

言語的生成物の価値と交換—理論的フレーム
ワークとカタロニア語に関する事例研究—

Value and Exchange of Linguistic Products:
Theoretical Framework and the Case of Catalonia

シモンズ・マーガレット*
Margaret Simmons

要約:

本稿では、言語接触、維持（保持）と交替のダイナミックな状況を5つのポイントにまとめたフレームワークで分析する。そのフレームワークは、広範で多様な科学的、理論的な視点を包括するもので、今後の研究に実用的な方向性を与えるものである。それは、言語の象徴的な価値と言語の交換市場に関する理論（Bourdieu）をベースにししながら、交換の理論（Homans）、言語と社会のネットワーク（Milroy）およびインターグループの関係とグループの独特の特徴（Tajfel）もキー・コンセプトにしている。前半では、そのフレームワークを形成する5つのポイントを詳しく説明し、後半では、それにもとづき、カタロニア語とカスチール語（スペイン語）の接触状況について分析する。

Abstract:

This article views the dynamics of language contact, maintenance and shift in a five point framework in which a wide range of relevant theoretical perspectives can be organized in a way that is useful for theoretical analysis and as a reference for further research. Bourdieu's theory of linguistic markets and language as symbolic capital is the base for this framework; however, exchange theory (Homans), social network theory (Milroy) and intergroup relations/group distinctiveness (Tajfel) are also key concepts. In the first section of the article, the five points of the framework are elaborated; in the second part, the language contact situation of Catalan and Castilian (Spanish) is analyzed in terms of the framework.

Introduction:

Contact of small languages with more powerful dominant languages, along with the associated concerns of maintenance and shift, is a common situation. At the level of language varieties, concerns regarding loss of entire languages and cultures are connected to concerns regarding the loss of diversity in a general sense. At the level of the individual, however, not conforming to use of the dominant language may mean lack of access to socio-economic opportunities and lack of access to information. Individuals wishing to improve their social standing for their own sake and for their children's often become dominant language users regardless of the risk posed to their first language group's vitality. Yet, not all speakers necessarily follow this path. Who will make the

* 助教授

transition, and who will not, is a point of interest in sociolinguistics as the ultimate survival of a language is the collective result of the actions of individual speakers. A closer look at the factors involved in attempting to make the transition shows that the process is not simple and involves many hurdles: as one would expect, there are requirements to enter a new (language) group, but there are also costs involved in leaving the first (language) group.

In their study of maintenance and shift of the L1 (first language) of immigrants to the Netherlands, Jaspaert and Kroon (1991) used a kind of model showing the dynamics and relationships of various social factors affecting language choices by applying three concepts from the work of Bourdieu (1982). The three concepts are: 1) the structure of the dominant linguistic market, 2) the importance of the ethnic or first language market, and 3) the speakers' anticipation of having their linguistic products accepted in the dominant linguistic market.¹⁾ Though Bourdieu's (1982, 1991) explanation of language and symbolic power provides the most general and encompassing framework of language maintenance and shift, several other theories overlap with elaboration on specific aspects of the dynamics of language contact. This article includes the three concepts from Bourdieu as used by Jaspaert and Kroon, but presents a framework of five main points within which many of the relevant theories and perspectives from sociolinguistics, sociology and social psychology can be considered in an overlapping and synergistic sense.

1) **The linguistic market:** This point concerns the definition of the market, the unification of the market by establishing a particular language as dominant, and the values of exchangeable linguistic products as measured against the dominant language (Bourdieu, 1977, 1982, 1991).

2) **Requirements for becoming recognized as a legitimate speaker:** In order for a speaker's language to be heard and to have effect, the speaker may need to meet non-linguistic as well as linguistic qualifications (Austin, 1962, also cited in Bourdieu, 1982, 1991).

3) **The first language market:** Individuals belong to groups which distinguish themselves from other groups (Tajfel, 1974); within groups, individuals have their own social networks (Milroy, 1980), and language may serve as an important symbol of group identity (Fishman, 1977, 1991, Milroy, 1980, 1982, Ryan, 1979). Compliance with group behavior norms, including language, may be associated with benefits, and leaving the group may be associated with loss of such benefits (Milroy, 1980, 1982, Homans, 1952). Interaction with other speakers of the group constitutes a kind of market for the group's language (Bourdieu, 1982, 1991, as applied by Jaspaert and Kroon, 1991).

4) **Anticipation of profits from linguistic behavior:** Individuals assess the degree to which their association with their group contributes to their social identity (Tajfel, 1974), and assess the costs and rewards of current and possible group membership (Homans, 1952). Individuals may or may not attempt a group transition depending on their perception of their ability to be successful, i.e., to have their linguistic products accepted by the new group (Bourdieu, 1982, 1991).

5) **Strategies that speakers use:** Speakers may adopt a number of linguistic behaviors: convergence to the other group's language, active bilingualism, passive bilingualism, modification of one's first language, divergence from the other group's language by maintaining one's first language or choosing another linguistic variety. Language choices are often based in the concepts of solidarity and status (Brown and Gilman, (1968), and may be used to create or to narrow social distance (Bourhis & Giles, 1977, Giles et al., 1977, Giles & Johnson, 1987, Giles & Smith, 1979, Scotton, 1988) or to manage conflict (Scotton, 1976, Heller, 1988a,b).

After an expansion of each of the five concepts, the language contact situation of Catalan and

Castilian is reviewed within the context of this theoretical framework.

1.0 Theoretical Framework:

1.1 The linguistic market:

Because of the natural variation that exists in language, it is possible to distinguish one variety from another and then to assign values to these varieties. The assignment of values is arbitrary, but with time and social interaction between groups, those values may become accepted as though they were natural. That arbitrary values become accepted as 'natural' is an important point in Bourdieu's (1977, 1982, 1991) work and he refers to this as *misrecognition*. In terms of the linguistic varieties in contact with each other, Bourdieu explains the importance of unifying the linguistic market where the various products will be exchanged; this is accomplished when one of the varieties is accepted as being better than the others and speakers of all the varieties recognize (or rather, *misrecognize*) this "better" variety as the legitimate dominant language. This also implies accepting non-dominant varieties as inferior. How one linguistic variety becomes dominant, and more valuable than others, is often linked to the relatively higher socio-economic status of those who speak that variety; the criteria are often non-linguistic characteristics of that group who are often powerful and influential. The market begins to unify when this variety is recognized as dominant. Having a fluent command of this dominant variety is often associated with the attainment of social benefits, and it often becomes the language of government and education.²⁾ It is not necessary for everyone to actually speak the dominant variety³⁾, but it is essential that everyone *misrecognize* it as 'naturally' the most valuable and most important (see Bourdieu, 1991, especially, pp.50-56, 1977, p.652).

Once the market is established and the value of linguistic products determined, and one variety becomes (*mis*) recognized as the legitimate dominant language of the market, speakers of non-dominant varieties often wish to become recognized as legitimate speakers of the dominant variety in order to have access to the associated socio-economic benefits. So, speakers wish to meet requirements or gain qualifications, be these linguistic or other, to become recognized as legitimate speakers of the higher value variety and therefore become able to exchange these higher value linguistic products in the market.

1.2 Requirements for becoming recognized as a legitimate speaker:

I make the supposition that everyone is a legitimate speaker of his/her own L1 (first language or more precisely, first social dialect). Becoming an L1 speaker is for the most part an involuntary event (birth) and process (socialization). So there are generally no requirements *for insiders* to be admitted into the L1 group; though, as will later be discussed, there may be requirements for *staying* in and for *getting out* of the L1 group. On the other hand there are requirements for outsiders to be admitted as members to a group.

Being recognized as a legitimate speaker of an L2 (non-native language or a non-native social dialect) involves requirements of some sort. The necessary qualifications may include such things as formal language learning, attending schools and passing tests, or may be associated with non-linguistic factors such as place of birth, parents ethnic background, length of residence, professional status, social status, etc. Situational factors such as need to speak the L2, obligation to use L2 and desire to use L2 may be involved. There may be degrees of legitimacy in the

process where the L2 speaker is sometimes *recognized* and other cases not.

