be popular and fun and, therefore, does not have the strict image of an institutional campaign” (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011: 168). I would argue that the campaign is in fact attempting to make the language more anonymous, as it is encouraging everyone to speak the language even if they make mistakes,
making it as widespread and as public a language as possible. However, since there is still clearly a non-native Catalan accent as Woolard (2005) describes, the voice of the set of dentures, it appears that the language cannot yet be defined as anonymous in Woolard’s terms (2005). It appears to be authentic since the language still has these ties to a specific location as indicated by the clear distinction between the native Catalan and non-native accent implying that there is a more native way to produce the language.

5.3.2 Encomana el català ‘Pass on Catalan’

Encomana el català “Pass on Catalan” is a campaign that carries many of the same messages as the ‘Wind up Catalan’ campaign. This campaign encourages everyone to use Catalan in all environments. As they say in the campaign “…everywhere with everybody, the first word in Catalan. It’s easy. Pass on Catalan” (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011: 169). Whether it is at the baker’s, your friend Joan’s café, or at work, they encourage the audience to speak Catalan (16 Encomana el català 2009). Underlying the campaign is the premise that Catalan is an easy language to learn and one that everyone can speak (Boix-Fuster et al. 2011: 169).

Watching the campaign video, it appears to be a musical; the actors are singing the campaign while dancing around the town. They are doing splits in mid-air as synchronized waiters offer a customer the menu, encouraging her to speak in Catalan as seen in figure 4 below (16 Encomana el català 2009).
Additionally, it seems that this campaign targets immigrants, who may not know much Catalan. The video depicts a diverse ethnic group as well as a variety of people in different work environments. There are blond women, older women, young men, women wearing head-scarves, all smiling while encouraging the viewers to “Pass on Catalan” (16 Encomana el català 2009).

There is a parody video of the “Pass on Catalan” campaign from the program Polònia from the Catalan television channel Tv3. In the parody clip, a customer arrives at a restaurant and orders in Catalan, however, the waiter does not understand and says ‘excuse me’ (Tv3 2009). The customer then repeats his order and the waiter his response, and we see this lasting overnight, and into the next day as they each become more and more exasperated until finally the customer says his order in Castilian (Tv3 2009). The waiter understands and has to explain that the machine is broken and the customer cannot have his tallat ‘espresso’ at which point we hear canned laughter as the customer dramatically grabs the tablecloth and falls out of his chair onto the floor grabbing his throat (Tv3 2009). The slogan of the parody as found beneath the video states “La primera paraula sempre ha de ser en català. Si no ens entenen a la primera, cal ser perseverant i tenir esperança [the first word always has to be in Catalan and if they don’t understand at first, persevere and have hope].” This parody of the “Pass on Catalan” campaign
emphasizes the importance of speaking the first word in Catalan, as is the case in the “Wind up Catalan” campaign as well.

Jordi Pujol discusses the issue of choosing a language, stating that by being “polite” and switching to Castilian if people are more familiar with the language, they are in fact “denying others the chance of full linguistic and cultural integration into the society in which they live” (as cited in Cramer 2008: 58). Both “Wind up Catalan” as well as “Pass on Catalan” have this prevailing message to speak in Catalan first and to try, even if you are not fluent (BoigPerTu1987 2007; “Encomana El Català” 2009). The point is to speak in Catalan, and this quote highlights the belief that everyone should be speaking in Catalan, so that others are not being denied their linguistic right as well as cultural integration. However, the issue is complicated as both Catalan and Castilian are official in the autonomous community of Catalonia in Spain.

5.4 El Català, llengua per a tothom

In comparison to the language campaigns discussed above, this informational video, El català, llengua per a tothom [Catalan, a language for all], about Catalan takes a different approach. While “Wind up Catalan” and “Pass on Catalan” use music to create a fun and relaxed video campaign to encourage users to speak Catalan, this video emphasizes how far the use and prestige of the Catalan language has come in the past 30 years (“El català, llengua per a tothom” 2013). This video sheds a different light on the Catalan language, emphasizing the large number of Catalan speakers around the world. According to the video, 10 million people speak Catalan and over 5 million people whose mother tongue was not Catalan learned the language (“El català, llengua per a tothom” 2013). SIL International’s Ethnologue estimates the number of Catalan speakers to be slightly over 7 million (Lewis et al. 2013). The Autonomous Government of
Catalonia estimates these numbers differently, claiming that over 13 million people live in regions where Catalan is spoken and over 9 million can speak it while over 11 million can understand it in these regions ("Catalan, Language of Europe": 6). They also state that Catalan is the ninth language in the European Union, after German, French, English, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Dutch and Romanian ("Catalan, Language of Europe": 23). Therefore, we see some discrepancy in the number of Catalan speakers, however, even considering the lowest number, of 7 million by SIL International’s ethnologue, this constitutes almost 1.4 percent of the European Union’s 504 million population (Lewis et al. 2013; “European Population Compared with World Population” 2013). Other sources discuss Catalan as being threatened, however this video decides to frame the language in a different perspective, emphasizing how far the language has come and how much further it will go.

This video appears to present itself as a promotional video, focusing on different people going about their day in the beginning of the video and then has these people reading off statistics about Catalan and how it has grown and become a language of science, culture and of the future ("El català, llengua per a tothom" 2013). It is emphasizing how important Catalan is in the context of Europe and the world. It delves into the past briefly to show the long history, but also focuses on the accomplishments it has made in the past 30 years. The campaign ends with how Catalan is the language of the future and as the title of the video suggests “El català, llengua per a tothom”, it is a language for all ("El català, llengua per a tothom" 2013). This appears to be playing to the ideology that Woolard (2005) described as anonymous, since they want to make it a public language that is not tied to one specific location, i.e. Catalonia. This can be seen by the fact that they are emphasizing the large number of people that speak it around the world as well.
as the growth it has made in the public spheres such as the internet ("El català, llengua per a tothom" 2013) as seen in figure 5 below.

Figure 5. Catalan’s presence on Twitter and television.

They have shown how far the language has come, where it is now, and projecting to the future, how far it can go. A key component of this is the fact that they stress that Catalans are not the only ones using the language, but foreigners are learning the language as well ("El català, llengua per a tothom" 2013).

6. Representations of Language Attitudes and Ideologies

Now that I have investigated several of the language campaigns in detail, let us move forward and discuss the language attitudes and ideologies that surround Catalan. With the campaigns, we know the stance taken by the Autonomous Government of Catalonia from these campaigns, however it is time to investigate what the speakers themselves are saying about the language and how they feel.

6.1 Visual Representation: Word Cloud

In order to analyze the language attitudes and ideologies surrounding the Catalan language, I began by looking at YouTube comments for the language campaigns analyzed and discussed above. To get a general idea of the attitudes, I first processed all 224 YouTube comments (10,516 words) I had for these campaigns ("Wind Up Catalan", "Pass on Catalan", and the parody of "Pass on Catalan") through a word frequency count (visualized as a word cloud below), which allowed me to detect themes and words that were most frequently used in
the comments. In order for the themes to be as salient as possible I removed many function
words. Once these function words were filtered out, several themes stand out, as can be seen in
figure 6 below.

Figure 6. Word cloud of comments from YouTube video.

Examining the word cloud allows us to get a general sense of some of the potential ideologies
that are discussed in each comment thread. For a more accurate depiction of the frequency of the
words in the YouTube comments, I took the top ten most frequently occurring words. I
calculated these by combining the Catalan and Castilian words, such as català, Catalan for
‘Catalan’ and catalán, Castilian for ‘Catalan’ to get a better idea of what everyone was talking
about. Additionally, I excluded the verbs ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ from my count as I felt that they
did not have meaning that I could analyze. Moreover I combined the count for verbs and their
conjugations. With this method of counting, the top ten words in the 224 comments are
illustrated in the table below.

---

3 An example of this was with the verb dir ‘to say’ where I counted conjugations and
variations of the verb such as ‘diguem ‘we say’, dic’ ‘I say’, dit, the participle of dir, diuen
‘they say’, and dient, the gerund of dir among others.
Figure 7. The most commonly found words from the YouTube comments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>català (130)</th>
<th>castellà (92)</th>
<th>parlar (83)</th>
<th>dir (77)</th>
<th>llengua (64)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Catalan’</td>
<td>‘Castilian’</td>
<td>‘to speak’</td>
<td>‘to say’</td>
<td>‘language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalunya (59)</td>
<td>Valenciano (59)</td>
<td>Bcn (45)</td>
<td>Catalans (39)</td>
<td>Crec (36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Catalonia’</td>
<td>‘Valencian’</td>
<td>‘Barcelona’</td>
<td>‘Catalans’</td>
<td>‘I believe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words hint at themes that appear most in the comments section. The two most repeated words were ‘Catalan’ and ‘Castilian’, which makes sense since the discussion in the comments is about the two languages and their use. Word occurrences in this analysis that were additionally noteworthy included canviar (12) ‘to change’, repecte (6) ‘respect’, and demanar (5) ‘to ask/request/demand’. From the word cloud and the salient words mentioned above, we understand that the ideologies, as written in all capital letters, LANGUAGE SWITCHING, ACCOMMODATION, LANGUAGE RIGHTS, and BILINGUALISM play heavily into the discussion, as will be discussed below in more detail. It should be noted that the notion of Catalan and Castilian speakers is frequently discussed in relation to when and with whom Catalan speakers should switch to Castilian, as well as when Castilian speakers should learn Catalan. This separation between catalanoparlant ‘Catalan speaker’ and castellanoparlant ‘Castilian speaker’ is clearly distinguished and a debate on who should be responsible for switching the language they use as well as when speakers should learn Catalan was commonly found in the comments.

For a future frequency count, it would be helpful to have additional data, as in this instance I only analyzed 224 comments. One would expect more variation if there was more data,
and comments that may not be as relevant to the question at hand, such as the discussion on Valencia would appear as a less important theme.

After getting a general idea for common themes from the word cloud and frequency count, I reviewed the 105 comments (6,591 words) from the YouTube video of the parody of ‘Pass on Catalan’ and coded them for key words and ideologies. As we shall see from these comments, the topic of the Catalan language elicits many strong emotional responses. These emotions manifest themselves in heated debates between users with the use of capital letters to emphasize a particular argument or stance as well as the use of punctuation such as exclamation points.