The idea of *being recognized* as a legitimate speaker (Bourdieu, 1982, 1991, p.69) implies that legitimate status is not necessarily objectively based in the ability of the speaker to use the new language, but is based in the judgement of others as to whether or not the speaker has the necessary qualifications (see Milroy, 1980, pp.92-94). Austin's (1962, also cited in Bourdieu 1982, 1991) explanation of *felicity conditions* for accomplishing performative utterances indicates that the apparent power of language lies in the speaker and the situation which endow the words with effectiveness. Many acts of speaking are not just saying but rather also doing something, i.e., performative sentences -- if they are said by an appropriate person, heard by other appropriate persons in the correct circumstances accompanied by the necessary procedures (Austin, 1962, pp.1-38).

For example, in order for the words, "I now pronounce you man and wife," to actually cause a marriage, the speaker must be a priest or justice official, the event must really be a wedding, and the bride and groom must be present (or proxied) and serious about their decision to marry. For the words, "I baptize you" to be effective, in the usual case, the speaker must be a qualified clergy person, the words must be said in an appropriate place and time, the words would likely be accompanied by pouring water on the recipient and the recipient should be a human -- rather than a penguin or other non-human (Austin, 1962, p.24), and witnesses might be present to believe that the baptism has indeed been effected. The same words said in a different situation, an inappropriate circumstance, by an unqualified person or administered to an unqualified recipient would not be recognized as legitimate and would not accomplish the same action.

There are also less official illocutionary speech acts which ordinary persons (not judges or priests by occupation) can perform such as *promising* (Austin, 1962, p.10), *forbidding or forgiving*; yet these may still involve some belief on the part of the listener that the speaker actually does have the power to accomplish the indicated action. If the listener does not believe the speaker can effect the action indicated by the words, or does not respond appropriately, the speaker's speech act might not be successful (p.22, 36-37).

The decision to speak a language, especially a non-native language, may be considered an implied declaration by the speaker that he/she has membership in the group of native or otherwise rightful speakers of that language (see Woolard & Gahng, 1990, p.327). Just as a non-qualified person would not be recognized as a judge regardless of how well she/he spoke, a speaker who is not recognized as legitimate may not be heard regardless of the linguistic quality of the expression. The problem of being recognized and listened to is not limited to non-native speakers of a language; however, the case of non-native speakers wishing to be recognized as legitimate speakers of another language brings linguistic ability as a kind of criteria for evaluating legitimacy into play.

1.3 The first language market:

Even though many people are not recognized as legitimate speakers of the dominant language, they are legitimate speakers of their own first language i.e., their own first-learned linguistic variety/social dialect. The speaker's L1 group has its own identity and criteria for membership and also has its own *market* where there are various kinds of benefits associated with conforming to the behavior of the group, including the use of the group language to symbolize group

solidarity. The first language group *market* is what Jaspaert and Kroon (1991, referring to Bourdieu, 1982) refer to as the *secondary linguistic market* (in contrast to the dominant linguistic market). Language maintenance and shift largely depends on the continued use of the group L1 with L1 group members. Once bilingualism occurs, if members of this group begin to communicate with each other using an L2, then shift occurs, and the L1 becomes endangered.

How important speakers consider their L1 to be is intertwined with many concepts of group identity and intergroup relations. Individuals are born into a network of relationships that define the individual's social identity, and a person's own group is understood in relationship to other groups. Both knowledge of membership and the emotional significance attached to group membership are important in the individual's social identity (Tajfel, 1974). How group distinctiveness is established is not limited to race or culture; however, ethnicity is a frequent criteria and a closely related factor in cases of language maintenance and shift. Language has long been associated with culture and identity as well as with historical and artistic accomplishments of groups of people. Fishman (1977) discusses ethnicity as an ongoing interaction of paternity and patrimony factors where paternity indicates group origins and group membership and patrimony concerns the expression of membership in the group (p.20). Although many characteristics are symbolic of a particular group, language is the symbol *par excellence*: "Language is the recorder of paternity, the expressor of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed, as precious in and of itself. The link between language and ethnicity is thus one of sanctity-by-association. (p.25)." He also notes that "inter-ethnic communication often raises questions of propriety, of decency, of loyalty, of "crossing-over" (p.21)."

Within the particular L1 group, each individual speaker has a social network consisting of relationships with the people with whom she/he lives, works and socializes, and this network is influential in the individual's language choices. Milroy's (1980) study of three communities in Belfast showed that vernacular language use (compared with more standardized varieties) is linked to the social network ties of the speakers and to the linguistic as well as non-linguistic norms of the group. Although the vernacular was associated with lower socio-economic status, there were also important benefits of solidarity associated with it (Milroy, 1980, p.73). Non use of the vernacular, i.e., the in-group language, might result in some type of ridicule or reprimand (Maclaran, 1976, cited in Milroy, 1980, p.28), so that the use of the vernacular is reinforced by the group norms and possible sanctions as well as by the benefits of solidarity.

Even though non-dominant varieties may not be valued highly in the overall market, these languages may still be used at their lower value. Within the linguistic market of the L1 group, however, non-dominant linguistic varieties may be highly valued by their speakers as symbols of group identity and solidarity and thus carry a kind of prestige within the group (Milroy, 1980, p.19, Ryan, 1979).

The cohesiveness of the group can be considered a kind of value variable in that the more cohesive a group is, the more valuable the exchanges (of sentiment or activities together) that happen between the members (Back, 1950, cited in Homans, 1958, p.599); and, further, very cohesive groups can produce greater changes in the behavior of the members (Schachter, 1951, cited in Homans, 1958, p.599). This is consistent with Milroy's (1980) distinction between *multiplex network* ties and *uniplex network* ties (p.21), where persons with multiplex network ties often have

family, work, neighborhood proximity and social activity links with the same individuals resulting in a very cohesive social network as compared to persons who usually have only one type of relationship with a particular individual resulting in a less cohesive network structure. The value of links in a cohesive multiplex social network might be considered more valuable than uniplex social links; consequently, breaking links in a multiplex network seems to be more costly than breaking links in a uniplex network.

Considering that there are benefits involved in one's own language group, it seems reasonable that exiting that group would be at some cost. Jaspaert and Kroon (1991, p.80) say that "...assimilation to the dominant group in LM1 (and hence a shift toward the normative language in the market) involves language loss for members of the immigrant groups, these members lose the ability to produce legitimate linguistic products in LM2."⁴⁾

1.4 Anticipation of profits from linguistic behavior:

The perceived ability of the individual to both exit, whether temporarily or permanently, his/her own first language group and to gain access to the dominant language (a non-native language) group is addressed by the third concept used by Jaspaert and Kroon (1991, p.81): the anticipation of the acceptability of linguistic products in the dominant linguistic market by members of the immigrant (or non-dominant) group. In the linguistic market, where numerous varieties may be used at their market values, linguistic products by non-dominant language speakers may be the use of their own language or the non-native use of the dominant language, depending on the conditions of the market. If the conditions of the market do not readily accept the use of language varieties other than the dominant one, then non-dominant speakers may also have to consider their personal ability to use the dominant language as non-native speakers. Speakers then find themselves concerned with their ability to meet the requirements necessary to be recognized as legitimate speakers motivated by the hope of obtaining some social benefit while at the same time having to manage the costs of linguistically disassociating with their L1 group.⁵⁾

How an individual estimates his/her chances of success in the market has to do the speaker's own value system which is based in the influence of the L1 group, the individuals own experience and interaction with the dominant market. This is what Bourdieu calls the *habitus* (1991, pp.81-89). An awareness of the lower value of one's L1 products and the awareness of being a non-legitimate speaker of the dominant language may be integrated in a person's linguistic, physical and psycho-social development. Thus, it is possible that a self-perception of inferiority may cause one to underestimate one's chances of success in attempting to gain higher profits through linguistic exchanges in the dominant market, resulting in self-censorship (Bourdieu, 1997, 1982, 1991). However, some speakers do anticipate that they can produce linguistic products that will be accepted and do attempt to participate or make transitions into other linguistic groups.