In using this sample, it is important to keep in mind that these comments are not a representative sample since those who are commenting on these videos feel strongly about the issue and are a self-selective group. With additional resources, it would be interesting to get a more diverse sample. Having lived in Barcelona myself for several months, I was able to get a feel for language use and people’s attitudes and ideologies as will be discussed in a later section. It should be noted that language has become a battleground for politics as it plays into the political separatist movement, making it complicated to separate one from the other.

### 6.2 Attitudes and Ideologies Expressed in YouTube Comments

Examining the ideologies concerning Catalan found in the YouTube comments for the parody of the campaign ‘Pass on Catalan’ by the program *Polonia* on the Catalan television station 3, several ideologies seem to appear frequently. Many of these ideologies tend to be covert and therefore I coded all 105 comments for these ideologies. Of the 105 comments, I deemed 49 irrelevant for this analysis since they did not addressed the issue of language and instead discussed other topics such as politics or separatist movements that are not relevant to my
topic. This left 56 comments for analysis. When coding for language ideologies, I counted each
time an ideology was mentioned in a comment, therefore, for each comment I may have coded
anywhere from one to several ideologies. In total, there were 20 different language ideologies of
which, the top five were LANGUAGE SWITCHING (frequency count: 15), LANGUAGE
ACQUISITION (13), IMPOSITION (13), BILINGUALISM (13), and ACCOMODATION (11).
At the core of these ideologies is the argument over who should be switching and
accommodating languages. Should it be the Catalans accommodating to those who do not speak
their language, or is it the place of the individuals going to Catalonia, who should be
accommodating? The discussion surrounding the argument of ACCOMODATION and
LANGUAGE SWITCHING has garnered some heated responses, with more than a few users
commenting that individuals who are coming to Catalonia should be speaking Catalan, because if
they are not, then they are denying those who live in Catalonia their language rights. This is what
the user Marcos Perez Gimenez expresses in his comment “... Si jo vaig a castella parlaré
castellà, per tant qui vingui a catalunya (per exemple) ha de parlar en català a la gent que utilizi
normalment el català, per respecte...” [If I am going to Castille I will speak Castilian therefore
those that come to Catalonia (for example) should speak in Catalan to the people that normally
use Catalan, out of respect]” (Tv3 2009). Other users such as Pellapoison who is in favor of
bilingualism expresses similar ideas and argues that if someone is going to work in Catalonia
they should “conform” and learn Catalan (Tv3 2009). With both users, we see that they discuss
LANGUAGE SWITCHING and ACCOMODATION. Roger Battle has a similar view about
people moving to Catalonia and learning to speak Catalan, however he also notes that if there are
people vacationing “ES DE SIMPLE LÓGICA HUMANA HABLARLE EN CASTELLANO [It
is simple human logic to speak to them in Castilian]” since they will not understand (Tv3 2009).
Other ideologies that came up in the comments for the parody of the campaign ‘Pass on Catalan’ included PRIDE (10), LANGUAGE VALUE (6), FLUENCY (3), as well as IDENTITY (3). Not only is it imperative that the content of the comments be studied, but additionally, what language the comments are written in, since this will divulge additional information. In this specific comment thread, we see that of the 105 comments, 78 are in Catalan, 23 in Castilian, and 4 of them are a combination of Catalan and Castilian, although of the four comments that combine Catalan and Castilian, three of them are mostly in Catalan with a couple words in Castilian, while only one of them has an even mix of Catalan and Castilian. These statistics may appear skewed towards Catalan because I counted the language each comment was in, rather than the users and which language they use. For example, in the most recent comments, there was an argument between two users and they both commented in Catalan, increasing the count of comments in Catalan. Therefore, reexamining the data by looking at the language chosen by each user, we see a different picture; there are 30 users in the thread and 18 of them only use Catalan, 8 only use Castilian, 3 change depending on who they are responding to and what language that user used, and 2 users combined Catalan and Castilian. Of these two users that combined Catalan and Castilian; one wrote completely in Catalan except for a Castilian word, while the other user, switched languages halfway through his paragraph-long comment. One of the users, I placed in two categories, that of Catalan and that of combining Catalan and Castilian. What interested me the most were the three users that commented in the language of the individual to whom they were replying as this truly exemplifies the ideology of ACCOMODATION.
6.3 Accommodation: The Bigger Picture

Individuals who take the time to comment on videos are a self-selective group and likely are strongly opinionated and may not be representative of the population being studied; people living in Catalonia. To give us a better idea of a more general view, specifically of accommodation, we can look at statistics from the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, and the survey they conducted through Idescat (Institut d’Estadística de Catalunya) and the information gathered on accommodation and language switching in a conversation. One of the questions in the survey asked how participants would continue the conversation if they began the conversation in Catalan and the other speaker responded in Castilian (Spain 2009: 112).

Examining the figures, we see that 12.2 percent would continue speaking in Catalan, 76.7 percent would accommodate and continue the conversation in Castilian, while 1.7 percent would ask if they could speak in Catalan, and 6.3 percent would never address someone in Catalan (Spain 2009:112). While some of the YouTube users indicated in their comments that they want to speak in Catalan because it is their land, the statistics gathered here indicate a different picture, in which the speaker is willing to accommodate to Castilian 76.7 percent of the time (Spain 2009: 112).