Tajfel (1974), indicates that individuals assess how their association with the group contributes to their own positive social identity, and that individuals who perceive positive contribution will probably choose to remain in the group; those who do not may choose, if possible, to leave. Milroy (1980) shows that individual social networks are closely linked to language use, with closer knit network ties being associated with in-group language use and looser knit network ties being associated with more social and linguistic mobility (see pp.185-186). Speakers who have many close knit ties may feel more pressure to maintain linguistic conformity and may also feel more loss at

breaking those ties than a speaker who is only loosely connected to the group.

Homans (1958) views social behavior as exchange using the formula: Profit=Reward - Cost.⁶⁾ This formula can be used in combination with the concept of the anticipation of profits (Bourdieu, 1991, p.76) and the concept of memberships in social networks (Milroy, 1980) to understand the individual speaker's decision making process in attempting to enter the dominant linguistic market. The rewards are the benefits associated with being a legitimate speaker of the dominant language, such as better employment. The costs of attempting to enter the dominant linguistic market are 1) the effort necessary to meet the requirements to become a legitimate speaker of the dominant language, such as attending classes, obtaining an official certificate, acquiring a certain pronunciation or other behavior, etc., and 2) the sanctions and/or loss of positive value that may occur due to disassociating with the L1 group, such as ridicule, exclusion from activities, loss of friendship, etc. The requirements to get into the dominant group are determined by the dominant market and the costs to get out of the L1 group are determined by the L1 market, especially, the speaker's personal social network. The decision to attempt to enter the dominant market also depends on the individual's perception of his/her own ability to successfully meet the necessary requirements for the rewards and to handle the anticipated costs, i.e., the estimated chances of success (see Homans, 1974, chapter 2). Bourdieu (1991, p.77,) connects the estimation of success to the anticipation of censorship, including self-censorship.⁷⁾ Persons who are enjoying many rewards at relatively low cost in their group would be unlikely to change their situation - by changing the way they speak - , especially if, according to their perception of their own abilities, a change would be difficult and likely to result in loss of the present positive values being received; this would be the case for persons whose social networks are multiplex (Milroy, 1980). On the other hand, persons/who have relatively low profits from their situation might attempt to gain higher benefits by changing their language, especially if they feel confident in their ability to acquire and use the new language adequately to be recognized as a legitimate speaker; taking such a risk would seem to be easier for persons having relatively loose and uniplex ties to their group. Perhaps, persons with this type of social network may also be more likely to assess their network membership as not contributing sufficiently to their positive social identity (Tajfel, 1974).

Many speakers whose first linguistic variety is not the dominant one find themselves in the situation shown in Figure 1. The speaker must decide whether the potential benefits of the dominant group are indeed valuable to him/her, and if so, estimate his/her own ability to meet the requirements, including speaking the dominant language adequately. Obtaining profits in the L1 group is predictable, but obtaining profits in the new group is not as clear and may put the person's linguistic abilities (and other social characteristics) in doubt.

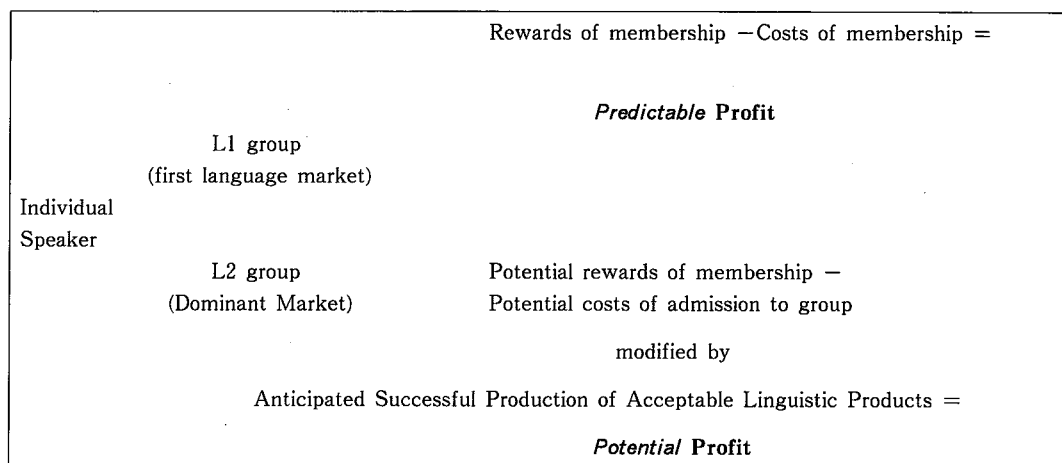


Figure 1

If a speaker does make attempts, depending on the feedback received, she/he may persist in participating in the dominant market and gradually become recognized as a legitimate speaker. There may be stages or degrees of recognition as a legitimate speaker for the individual and also for groups. As with the case of immigrants, the first generation may be subject to the situation in Figure 1. However, the second generation, through socialization and education, may consider themselves to be legitimate speakers who are confident of their ability to obtain profits in both linguistic markets, and they may very well be recognized as such by the market conditions.

1.5 Strategies:

In language contact situations, speakers have several linguistic strategies through which they can symbolize their group associations.

Convergent language behavior, i.e., speaking the interlocutor's language or speaking more like the interlocutor is often thought to be a method of narrowing social distance and facilitating solidarity between interlocutors. Accommodation, as an intergroup speech strategy, may allow the speaker to be viewed more favorably by the listener (Giles & Smith, 1979). In a language contact situation, convergence is a reasonable strategy for one who is trying to leave the L1 group and assimilate into the listener's group (whether in terms of social mobility or temporarily for purposes of the interaction at hand); success, however, is partly dependent on acceptance by the other interlocutor (see section 1. 2). Accommodation or convergence towards the speech of others is not necessarily always a strategy of creating a positive relationship, but may sometimes be an indirect form of what Bourdieu refers to as a strategy of condescension (1991, pp.68-69). Accommodation may prevent one of the speakers from using the other person's language and may serve as way to avoid recognizing that speaker as capable in the other's language. Further, the act of accommodating may not always be seen as necessarily positive, depending on the situation (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977).

Persons who have achieved bilingualism may be able to take a diglossic approach to multiple group memberships by using the appropriate language according to the situation, place or

interlocutor (Fishman, 1991, Fasold, 1984). Bilingual abilities allow the speaker to manage many relationships of solidarity and status through codeswitching. Just as the use of T and V pronouns (Brown & Gilman, 1960) can reflect relationships (or intended relationships) of solidarity or status, the choice of code in a multilingual setting can be used accordingly. Frequently, language choices reflect social norms as well as social relationships, so that certain language choices are expected; linguistic behavior which does not follow such norms is marked and may reflect the speaker's decision to change a particular relationship at a particular time (Scotton, 1988). Likewise, a speaker wishing to avoid breaking a norm or using language that might symbolize a conflict provoking situation may choose language for the purpose of maintaining neutrality in the communication (Scotton, 1976, Heller, 1988a, b).

Passive bilingualism involves developing abilities in understanding, but not necessarily in speaking another language and may include reading skill without necessarily writing, i.e., comprehension or reception of language rather than performance in actually producing language in conversation or script. For some individuals this may be a stage of language learning; for others it may be a strategy for participating in some areas of the linguistic market while avoiding other areas. Passive bilingualism allows one to have access to information without having to meet the qualifications to be recognized as a legitimate speaker as there do not seem to be requirements to be a legitimate hearer or reader. Sanctions from other L1 group members for non-conformity to L1 *speech* norms may also be avoided in that passive understanding can be done rather privately, and, in any case, understanding speech or comprehending text is not *heard* by others; consequently, the L1 can be maintained while still participating in the larger linguistic market to some degree.

Modification of speech characteristics is another option. Modification may be done with the intention to eliminate features which stigmatize the low value language, in a way which adopts features of the higher value language, or in some other way which diverges from both the original form and the contact language (Milroy, 1980, pp.180-185). Modification maintains the L1 except for the modified features; however, it is still a kind of loss for the original L1, and in cases of convergence towards the contact language, it may represent the beginning of an assimilation process.⁹⁾ On the other hand, some kinds of modification may be factors which prolong or perhaps prevent, shift (see Hamp, 1989).

Divergence from the language of the interlocutor may indicate a disassociation from that person's group or maintenance of one's own group association. Bourhis and Giles (1977) found that in interactions which were perceived as *inter-individual* speakers tended to reduce accent differences, but in situations that were perceived to be *intergroup* situations, vocal strategies tended to emphasize differences (p.128).

2.0 Catalan and Castilian in Contact:

2.1 The linguistic market:

Although both Castilian and Catalan are official languages in Catalonia, there are still many controversial attitudes regarding the apparent greater power of Catalan, compared to that of Castilian.⁹⁾ Due to the history of Spain, in particular Catalonia, both languages carry very conscious political values, and it is not so likely that one would *misrecognize* (in Bourdieu's terms) the arbitrary values placed on either language at various times in history as being "natural". Howev-

er, the fact that Catalan is associated with the geographical territory of Catalonia, i.e., the autochthonous language, and that Castilian is the language of immigrants from other parts of Spain does seem to give Catalan an advantage as being more natural to Catalonia than Castilian.¹⁰⁾

The market for exchange of linguistic products in Catalonia, is not completely unified, and perhaps has never been, again due to the political history of interactions with other linguistic groups on both sides of the Pyrenees, but especially Spain. Before Franco, Castilian had a strong position in Catalonia, but Catalan was still a prestige language associated with the middle class, a literary and legal history and a sense of nationalism as well as ethnicity (O'Donnell, 1988, Paulston, 1987). Prior to the Civil War, bilingualism in Castilian as an L2 was not necessarily characteristic of the Catalan population in general. During Franco's tenure, the use of Catalan was prohibited in legal, political and educational spheres, discouraged in public and, in effect, reclassified as a dialect (Woolard, 1989, p.357). In terms of exchange value, Catalan language products were devalued to the point that they were not exchangeable on the dominant linguistic market as they were not legal (Strubell i Trueta, 1984, p.93), and in this sense, Franco unified the linguistic market in favor of Castilian. Franco also enforced the dominance of Castilian with military as well as political power (see Balcells, 1996, Paulston, 1987, Ruiz et al., 1996, Strubell i Trueta, 1994, Vallverdu, 1984). By doing so, however, he also created something like a "black market" for Catalan in that clandestine and other resistance activities occurred (Balcells, 1996, pp.85-86, Paulston, 1987, p.53, Ruiz et al., 1996, pp.200-203, Shabad & Gunther, 1982, cited in Paulston, 1987, p.53, Strubell i Trueta, 1984, p.92).

Because of the physical force involved in imposing Castilian, it is difficult to accept that Castilian was dominant because of real exchangeable value rather than artificial value bestowed on it by the military government. The apparent devaluation of Catalan can be seen as the result of a military decision rather than a result of only "economic" dynamics. Blau (1964) excludes exchanges that occur as results of physical coercion from actions of true exchange. From this point of view, the dominance of Castilian and the period of prohibition of Catalan was not really a true market situation, but rather a suspension of the pre-Franco market where Catalan was very viable.

The prohibition of Catalan did not really devalue the language, and it did not devalue the speakers who remained the middle class in Catalonia with immigrants from other areas of Spain being largely working class and unskilled laborers. So the Catalan language, regardless of its demotion to "dialect" maintained its prestige (O'Donnell, 1988, Woolard, 1984). The prohibition fostered the development of Catalan as a symbol of ethnic solidarity as it became a private language with its speakers being almost exclusively Catalan ethnic native speakers.

Franco's language policy resulted in everyone becoming a legitimate speaker of Castilian; indeed it was the only language politically allowed, so there was no question as to who could use it.¹¹⁾ As an enforced public language, it could not easily become a symbol of solidarity among its speakers from diverse ethnic as well as social groups.

After Franco's death, Catalan emerged as an officially recognized language, equal in status with Castilian in Catalonia, still functioning as a symbol of prestige, the historical language of the territory and symbol of national and ethnic identity as well as being additionally empowered as a symbol of solidarity among its speakers, many of whom belonged to middle and upper socio-economic classes. Further, Catalan had been endowed with a kind of victorious prestige having survived forty years of oppression. In light of the rise of Catalan, Castilian became

redefined, by the change in the linguistic market conditions, as a kind of lower prestige public language, in many ways associated with working class speakers, without necessarily symbolizing solidarity among its L1 speakers as L2 (non-native) speakers also had easy access to it in terms of real linguistic ability and social norms as well as politically. Castilian's value was also lowered through its association with Franco's government and anti-catalan policies (see Woolard, 1993). When Catalan became official, few people other than native Catalans had immediate ability to use it, also thanks to Franco's prohibition which had prevented learning of Catalan as a non-native language (as well as as a first language in the written sense).

In spite of its association with non-Catalan Spain, Castilian continues to be a legitimate and valuable language in Catalonia's linguistic market which remains less than unified with more than one highly valued variety (see Milroy, 1980, p.106 for a comment regarding the target prestige norms in Belfast). Standard Castilian is a target prestige variety for many speakers of other varieties of Castilian (Baez de Aguilar Gonzalez, 1997, p.105-107); it is also held in high prestige by some native Catalan speakers.¹²⁾ The market for Castilian¹³⁾ is maintained for several reasons. As Catalan and Castilian are co-official languages in Catalonia, in principle, either one can be used in any situation. It is partially maintained by its speakers, some of whom are monolingual or only partially bilingual in Catalan. The market for Castilian is also maintained by Catalan speakers, most of whom are bilingual in both languages and many of whom frequently adhere to the norm of accommodating to Castilian with persons who are not clearly L1 Catalan speakers (Bastardas i Boada, 1996, Woolard, 1989, 1993). This norm is associated with Franco's overt prohibition of Catalan in public realms, but can also be associated with a solidarity norm of speaking Catalan with L1 Catalan speakers only.¹⁴⁾

Additional support for accommodating L1 Castilian speakers comes from another norm: that of not using more than one language in a conversation; in conversations where the interlocutors have different first languages, even though they may be mutually intelligible for long time residents¹⁵⁾, the norm indicates that only one of the languages be used (Woolard, 1993).¹⁶⁾ Regarding individual abilities, the probability of all interlocutors being able to communicate easily in Castilian is still higher than the probability that all can use Catalan comfortably.¹⁷⁾ The choice of Castilian is further reinforced, in Bourdieu's sense, in that everyone is a legitimate speaker of Castilian, whereas who is really a legitimate speaker of Catalan is less clear. This means that an L1 Catalan speaker can choose either language as an acceptable choice; however, an L1 Castilian speaker's choice to use Catalan might be considered *marked*, i.e., going against the acceptable norms. So, the choice of Castilian in mixed L1 interlocutor conversations is more neutral (see Heller, 1988a, Scotton, 1976, 1993, Calsamiglia & Tuson, 1984).