The Idescat survey also asked the individual about the reverse situation; how would they continue the conversation if they addressed the other speaker in Castilian and were responded to in Catalan. It should be noted that 10.1 percent of the sample answered that they would continue in Castilian, while 79.5 percent would continue in Catalan, and 6.8 percent said that they would never begin the conversation in Castilian (Spain 2009: 115). This data suggests that close to 80 percent of the sample would continue the conversation in Catalan, accommodating the other speaker (Spain 2009: 115). In both this question and the one discussed above, based on the
answers given by the individuals who participated in the survey it appears that at least three-fourths of individuals say they are willing to accommodate, whether it be Catalan or Castilian. This is interesting because the YouTube users’ comments indicated that they would not be as likely to accommodate, however as discussed above, these users are self-selective and may not represent a common view held by many.

7. Identity and Language

The relationship between identity and language can be explored through many different lenses. The role of language is stressed in Anderson’s “imagined communities” where the speakers see themselves as a bounded community, based on their willed association, of institutionalized rights and duties…” (as cited in Foley 1997: 399) and creating “particular solidarities” (as cited in May 2008: 131). As Anderson himself discusses, print-languages played a crucial part in establishing national consciousness, since it “unified fields of exchange and communication”, “gave a new fixity to language” and “created languages-of-power” (Anderson 1991: 44-5). The function that language has in connection with nationalism is important, as Foley (1997) discusses that since Herder and the Romantic beliefs, “…language was seen as the most fundamental expression of the soul of a people and thus clearly linked to the budding of nationalist ideologies…” (402). Foley (1997) continues to discuss how a standard national language is important in creating a common identity for the people. This is a common concept in which Edwards (2006) agrees, in that language serves as a “bonding agent” and that it helps to reinforce group identity (328). With these theories in mind we can see the reoccurring theme of language and identity being tied together to create a close relationship that helps in forming bonds.
As we have seen, language is a key component in the discussion of identity and this is the case with Catalan as well. This can be seen in the quote from Süsselbeck (2008), “no es possible ser catalán sin hablar la lengua catalana [it is not possible to be Catalan without speaking the Catalan language]” (176). However it should be noted that this argument has been rejected by some, yet seems to play a large role in Catalan politics. As politician Almirall “…identifies the Catalan language as the most prominent characteristic of being Catalan, which marks the language as one of the principle ‘core values’ of Catalan nationalism (Conversi, 1990, 1997)” (as cited in Mar-Molinero 2000: 44). Moreover, the politician Pujol emphasizes the key role that language plays in “‘our identity as a country’…” (cited in Giubermat, 1997: 101)” (as cited in May 2008: 245). However, it may be noted that Woolard (2005) comments that as Catalan has become more publically accessible, Catalan is considered to “…be the normal public form of discourse rather than a private ethnic marker” (19). Woolard (2005) discusses how Larreula and Branchadell note that young people have become indifferent to language choice, and they do not care whether they speak Catalan or Castilian. Branchadell worries about this language indifference, since as he sees it, if the young people do not care enough about Catalan, then it is one of the “signs that Catalan will die” (as cited in Woolard 2005: 22). Along the same lines of being indifferent about language choice, according to a survey conducted in 1982 “Catalans self-identify most often as ‘equally Catalan and Spanish’ (Stepan 1998), seeing no necessary contradiction between the two forms of identity…” (May 2008: 246). Looking at statistics on language knowledge and use in different age groups and settings should shed some light on the general trend of the use of the Catalan language and how the language campaigns discussed above come into play.
8. Analyzing the Use of Language in Catalonia via Statistics

Examining surveys on language use may give us an idea of how the language situation may or may not have changed due to the impact of the language campaigns. As a general overview, Crameri (2008) discusses competence in Catalan with data from 1981, 1991 and 2001. As the data indicates, competence in understanding, speaking, and writing Catalan increased over these years (Crameri 2008). Understanding of Catalan increased from 74 percent in 1981, to 89 percent in 1991, to 95 percent in 2001 (Crameri 2008: 57). This shows a 21 percent increase in the understanding of Catalan, however, we should be wary since the statistics were gathered from different sources. The competence of speaking Catalan also increased, from 53 percent in 1981, to 71 percent in 1991, to 75 percent in 2001 (Crameri 2008: 57). This also indicates a similar increase of 22 percentage points. The competence for writing Catalan, which was the lowest of the three competencies, had the most increase with 35 percentage points, with 15 percent in 1981, 41 percent in 1991 and 50 percent in 2001 (Crameri 2008: 57). To put things in perspective, in 1978 with a change to the Spanish Constitution, Catalan was declared co-official with Castilian (Strubell 2011). Therefore, looking at statistics from 1981 it is helpful to show where the language competence was at the time soon after being suppressed during Francisco Franco’s dictatorship. With these statistics, we see the competency of Catalan increasing over the years, however as Crameri (2008) mentions, in the 1990s, there was concern that even though competency grew, the use of Catalan did not parallel this growth. The specific concern that Crameri (2008) discusses addresses the issue of how, despite the fact that more people were competent in Catalan, they chose to speak Castilian, which is precisely what the language campaigns were working to decrease. As you may recall, the language campaigns specifically targeted Catalans who were addressing others in Castilian and also addressed the Castilian
speakers and immigrants trying to get them to speak in Catalan. Therefore, in order to get a more complete image of Catalan in Catalonia, it is vital that we examine statistics detailing the use of Catalan.

Surveys conducted by the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, through Idescat provide a wide range of statistics especially comparing language use in 2003 and 2008. However, as with any use of surveys, it is key to examine the wording of the questions so as to make sure that they are not leading the individual to a specific answer. Additionally, there is a tendency for participants to answer how they think the researcher would want them to answer. Therefore, knowing that the survey was conducted by the Autonomous Government of Catalonia may have elicited a different response than if an independent agency conducted the survey. These surveys categorize the statistics by regions in Catalonia, sex, where people were born, as well as by age group. It is of interest to note the breakdown by generation or age group, which consists of the categories of people ages 15 to 29, 30 to 44, 45 to 64, and 65 and above. The surveys ask many questions trying to learn in which environments people use a particular language such as with family, friends, neighbors, small business, large business, with strangers, and when writing personal notes. The statistics from 2003 reporting on language use in various environments is shown below in figure 8 and the translated version can be found in the appendix as figure 1 (Spain 2004: 22).
As you can see, which language people use changes based on the environment, with the orange signifying only speaking Catalan, light orange meaning more Catalan than Castilian, white meaning both, light green as using more Castilian than Catalan, green as only Castilian, and pink indicating other languages (Spain 2004). This gives us an idea that language choice is not static and in fact is flexible and changes based on the environment as well as the people they are surrounded by, potentially indicating a state of stable equilibrium between the two languages.

The survey examines language use and breaks it down into llengua inicial ‘initial language’, referring to the language that the individual first spoke at home and how they were socialized, llengua d’identificació ‘identifying language’ which refers to the language that the individual identifies with, and llengua habitual ‘habitual language’ referring to the language that the individual most commonly uses (Spain 2009). As the authors mention, ‘habitual language’ may correspond with either ‘initial’ or ‘identifying language’ (Spain 2009).
Examining the statistics regarding ‘initial language’, comparing 2003 and 2008, we see that overall Catalan as the ‘initial language’ decreased from 36.2 percent to 31.6 percent and Castilian as the ‘initial language’ also decreased from 56.1 percent to 55.0 percent, indicating a smaller decrease than that of Catalan (Spain 2009: 176). When looking at the statistics collected, the survey divides the answers by age categories as discussed above (Spain 2009: 176). It may be noted that across all age categories, Catalan as the ‘initial language’ decreased from 2003 to 2008 and this is the same for Castilian except for the age category of 65 and older, where more of the individuals in this category identified Castilian as their ‘initial language’ in 2008 than in 2003 (Spain 2009). This can be seen clearly from figure 9 below and the translated version can be found in the appendix as figure 2. It should be noted that this is only part of the chart, and that I excluded the other categories since I am not examining them at this point, however, the percentages add up to 100 across the different age categories.

Figure 9. Statistics on ‘initial language’.

| 9.1.5 Població segons llengua inicial. Catalunya. 2003-2008 | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CATALA | CASTELA | AMBIDOS | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
| Sexe | HOMES | 37.5 | 30.3 | 55.4 | 54.3 | 2.6 | 3.6 | 3.5 | | |
| | DONES | 35.0 | 32.7 | 56.9 | 55.3 | 2.4 | 4.1 | 1.8 | | |
| Grups d’edat | DE 15 a 29 anys | 37.2 | 30.7 | 54.0 | 50.6 | 4.0 | 5.3 | 4.0 | | |
| | DE 30 a 44 anys | 32.1 | 26.9 | 56.7 | 55.7 | 2.6 | 4.2 | 4.2 | | |
| | DE 45 a 64 anys | 32.9 | 31.0 | 59.6 | 58.9 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 1.6 | | |
| | DE 65 anys i més | 45.3 | 40.4 | 48.2 | 53.3 | 1.5 | 2.3 | | | |
| Lloc de naixement | CATALUNYA | 55.8 | 52.1 | 38.5 | 41.3 | 3.8 | 5.9 | | | |
| | RESTA D’ESPANYA | 3.0 | 3.2 | 91.8 | 92.2 | | 1.2 | | | |
| | ESTRANGER | | | 56.6 | 49.0 | | | | 15.3 | |
| Total | 36.2 | 31.6 | 56.1 | 55.0 | 2.5 | 3.8 | | 2.6 | | |
It is important to examine statistics on ‘initial language’ because it is the language that children first learn at home. This allows us to examine the transmission rate of a language from parent to child and can indicate any potential language shift. Ideally an age category for those younger than 15 would be beneficial since we can look at the younger generation and which language they are learning.