Another result of Franco's one language policy became noticeable when Catalan became co-official with Castilian, and people had the right to use either one in official business: there was a new need for bilingual services in government and public service offices and also in mass media. Castilian services and Castilian versions of documents, etc., were already in place; however, Catalan services and versions of procedures and communications were not in place due to their earlier prohibition and had to be added. Adding these services created many new jobs for Catalan speakers. Especially in the early years of the transition, it was most likely ethnic Catalans who had adequate linguistic abilities to communicate in Catalan and, consequently, qualify for such employment opportunities (O'Donnell, 1988, p.228, Shabad & Gunther, 1982, cited in Paulson, 1987,

p.52). Because of associated socio-economic opportunities, many non-Catalan speakers wish to become capable in the Catalan language, and this demand for Catalan contributes to its high value in the market.

2.2 Requirements for becoming recognized as a legitimate speaker of Catalan or Castilian:

L1 Catalan speakers are legitimate speakers of Catalan and of Castilian thanks to Franco's enforcement of Castilian as the single official language. L1 Castilian speakers, on the other hand, are not so readily recognized as legitimate speakers of Catalan regardless of their linguistic ability. The norm of accommodation to Castilian reflects and reinforces the *legitimate* bilingualism of L1 Catalan speakers in both languages, but that same norm does not necessarily legitimize the bilingualism of L1 Castilian speakers. Presently, L1 Castilian speakers may experience a kind of double bind: there is a social expectation that everyone should speak Catalan in Catalonia, yet when they do so, L1 Catalan interlocutors often switch to Castilian once they notice a non-native sounding accent. Attempts to become recognized as a legitimate non-native speaker of Catalan involve having to insist on speaking Catalan and consequently transgress the norm of accommodation to Castilian in mixed L1 conversations (Woolard, 1993). L1 Catalan speakers may also be transgressing the norm of Catalan ethnic group solidarity by recognizing an outsider as a speaker of the language.

Because of the earlier prohibition of Catalan, the large number of immigrants from other parts of Spain and the connection between language and geographical territory, a wide range of elements enter into the definition of who is — or who can become — Catalan.¹⁸⁾ Identity, as assigned by others is an issue. Although place of birth is a common way of deciding one's identity, because of the immigration of Castilian speakers from other parts of Spain to Catalonia, especially between 1936-1975, the birth place of parents or even grandparents as well as that of the individual may be considered by some people. This becomes more important when considering that immigrants during that period did not, for the most part, assimilate into Catalan society, but rather their presence could be associated with Spanish nationalism and oppression of the native people of the region. So, the element of "blood" or ancestry is involved, and there exists the distinction between *citizens of Catalonia* as compared to *Catalans* (Josep Tarradellas in Argente et al., 1979, cited in Woolard, 1993, p.36, 49).

A qualified Catalan can, of course, legitimately speak Catalan; however, language, in its function as a symbol of ethnic and national association, also becomes a criterion for determining identity. Although the ability to speak Catalan does not assure one's recognition as a legitimate speaker, the lack of ability to speak Catalan might exclude someone from being considered Catalan.¹⁹⁾

Although Catalan identity has both ethnic and ethnic national associations (Paulston, 1987), for the immigrant population and their descendents, now natives of Catalonia by birth, it is possible to consider oneself Catalan in nationality but not strongly identify oneself with the culture or language (see Strubell i Trueta, 1984, Báez de Aguilar González, 1997). On the other hand, some immigrants have come to identify themselves as Catalan and as Catalan language speakers (Strubell i Trueta, 1984, Woolard, 1993). Some persons have expressed a very conscious choice to be considered Catalan and have actively developed their Catalan identity (Woolard, 1993).

2.3 The first language market:

Both L1 Castilian and L1 Catalan groups are associated with both minority factors and dominant factors. Castilian is a dominant language associated with the nation and history of Spain but also with the immigrant working class in Catalonia that has lost some of its linguistic space. Catalan is a regional minority language associated with economically prosperous people that has recovered and strengthened its position in its historical geographical territory (see O'Donnell, 1988).

The minority status of Catalan between 1936 and 1975 and its private use among native speakers indicate an ethnic or minority type of first language market similar to Jaspaert and Kroon's (1991, p.79, their application of Bourdieu, 1982) secondary linguistic market, *the linguistic market in which communication within the immigrant (or minority, in the case of Catalonia) group is organized*. Although Catalan has become official and has made significant advances in education and mass media as well as in governmental spheres, there is still concern about the stability of Catalan (Bastardas i Boada, 1996, p.176-177). Norms to speak Castilian are still influential and Castilian occupies a great deal of linguistic territory in many situations (see Calsamiglia and Tuson, 1984, p.116).

As it is co-official with Catalan, Castilian cannot be considered a typical minority language. Being the national language of Spain, further clarifies the non-minority status of Castilian. Perhaps because of the national and international presence of Castilian and its many varieties, the situation of Castilian in Catalonia since 1975 has not been considered a case for concern. However, Castilian in Spain and Castilian in Catalonia do not exist in the same linguistic market. Castilian in Catalonia, for that group of Castilian speakers, is in contact and competition with Catalan in every day life: many Castilian speakers spend some of their time using Catalan; Catalan is prominent in the education of children; it is important to increase one's opportunities for socio-economic advancement, and bilingualism in Catalan is increasing (Báez de Aguilar González, 1997, Reixach et al., 1997, Simmons, 1998, Woolard, 1990, 1989, 1993). Due to these circumstances of both exposure and incentives to use Catalan, Castilian in Catalonia is in a situation of potential shift.²⁰⁾ In contrast, Castilian in most other areas of Spain is not in this rather precarious situation.

Although the factor of immigration would indicate broken social network ties, the large scale immigration from other areas of Spain and the working class element still allows for some of the characteristics of social networks, albeit re-established social networks, in the new area. Second and third generation L1 Castilian speakers born in Catalonia, however, have not experienced immigration and may have very strong social networks (see Woolard, 1993 regarding age of immigration) similar to the situation that Milroy (1980) describes as many immigrants settled in neighborhoods with other immigrants and new social networks could be established within the L1 group (Bastardas i Boada, 1996, p.171).

Woolard's (1984, 1989) research concerning language attitudes found that both L1 groups penalized speakers of their own L1 for using the out-group language in a matched guise test with secondary school students. However, the enforcement of use of the L1, especially for adults who have experienced both historical periods, is different in each group. The penalties for using Catalan publicly during the Franco years probably lessened the disapproval that might have come from the L1 group for speakers who became public users of Castilian²¹⁾, and at the same time strengthened the benefits of solidarity for those who continued to use Catalan in private. Now, the norms of speaking Castilian with non-Catalans and Catalan with in-group members continue and an

acceptance of bilingualism continues.

The case of Castilian has been one of monolingualism, indeed mandatory monolingualism (regarding Catalan as a second language) during the Franco period. The possibility of linguistic or cultural change was probably not anticipated by immigrants who went to Catalonia between 1936 and 1975 because of the language policies in force at the time. So, norms of bilingualism were not developed. Presently, as Castilian is unrestricted and holds co-official status, there is, in principle, no need for L1 speakers to use anything other than their native language. For those who consider their own variety of Castilian to be inferior, standard Castilian is a legitimate prestige variety that can be learned as an alternative to Catalan. A decision to speak Catalan, then, is one of choice, perhaps for socio-economic mobility, but still a matter of choice, rather than necessity. For L1 Castilian speakers involved in close knit social networks, it may be difficult to jeopardize their social support system by linguistic non-conformity.

Although there are pressures to conform in both L1 groups, in the current socio-political situation, it may be easier for Castilian (in Catalonia) to develop more characteristics of an ethnic and private language as it has recently lost some of its political (as well as linguistic²²) space, and begin to impose more norms on members of the group. Whereas in the case of Catalan, although Catalan had been a private language, it is now a newly official language which is gaining new speakers through education, and in order to really fulfill the official function, Catalan must and is becoming a public language (Woolard and Gahng, 1990, p.327) and consequently needs to allow new speakers to acquire and use the language.²³

2.4 Anticipation of profits from linguistic behavior:

Presently, in Catalonia, many L1 Castilian speakers wish to participate in the Catalan dominated sectors of the linguistic market, and this is encouraged by the current language policies and efforts to normalize Catalan. However, because of the transitional nature of the situation and the ambiguous requirements for obtaining recognition as a legitimate Catalan speaker, making a transition to using Catalan involves possible sanctions from the L1 Castilian group, and also very unpredictable costs in successfully entering the L1 Catalan speaking group.

As discussed in the previous sections, the norms for intergroup conversations do not favor L1 Castilian speakers' use of Catalan. The use of Catalan for L1 Castilian speakers may be counter to social expectations and considered a marked language choice (see Scotton, 1976, 1988, Myers-Scotton, 1993). If the L1 Catalan interlocutor responds in Catalan, the L1 Castilian (L2 Catalan) speaker can feel recognized as a Catalan speaker in that interaction; however, if the L1 Catalan interlocutor responds in Castilian, the L1 Castilian speaker's attempt to participate in the Catalan linguistic market is not accepted. Dependence on the L1 Catalan interlocutor for success is a disadvantage and cannot always be predicted. The old norm of accommodating to Castilian is known by both language groups; new norms of speaking Catalan and bilingual conversations that may be forming are still not clear; so, it is very difficult to predict the interlocutor's response when attempting to interact in Catalan. For some L1 Castilian speakers there may be significant second language acquisition needed in order to use Catalan; that process is often difficult, especially for adults who are not comfortable making grammatical or pronunciation errors in verbal interactions. Considering the obstacles posed by social norms and possible concerns about one's second language ability, many speakers may be concerned about failure and avoid speaking

Catalan, i.e., they may resort to self-censorship, in Bourdieu's (1991) terminology.

L1 Catalan speakers are also concerned with breaking norms, and at the same time concerned with exercising their right to use Catalan in all situations. Language loyalty to Catalan presents some conflicts: if Catalan is not used and not expected to be used by others, it may become endangered again; yet, if it is used with outsiders, it may lose its distinction.

With old and new norms co-existing, it is more complicated to understand the factors in terms of social exchange, i.e., cost, reward and profit (Homans, 1958, 1974). A humble attempt to look at factors of cost, reward and profit for different language choices in Catalonia in the past (1939–1975) and now (since 1975, especially the early 1990's) according to L1 group association is presented in Figure 2. In addition to cost, reward and profit, a column to indicate whether or not the language choice is socially marked is included in the figure. If the choice is marked, it is unexpected and norm-breaking to some degree and likely to be more costly than unmarked choices.

Anticipation of profits from speaking Castilian or Catalan in same group and intergroup conversations

speaker 1's group	Language of interaction	speaker 2's group	1939–1975				1975–present, esp. 1990's				
			marked	cost	reward	Profit	marked	cost	reward	profit	
L1 CS	Castilian	L1 CS	NO	L	H	+	NO	L	H	+	
		L1 CT	NO	L	H	+	NO	L	L	=	
	Catalan	L1 CS	XXXX	XXX	XXXX	XXXX	YES	H	L	-	
		L1 CT	XXXX	XXX	XXXX	XXXX	?	H	?	?	
L1 CT	Castilian	L1 CS	NO	M	H	+	NO	L	L	=	
		(Publicly)	L1 CT	NO	M	M	=	YES	H	L	-
		(Privately)	L1 CT	?	?	?	?	YES	H	L	-
	Catalan	L1 CS	YES	H	L	-	?	M	?	?	
		(Publicly)	L1 CT	YES	H	L	-	NO	L	H	+
		(Privately)	L1 CT	NO	M	H	+	NO	L	M	+

Figure 2

L1 CS: first language Castilian, L1 CT: first language Catalan

H: high cost or reward, M: medium cost or reward, L: low cost or reward. ?: uncertain.

+: gain, -: loss, =: equal exchange. XXXX: in 1939-1975, in principle this option did not exist.

NOTE: The figure presents my estimation of the probable perspective of adults who have some experience in both historical periods. It is a generalized interpretation of socially expected language choices and probable values assigned to cost and reward based on academic literature, research and personal experience.

Comparing the two historical periods presented in Figure 2, my interpretation estimates that the public use of Castilian between two L1 Catalan speakers has changed from a neutral to a negative value, and the public use of Catalan between L1 Catalan speakers has gone from a negative to a positive value.²⁴⁾ This is consistent with the change in political regimes and official language policies which have favored Catalan. The use of Castilian in mixed group interactions has gone

from a positive to a neutral value, perhaps consistent with the fact of co-official languages and the shared, rather than dominated, linguistic territory. The use of Catalan in mixed group interactions is a rather new, and consequently questionable, linguistic behavior. From the viewpoint of official language policy it is certainly an acceptable choice; however, from the viewpoint of the norms of the earlier period, it is a formerly marked choice for L1 Catalan speakers, and due to the earlier obstacles for acquiring Catalan as a non-native language, it is a new choice for L1 Castilian speakers.

The table does not take into consideration the concerns of L1 Castilian speakers using either language publicly vs. privately or L1 Catalan speakers using Castilian privately; in a mixed society with mixed marriages and work places. With growing bilingualism, public vs. private language choices by both L1 groups may be changing and contributing to maintenance and/or shift of the languages, details which could be further explored in research.

2.5 Strategies in intergroup relations:

With the current situation of co-official languages in Catalonia, language strategies will be considered from the point of view of a market which officially recognizes both Catalan and Castilian, but seems to be somewhat more dominated by Catalan.

2.5.1 Convergence:

As most L1 Catalan speakers are bilingual in Castilian, it is not necessary for L1 Castilian speakers to accommodate L1 Catalan speakers in order to foster communication. So, the use of Catalan by an L1 Castilian speaker is likely to be interpreted as symbolizing a desire to assimilate or be accepted into some aspect of Catalan society.

An L1 Catalan speaker's convergence to Castilian can be associated with the social norms originating in the Franco government's Castilian language policy and with the previous monolingualism of most L1 Castilian speakers, so that Castilian was both required legally and necessary for communication. Now, however, although many L1 Castilian speakers have acquired various degrees of bilingualism in Catalan, the same norm exists, but perhaps for different reasons. Accommodation to Castilian may be considered a kind of courtesy, recognizing that many people are not completely comfortable speaking Catalan, but at the same time, it may have a covert purpose of excluding non-Catalans from using the Catalan language, i.e., maintaining in-group solidarity, and also maintaining the distinction of the Catalan language as the symbol of the ethnic group (see Bourdieu, 1982, 1991, and Giles et al., 1977).

2.5.2 Active bilingualism:

Active bilingualism has been mainly used by L1 Catalan speakers, designating Castilian for use in public domains and Catalan for use in private domains during the Franco period, and more recently, using Castilian with L1 Castilian speakers and Catalan with L1 Catalan speakers.

Now, many L1 Castilian speakers are becoming active bilinguals, but face some obstacles due to the norms discussed above and also, for some individuals, due to low ability levels in speaking and writing²⁵ Catalan.

Active bilinguals have the possibility to codeswitch between the Catalan and Castilian according to the situation. The uses of codeswitching in Catalonia have a wide range, and deserve further

discussion that is not within the scope of this paper. Briefly, codeswitching may occur in response to the other language being interjected, in order to express information from a domain associated with one of the languages, to quote someone, for metaphorical reasons (see Calsamiglia & Tuson, 1984, Woolard, 1988), as well as to (temporarily) change the social distance between speakers, to remain neutral or to manage conflict (Heller, 1988a,b, Scotton, 1976, 1988, Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Codeswitching can also be used to test transition possibilities, to manage solidarity and social mobility, and to express different aspects of one's identity. Because of these possibilities, active bilinguals can participate in both Catalan dominated and Castilian dominated aspects of the linguistic market in Catalonia.