Examining the statistics related to ‘identifying language’, comparing 2003 and 2008, we see that overall those identifying with Catalan decreased from 44.3 percent to 31.6 percent and those identifying with Castilian increased from 47.5 percent to 55.0 percent (Spain 2009: 180). When we break this down by age category we see that all age groups have decreased in choosing their ‘identifying language’ as Catalan (Spain 2009: 180). Moreover, all the age categories have decreased in considering Castilian as their ‘identifying language’ expect for the 65 and older age group, which increased slightly from 41.3 percent to 46.1 percent (Spain 2009: 180). This is quite interesting in itself, since as we look at the data we see that this age group tends to have stronger ties to Catalan as compared to other age groups. Those in the 65 and above age group indicate Catalan as their ‘identifying language’ 54.1 percent of the time, which is 12.4 percentage points higher than the lowest age category (Spain 2009: 180). A speculation of mine is that as more immigrants move to the area, individuals are identifying less with Catalan and more with other languages, such as Castilian and Arabic. The data discussed can be seen in figure 10 below and the translated version can be found in the appendix as figure 3:
When considering the situation in Catalonia, it is important to consider the identifying language, since it can indicate the pride that speakers have in the language. As we saw in the section above in analyzing language ideologies in YouTube comments, that of language pride is important.

Examining the statistics in relation to ‘habitual language’, comparing 2003 and 2008, we see that those choosing Catalan as their ‘habitual language’ has decreased from 46.0 percent in 2003 to 35.6 percent in 2008 and those choosing Castilian has decreased as well from 47.2 percent to 45.9 percent (Spain 2009: 184). When breaking this down by age category again, we note that all the age categories have decreased in choosing Catalan and this is the case for Castilian as well, except for the increase in identifying Castilians as the ‘habitual language’ for those in the age category for 65 and older. It should be noted however, that the 65 and older age group is the age group that identifies Catalan as their ‘habitual language’ the most with 45.0 percent compared to 31.5 percent for the 15 to 29 age category, 32.7 percent for the 30 to 44 age category, and 35.8 percent for the 45 to 64 age category (Spain 2009: 184). This places the 65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexe</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dones</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grups d’edat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 15 a 29 anys</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 30 a 44 anys</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 45 a 64 anys</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 65 anys i més</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lloc de naixement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalunya</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resta d’Espanya</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etranger</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marcoux 38
and older age category almost 10 percentage points above the other groups in regards to considering Catalan their 'habitual language.' This can clearly be seen in figure 11 below and the translated version can be found in the appendix as figure 4.

Figure 11. Statistics on 'habitual language'.

9. Statistics and Personal Experience

In my personal experience while studying abroad in Barcelona in the fall of 2012, I clearly noted a difference in language choice by generations. This piqued my curiosity and I decided to ask three of my close friends who were born in Catalonia what language they tend to use, with whom, and in what situations. This question would correspond most closely to the question about 'habitual language' asked in the Idescat survey. The three friends I asked included a 20-year-old male, a 38-year-old male, and a 62-year-old female, each giving me different responses.

When asking my 20-year-old male friend from Girona, located in the northeast of Catalonia about his language use, he told me that he thinks in all three languages, Catalan,
Castilian, and English. He also mentioned that some of his classes at the college are taught in English. As he stated:

I may use more Catalan than Spanish with my friends, but it's also true that I change language depending on the person I'm talking to. For example, a friend of mine is from Valencia, he knows Catalan but since when we met there was a third guy who only spoke Spanish we ended talking Spanish always even if the third one wasn't there. When I go to buy things I use both of them without problem, depending mainly if the waitress or whoever I'm talking to prefers one language or another. However I like Catalan, so when I start a conversation I usually speak Catalan, but if the person I'm talking to has trouble understanding I automatically switch to Spanish.

This exchange with my 20-year-old male friend, reflects what we have explored so far in the thesis with regards to different language choices in different situations. The statement also indicates his preference for Catalan in general and how he feels that his friends also tend to exhibit similar tendencies. We can see that this individual, readily accommodates to the language of the other individual and that he has the tendency to begin speaking in Catalan.

For a different perspective, a 38-year-old male friend from Barcelona responded to my question as well. He identified himself as a Castilian speaker and generally only speaks in Catalan in shops and when he talks with strangers, especially those who are older. He also noted that when he went to school at a time when there was not much Catalan used. His statement specifying that he speaks to those who are older in Catalan is very interesting and makes sense based on the statistics that we have examined so far in this paper. As we saw with the statistics for 'initial', 'identifying', and 'habitual language' the individuals over 65 were the age category that identified Catalan the most in these three categories, in each instance they did so ten points more than the age category identifying Catalan the least in each instance (Spain 2009). Therefore, it makes sense that he makes the special effort to speak in Catalan to those who are older. His comment shows that he is willing to accommodate as well.
In response to my question, my host mother in Barcelona, a 62-year-old woman answered “Utilizo el catalán por regla general siempre: en casa, en tiendas, con mis maigas en mis clases etc. Únicamente cuando el interlocutor es castellano cambio, por ejemplo con Julia o con clientes del banco que no entendían el catalán [I always use Catalan as a rule; at home, in stores, with my friends, in my classes, etc. Only when the speaker is Castilian do I change, for example with Julia or clients at the bank who don’t understand Catalan]”. This response indicates the speaker’s language preference as Catalan and her usage of the language. It also highlights her willingness to accommodate others who do not speak Catalan, as she did in this Castilian email to me. While in some of the YouTube comments it seemed like the users were averse to accommodating the speakers, based on the statistics analyzed above and the anecdotes just discussed, it appears that in practice people are willing to accommodate if they realize that they are not being understood.