2.5.3 Passive bilingualism:

Though many L1 Castilian speakers have become active bilingualism, many indicate that their ability to understand and read is higher than their ability to speak or write (see Báez de Aguilar González, 1997, Simmons, 1998). Passive bilingualism, is a stage for many language learners, but may also have some advantages for maintaining one's L1 group membership and associated benefits. Speaking is not only an intellectual activity, but also a physical activity which may be associated with the socialization process (see Bourdieu regarding corporeal hexis and habitus) as well as with one's own physical self-image. Passive bilingualism does not require speaking in a way that seems *unnatural*²⁶⁾ to the speaker. Although there are requirements for becoming recognized as a speaker of a language, there do not seem to be clear requirements for becoming recognized as a listener or reader of a language, i.e., these activities are not subject to evaluation by others. Further, understanding spoken or written language is a private, internal occurrence which is not heard by other members of the L1 group; consequently, the risk of jeopardizing association with the L1 group is avoided or at least minimized. Yet, being able to understand and read Catalan may allow a person to work effectively in a Catalan environment, participate in financial transactions, have access to information in all forms, receive education, etc. Even though participation in some sectors of the market is limited, many things may be done without the conflict of breaking social norms and risking non-recognition. Of course, where a spoken response is required, the person may decide to use Castilian, but this choice remains, for the most part, acceptable in view of existing language use norms.

To some extent, passive bilingualism is being recognized by some L1 Catalan speakers who have decided not to accommodate spoken Castilian, realizing that many L1 Castilian speakers understand Catalan.

2.5.4 Language modification:

Báez de Aguilar González (1997, pp.79-105) observed modification of the features that tend to stigmatize the Andalusian variety of Castilian and associated this modification with upward mobility. In the case of his sample, the modification was not considered to be modification in the direction of Catalan-like features, but away from the stigmatizing features and towards more standard Castilian pronunciation. Such modifications that do not imitate the contact language, still change the structures of the original language, but are perhaps resisting assimilation to some extent.

Language feature modification is also occurring in the case of Catalan. During the years that

education in the Catalan language was suspended and Castilian imposed, many *castilianisms*²⁷⁾ entered the language and became widely used (see O'Donnell, 1988). Now, there is a recuperation of original Catalan vocabulary items and also grammatical structures in the process of teaching and normalizing Catalan.

2.5.5 Divergence:

Divergent linguistic choices occur, mainly in the form of answering Catalan with Castilian, or switching from Catalan to Castilian. Again, because of language norms established under previous political conditions, there are not so many possibilities for diverging away from Castilian. However, this is also changing, in that some Catalan speakers are deciding not to accommodate Castilian, as it is not necessary for communication in most cases, and to exercise their now official right to use Catalan.²⁸⁾ Diverging from Castilian by speaking Catalan where the speaker understands, allows for maintenance of both languages and could possibly allow development of a norm where interlocutors use their own language for speaking while understanding the other speaker's language (a kind of mutual passive bilingualism).

Strategies are chosen by individual speakers partly based on their perceptions of their abilities, their group membership associations, and their perceived chances of being accepted or rejected by others. Figure 3, attempts to offer a general interpretation of probable attitudes towards the choice of these strategies in an intergroup conversation. The same details as used in Figure 2 are applied here.

Anticipation of Profit from language strategies for speakers of each L1 Group

	L1 Castilian Speakers				L1 Catalan Speakers			
	Marked	Cost	Reward	Profit	Marked	Cost	Reward	Profit
Convergence	?	H	?	?	NO	L	L	=
Active Bilingualism	?	H	?	?	NO	L	L	=
Passive Bilingualism	NO	L	M	+	?	M	?	?
Modification of stigmatized features	NO	M	H	+	NO	M	H	+
Modification towards contact language	?	H	?	?	YES	H	L	-
Divergence	NO	L	L	=	?	M	?	?

Figure 3

L1: first language.

H: high cost or reward, M: medium cost or reward, L: low cost or reward. ?: uncertain.

+: gain, -: loss, =: equal exchange.

NOTE: The figure presents my estimation of the probable perspective of adults who have some experience in both Franco and post-Franco political systems. As is Figure 2, this figure is also a generalized interpretation of socially expected language choices and probable values assigned to cost and reward based on academic literature, research and personal experience.

For L1 Castilian speakers, the strategies (in my estimation) most likely to yield profits are passive bilingualism and modification of stigmatizing features of their variety of Castilian (as in Báez de Aguilar González, 1997). Divergence remains a neutral option that follows the norms established in the previous political system. Convergence toward Catalan is somewhat questionable, consistent with the transitional condition of the market. For the L1 Catalan group, convergence towards (accommodation of) Castilian and active bilingualism remain neutral language behaviors following long existing norms. Passive bilingualism and divergence are somewhat questionable.²⁹⁾

Modification of stigmatizing features of both Castilian (especially non-standard varieties such as Andalusian Spanish) and Catalan are estimated to yield a profit. As in Báez de Aguilar González's (1997) group of participants, stigmatized features were eliminated without adopting characteristically Catalan structures in the case of some individuals. The modification of Catalan, however, is specifically away from Castilian and being done on an official level of language planning for standardization and normalization of Catalan. The conscious move away from characteristics of the contact language is consistent with developing characteristics for group distinctiveness in an intergroup situation (Tajfel, 1974, O'Donnell, 1988).

In opposing corners of the chart, the strategy of converging toward Catalan by L1 Castilian speakers and the strategy of diverging from Castilian (i.e., speaking Catalan) by L1 Catalan speakers are both questionable. Both favor the use of Catalan if they are chosen which is consistent with normalization of Catalan. However, because of breaking previous norms, there seems to be a clear cost without knowing what kinds of rewards could be obtained. I have estimated the cost of convergence to Catalan as high (H) for L1 Castilian speakers because they would be breaking norms with their own L1 group, testing their own ability to use spoken Catalan and taking the risk that their use of Catalan may not be accepted (i.e., recognized) by L1 Catalan speakers. I have estimated the cost of diverging from Castilian (i.e., maintaining Catalan) in mixed group conversations for L1 Catalan speakers as medium (M) because, for the most part, there would be less concern about language ability and recognition as legitimate speakers, but there would still be concerns about breaking old norms and transgressing in-group solidarity and risking own group positive distinctiveness.³⁰⁾

Summary and Conclusions:

This paper has attempted to understand language contact, maintenance and shift in terms of a five concept framework that encompasses theories and perspectives from several academic disciplines. Theories of symbolic exchange seem to provide the underlying fundamentals of human behavior, in this case, language choice, but a variety of theories and perspectives are needed to understand the dynamics of specific situations and specific speakers.

Individual speakers' language choices result from complex and dynamic influences as *habitus*, social network, alternative awareness, market interaction, personal values and circumstances. All of these factors, however, must be considered and the circumstances for each choice weighed by the individual to determine the predictability of success.

As language behavior follows norms of social expectation, persons who hope to obtain social mobility through language learning and use must be prepared for engaging in the marked behavior of breaking norms. Additionally, there is at least some degree of dependence on the interlocutor's

recognition of the individual's language use as legitimate in order to be sociolinguistically successful in the interaction. Further there may be repercussions from the L1 group; consequently, the individual must attempt to manage loss of solidarity from one's own group with unpredictable success in a new situation, even if temporary.

The contact of Catalan and Castilian in Catalonia, having experienced drastic changes in this century, continues to be a dynamic situation, mainly of Catalan recovery, maintenance and normalization at the time of this paper. Old norms of language behavior are still functional to some extent, while new norms continue to develop and establish themselves. In terms of official policy, Castilian's earlier position as the single language endorsed by a military government changed to one of being co-official in a non-military political situation. Although Castilian is the official language of Spain, it is a non-indigenous language to the region of Catalonia, so one could view Castilian as having been demoted from a colonial language to an immigrant language (in the autonomous region) when the Franco period ended. Simultaneously, Catalan, which through prohibition had become a rather clandestine language used mainly in spoken form with in-group members and so became a symbol of ethnic solidarity, went from being a private language to a public and co-official language to be used in all areas of government as well as in normal every day life (see Woolard & Gahng, 1990). In some ways, there are conflicting factors in the transition for Catalan: although, official status is desired and beneficial, it is difficult to maintain the distinction of a language as symbolizing solidarity among an elite group of speakers in the case of a language which has official status and function in a bilingual and bicultural society. Additionally, the normalization of the use of Catalan officially encourages everyone to learn and use Catalan in all situations, so if this is to be successful, additional speakers, including non-native speakers have to be recognized.

In spite of the official encouragement to use Catalan, at the level of the individual speaker, language choices are still influenced by previously established norms which still to some degree favor the use of Castilian in mixed L1 interactions. As the co-official language policy does not exclude Castilian in any official way, these norms remain legitimate choices. However, these norms also have an exclusionary effect (or function) which prevent L1 Castilian speakers from using Catalan (Woolard, 1993 regarding Catalonia, Bourdieu, 1982, 1991, and Giles et al., 1977, especially, pp.333-4, 337). Although, codeswitching in Catalonia is very much interlocutor based (see Woolard, 1989a, b, 1993), accommodation choices might be further understood in terms of particular interactions being considered as *inter-individual* or *inter-group* by the interlocutors (see Bourhis & Giles, 1977). The strategy of passive bilingualism in terms of both understanding spoken and written language seems to be within the abilities of many L1 Castilian speakers (Báez de Aguilar González, 1997, Reixach et al., 1997, Simmons, 1998). This choice of language behavior does not involve the need to be recognized by others and does not involve modifying one's self image in order to speak in a new way. Other L1 group members also do not observe the individual's comprehension of a non-native language, so there is less risk of being viewed as rejecting the L1 group (Fishman, 1977, p.21, Giles et al., 1977, p.332, Milroy, 1980). Perhaps for different reasons, some L1 Catalan speakers are also adopting a passive bilingual behavior by deciding to speak Catalan even if the other person answers in Castilian provided that comprehension is evident. Two language conversations have not been common in Catalonia in the past (Woolard, 1993), but such a possibility could develop.

The linguistic situation in Catalonia changed from a Castilian only policy to a market situation with two co-official languages influenced by a wide variety of political and social mobility factors. In Figures 2 and 3, drawing on a variety of studies and my own experience, I hypothesized that the overall value of Castilian seems to have been lowered and that previously marked use of Catalan has now become possible. Further research regarding individual language behavior choices in combination with attitudes towards and motivations for speaking a particular language may be able to add support to those interpretations. Many adult speakers have experienced both political periods while younger speakers are growing up in a very different situation; both groups of speakers have valuable insights for understanding how the market continues to change.

(2000. 4. 3 受理)

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Notes:

- 1) Jaspaert and Kroon associated many other factors with these three concepts. See their article for details.
- 2) This also means that other linguistic varieties are frequently not used in government and education. The lower prestige and the non-use of these varieties in official communication may contribute to their gradual extinction.
- 3) Indeed it is better that everyone not become capable in the dominant variety as it is also meant to distinguish the elite from others.
- 4) LM1=dominant linguistic market, LM2=secondary linguistic market. Jaspaert and Kroon may be referring to actual loss of linguistic ability, but it seems likely that this concept also includes changes in social and socio-economic characteristics so that those who have assimilated into the dominant group have lost some of their non-linguistic characteristics of the L1 group as well, are no longer seen as full members, and consequently have lost their status as legitimate speakers of the L1 for social as well as linguistic reasons.
- 5) Loss of solidarity and other interpersonal benefits to the individual who is disassociating with the L1 group are also coupled with the loss of that individual as a speaker of the group's language, i.e., loss of speakers gradually erodes the language's vitality.
- 6) See Homans, 1958, p. 603 for further details and citation of Stigler, G.J. 1952, *The Theory of Price* (rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan Co.).
- 7) Bourdieu's (1982, 1991) concept of the habitus, in this paper, is considered to be related to perceived ability and self-censorship (also Bourdieu, 1977, pp.653-656).
- 8) Natural language variation and change as compared with language shift and loss may be difficult to distinguish. See Campbell and Muntzel (1989) and Aitchison (1991) as general references.
- 9) This is a controversial point; some feel that Castilian is still the language which dominates many aspects of communication. See Bastardas i Boada (1996, p.189).
- 10) The current historical consciousness and criticism of past colonialism, and it's damage to indigenous cultures all over the world, is also supportive of the position of Catalan as the rightful language of the region.
- 11) This is not to say that there were not recognizable regional or social class varieties of Catalan and Castilian, but in terms of understanding the "market" or political language policies, there was a very conscious contrast between Catalan and Castilian, and varieties of the two were probably less of a focus. Any variety of Castilian (*cristiano*, i.e., the language of "Christians": see Walker, 1996, p. xiv) was better than the politically defined dialects (Catalan, Gallego, Basque, Bable (in Asturias), for speaking in public places.
- 12) This comment is based on my own research and experience living in Barcelona in the late 1980's and

1990's.

- 13) Unless indicated as standard Castilian, Castilian is being used here in general to refer to all the varieties of Spanish spoken in Spain. (When referring to dialects in Spain, the term Castilian is sometimes also used to indicate standard Spanish with its origin in the region of Castilla.)
- 14) The use of this norm as a symbol of solidarity with L1 speakers (and in effect non-solidarity with other interlocutors) may be due to Franco's prohibition of Catalan, but the present use of this norm results in maintaining sociolinguistic divisions and is important in the dynamics of the present linguistic market.
- 15) I do not imply that Catalan and Castilian are mutually intelligible systems; however, with many years exposure to both languages in some areas of Catalonia, such as Barcelona, many people understand Catalan regardless of whether or not they actually speak it.
- 16) However, this norm is changing based on my experience in Barcelona during the summer of 1998, and is documented by other researchers, especially Woolard.
- 17) Especially in the case of adults. Now after years of integrating Catalan into the school system, younger people of L1 Castilian speaking families may be becoming very balanced bilinguals. Of course, some L1 Castilian adults have also become very fluent in Catalan.
- 18) I am speaking of criteria that appear to be evident in the perspectives of individuals and in social attitudes largely based on my own research and experience living in Barcelona in the late 80's and subsequent stays in the 90's; I am not referring to any official criteria.
- 19) This is especially true for non-ethnic Catalans and possibly even for some ethnic group members, depending on the circumstances and context.
- 20) Research indicates an increase in bilingual abilities including cases of L1 Castilian speakers becoming primarily L2 Catalan speakers and even reporting some use of Catalan with other L1 Castilian speakers (Woolard, 1993, Simmons, 1998).
- 21) Although, there may be some backlash in social attitudes now for those who shifted to Castilian in the past.
- 22) Perhaps it is not possible to clearly distinguish political from linguistic space in this situation.
- 23) Another factor, is that personal social networks may involve relationships with individuals from both language groups; however it is not within the scope of this paper to elaborate further.
- 24) I think the table is useful in attempting to understand the choices involved and the transitional nature of the language contact situation, and may also be applicable in research regarding language attitudes and ideas about language behavior norms.
- 25) Writing Catalan remains a problem for many Catalan native speakers as well because of the prohibition of Catalan in education during the Franco period.
- 26) This use of the word *natural* here, is also interpretable within the context of *misrecognition* (Bourdieu's terminology) of arbitrary conditions as natural conditions.
- 27) A *castilianism* is a word, phrase or grammatical item, from the Castilian language which is used in Catalan, but with a Catalan pronunciation or grammatical modification.
- 28) These comments are largely based on my personal experience in Barcelona in 1998.
- 29) Convergence and active bilingualism, and divergence and passive bilingualism are overlapping behaviors.
- 30) Both Figure 2 and 3 represent hypotheses which I intend to apply in future data collection.

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