10. Vitality of Catalan

There have been concerns about the future of Catalan, as seen in general and specifically noted by Larreula and Branchadell with respect to young people’s disinterest in Catalan (as cited in Woolard 2005). The whole objective of the language campaigns since the 80s has been to increase the use of Catalan with the purpose of “normalization” in mind. UNESCO has several measures to assess the vitality of a language as I shall discuss and the language campaigns explored above work at targeting specific aspects of language vitality as we shall see. The methods of assessment established by UNESCO include: “intergenerational language transmission”, “absolute number of speakers”, “proportion of speakers within the total population”, “trends in existing language domains”, “responses to new domains and media”, “materials for language education and literacy”, “governmental and institutional language
attitudes and policies”, “community members’ attitudes toward their own language” as well as “amount of quality of documentation” (Brenzinger et al. 2003).

With the recent video “El català, llengua per a tothom” from 2013, we see that several of these vitality assessments are indirectly addressed. As mentioned in the examination of the video above, one of the first things that the video states is the number of speakers of Catalan, which they calculate to be ten million across the globe, addressing the evaluation of UNESCO’s “absolute number of speakers” (“El català, llengua per a tothom” 2013; Brenzinger et al. 2003). Moreover, the video hints at the assessment of “intergenerational language transmission” by mentioning that Catalan is spoken in the home with grandparents and children implying that they are transmitting the language across generations (“El català, llengua per a tothom” 2013; Brenzinger et al. 2003).

The video additionally discusses the number of people that are learning Catalan, how the number of speakers has grown in the past 30 years, and how many people are registering for courses to learn Catalan, addressing UNESCO’s “materials for language education and literacy” (“El català, llengua per a tothom” 2013; Brenzinger et al. 2003).

In regards to UNESCO’s vitality assessment for the category of response to new domains and media, Catalan would receive a score of 5 out of 5, meaning that Catalan is used in domains such as the work environment, education and the media (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 12). The video “El català, llengua per a tothom” specifically discusses how Catalan is a language of the future and is widespread on the internet, listing facts about Catalan’s ubiquitous use on Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter, blogs and web pages (“El català, llengua per a tothom” 2013). An example of Catalan’s prevalent use on Twitter and television stations can be seen in figure 4 above. From the analysis of this video in the context of UNESCO’s assessment of language vitality, we can see
that the language campaigns have attempted to increase the use of Catalan, and address many of the measurements to assess the vitality of a language as defined by UNESCO. While one cannot simply add up the scores from the assessments to see how a language is doing, investigating Catalan with this perspective helps to give us an idea of Catalan and its future. Due to the conciseness of this thesis, we have only analyzed a few of UNESCO’s vitality assessment scores, however we shall turn to SIL International’s evaluation of Catalan’s vitality to get a more holistic understanding.

As another measure of Catalan’s vitality, we look to SIL’s ethnologue and their assessment of Catalan. This allows us to put Catalan in perspective with other living languages. As can be seen in figure 12 below, SIL evaluates Catalan vitality based on the number of first language speakers on the vertical axis and on the horizontal axis the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) which is an adapted version of Fisher’s scale (Lewis et al. 2013). Catalan is classified as institutional in regards to EGIDS, as indicated by the purple dot, meaning that “The language has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and the community” (Lewis et al. 2013). This classification, is the highest given in regards to living languages, meaning that Catalan is far from endangered or extinct. In the graph, the strongest and largest languages are located in the upper left while the smallest and weakest are in the bottom right corner (Lewis et al. 2013). As we can see from the image, Catalan is located near the upper left, making it one of the stronger and larger languages based on their classification.
Figure 12. Catalan with respect to other living languages.

The graph helps to place Catalan in perspective with other living languages, illustrating its vitality in comparison to others. As we can see from the combination of analyzing UNESCO’s vitality and endangerment evaluation and SIL’s evaluation of Catalan, it appears that Catalan is not as endangered as some of the rhetoric might suggest, but instead is well institutionalized.

11. Future of Catalan

Taking into consideration the language attitudes and ideologies that we have examined and analyzed in the sections above, my prediction for Catalan is that its use will remain stable as it has over the past few years due to the support of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia as well as its ties to the region and the culture of Catalonia as well as identity as has been discussed.

The statistics by the Autonomous Government of Catalonia through Idescat provide an indication of how often individuals think they will be using Catalan five years from the time of the survey. Interestingly enough, 31.7 percent of the population answered that they will be using it more, 36.1 percent answered that they will be using it the same amount and 20.8 percent answered that they would be using Catalan less (Spain 2009: 198). Therefore, significantly more than the majority are looking to use Catalan the same or more in the next five years (31.7 + 36.1 = 67.8), making its use for the near future appear promising. In regards to the future of Catalan, individuals were also asked if they were interested in learning or improving their Catalan, and
42.2 percent answered that they were interested while 55.6 percent said that they were not interested (Spain 2009: 152). It is intriguing to consider that such a large percentage of people were not interested in improving or learning Catalan. What may be playing into these specific statistics is that many of the respondents can already understand, speak, read, and write Catalan; the statistics are 94.6, 78.3, 81.7, and 61.8 percent respectively (Spain 2009: 201).

This thesis studies only a small part of the language situation of Catalan in Catalonia and there is much more to explore and learn. Some other directions for further research would be an investigation into the generational differences in the use of Catalan. I have only been able to speculate about this due to the constraints of my work. Additionally, another area for further research is the use of Catalan on the internet. As the recent video “El català, llengua per a tothom” from 2013 suggest, Catalan is being used on the internet in many different spheres at great quantity (“El català, llengua per a tothom” 2013). There are many opportunities to learn Catalan one example of which is the website parla.cat supported by the Autonomous Government of Catalalonia.

Catalan is closely interconnected with the political situation in Catalonia and the language argument comes into play in the discussion about separatism, making it hard to separate the issue of language from politics.

12. Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, we have seen that there is a discrepancy between people’s rhetoric and their actual use of Catalan. While we have observed that some are fearful for Catalan’s future, we have also noted that it is not an endangered language and in fact the Autonomous Government of Catalonia has documented its widespread use, counting it as the ninth language in the European Union (“El Català, Llengua per a Tothom.” 2013). We can witness a strong
defensive reaction of the Catalan language from figure 13 below by Lluís Juste de Nin, the cartoonist for the *La Norma* language campaign. In the depiction of Norma in 1982, she is saying that Catalan belongs to everyone and in 2012 there is a shift and she is demanding “No ens toque el català” meaning ‘Don’t touch Catalan’ as she appears angry (“Luis Juste De Nin: ‘Ens Volen Fer Desaparéixer I Haviem De Reaccionar’” 2012).

Figure 13. Norma in 1982 and 2012.

This posture is very defensive of Catalan and plays into the discrepancy between the rhetoric and the actual use of the language. As Strubell (2011) mentioned, “Nevertheless, just as Mark Twain is quoted as saying that ‘the reports of my death are greatly exaggerated’, it is clear that doomsayers, both as regards the imminent disappearance of Catalan and the equally vociferous claim that Spanish will soon become extinct in Catalonia, try to paint in simple terms what is a unique, highly complex and captivating case” (140).

While Catalan was banned at several points in Catalonia’s history, the language campaigns have worked to increase the use of Catalan, and it was deemed strong and large by the SIL in their evaluation of its vitality (Lewis et al. 2013). The language campaigns have worked at increasing the use of Catalan since the 1980s and we can observe an increase in knowledge and use of the language during this time period. As we have noted with the evolution of the language campaigns, there have been changes in their approach to encourage the increased use of Catalan.
The first campaign analyzed was *La Norma*, where a young girl did not tolerate mistakes by children or adults, which is a natural part of language acquisition and development and instead scolded them (Llengua Catalana 2012). As time progressed, the campaigns attempted to make Catalan appear to be a language that is fun for everyone. We see this with the campaign “Wind up Catalan” where the set of dentures encouraged people to speak without shame and “Pass on Catalan” campaign where they sang and danced in order to encourage everyone to try Catalan (BoigPerTu 1987; “16 Encomana El Català” 2009). We see that these later approaches were drastically different from the original campaign, where Norma berates people, and which does not have an encouraging tone nor does it make learning the language fun.

As we can conclude, Catalan is a strong and living language that has increased in use in part thanks to the language campaigns discussed, since the end of Francisco Franco’s regime in which its use was suppressed. Additionally we noted the discrepancy between the rhetoric and the actual situation. While the YouTube comments hinted that people were not as open to accommodating the other speaker, we see from personal anecdotes and statistics that more than three fourths of people are willing to accommodate. However, whichever language speakers decide to use in each environment is inherently an important decision.

A minority language can “…become a symbol of things more important than language even, and that may be our salvation” (Osmond 2013: 1). When speaking of this importance of minority languages, John Osmond (2013) was referring to the Welsh language, although the same could be said of Catalan. The importance of “…every minority language symbolizes the right to think in a different way, to express that difference and to be different and free – to use a phrase of Ivan Illich, ‘a domain on which a certain kind of power cannot trespass’” (as cited in Osmond 2013: 1).
Appendix

Figure 1. Translation of figure 8

*Population According to Linguistic Uses and Contexts of Use*

![Bar chart showing linguistic uses and contexts of use for different groups.]

Figure 2. Translation of figure 9

*Population According to Initial Language. Catalonia. 2003-2008*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Castilian</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 29 year olds</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 44 year olds</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>55.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 64 year olds</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and older</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest of Spain</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>91.8</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abroad</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Figure 3. Translation of figure 10.**


**Sex, Age Groups, and Place of Birth**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 29 year olds</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 44 year olds</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 64 year olds</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and older</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest of Spain</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abroad</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4. Translation of figure 11.**


**Sex, Age Groups, and Place of Birth**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 29 year olds</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 44 year olds</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 64 year olds</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and older</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest of Spain</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abroad</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Works Cited

   <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XlH4ZLSi3YM>.


   <http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/PalauRobert/menuitem.24624ed9d70d41f972623b10b0c0e1a0/?vgnextoid=cd514d1c3781b310VgnVCM2000009b0c1e0aRCRD>.


   <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ETBWgoaMGuY>.


Brenzinger, Matthias, Arienne M. Dwyer, Tjeerd De Graaf, Coletter Grinevald, Michael Krauss, Osashito Miyaoka, Nicholas Ostler, Osamu Sakiyama, María E. Villalón, Akira Y.


<http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/Llengcat/menuitem.b318de7236aed0e7a129d410b0e0e1a0/?vgnextoid=d5349cee4ed43210VgnVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD>.


