

CONVIVÈNCIA IN CATALONIA: LANGUAGES LIVING TOGETHER

Jacqueline Hall

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Barcelona, 2001

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To my ‘Catalan parents’
Antoni Farré and Maria Lluïsa Sanpera



Diverses són les parles i diversos els homes,
i convindran molts noms a un sol amor.

*Different are the tongues and different the men,
and many names will be needed for a single love.*

SALVADOR ESPRIU. Catalan poet. *La Pell de Brau*, XXX.¹

Una llengua no és *tota* la societat: és, però, la seva clau de volta. Dipòsit de segles, patrimoni de convivència, bastiment de cultura, l'idioma és eix i continuïtat per a la vida d'un poble, en tant que poble. Escindida, bastardejada o perduda la llengua, la societat es trenca, es corromp o veu esborrar-se els seus contorns diferenciats. Les comunitats que mai no han patit una crisi idiomàtica forta rarament s'adonen d'això: ningú té consciència de la salut, diuen, sinó el malalt.

A language is not the whole of society: it is, however, its keystone. Deposit of centuries, heritage of convivència, framework of culture, the language is both axis and continuity for the life of a people, as a people. If the language is torn, bastardized or lost, the society is broken and sees its distinctive contours erased. Communities who have never suffered a severe linguistic crisis seldom realize that. Nobody is aware of health, they say, except the sick.

JOAN FUSTER. Valencian essayist.²

1. Salvador Espriu. *Obra Poètica*. Barcelona. Santiago Albertí. 1962.

2. Joan Fuster, 'Introducció de la Poesia de Salvador Espriu', in Salvador Espriu, *op. cit.*

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Presentation

Back in our school days we were taught the political geography of the world from maps on which different colours were used to distinguish the different states. But only too often these states were founded and developed in the 19th and 20th centuries on the principle of 'one state, one army, one currency, ... one language'. In countries where the official state language coexists with others which are less extensively spoken, the relationship between political power and culture – and especially language – has not always been marked by policies based on support and promotion.

Approximately ten million people live today in the area where Catalan originally emerged at the same time as other romance languages. That area is now split between several different states and the language has been the object of political repression for many years. One of the most ruthless periods of persecution occurred in Franco's Spain. Though the entire area is now under democratic rule, a series of new challenges face Catalan and other tongues which are not official state languages and have had to struggle hard to secure their normal development. These include the inability of central governments to come to terms with internal diversity; the rise in immigration and the presence of languages from other lands; and the new information and communications technologies in which the languages and cultural messages of more powerful countries enjoy a clear advantage.

This book, which is published on the occasion of the European Year of Languages, explains the current situation of the Catalan language in all its complexity. It aims thereby to help create the kind of understanding which will enable us all to appreciate the value of the linguistic and cultural diversity of our planet.

JORDI PORTA

Fundació Jaume Bofill

Prologue

Convivència in Catalan means ‘living together’. Not simply cohabiting, but living together constructively, in harmony and friendship. English has no exact equivalent. That in itself is proof that languages are unique and irreplaceable and that even a large and powerful language like English has much to learn from a relatively small and little known language like Catalan. This is one of the messages this book seeks to convey.

The same word does exist in Spanish. It is written without an accent –*convivencia*– and the pronunciation is different, but the meaning is the same. This in turn tells us that languages, like peoples, also have much in common. And the fact that the concept is shared by the two languages used in Catalonia today –Catalan, the language of those whose ancestors have lived there for centuries, and Spanish, the language of the many who have moved there in recent times– was another good reason for using it as a title.

Convivència is also an apt description of the warm relations between the Catalan and Spanish-speaking citizens of present-day Catalonia which are a victory of human nature, of its capacity for mutual understanding, over the results of an oppression that could have sown the seeds of bitter and lasting discord.

The memory of that oppression was the third reason for the choice of title. In the early 1960s, when the two quotations which open this book were written, the Catalan language was still severely persecuted and books like the one from which I copied them were virtually unobtainable: they were considered subversive merely because they were written in a politically undesirable language.

Sadly, in our own times there are still those who claim that that oppression is irrelevant to the present, or even that it never occurred, and those who see subversion where there is only attachment to a land not bounded by international frontiers or to a language which is not the dominant one.

The title then, also expresses a hope: that the *convivència* built by Catalans of all origins may endure, and that the citizens of some future Catalonia may enjoy the benefits of knowing and using the language of their homeland and whatever other languages they may freely choose to learn.

Introduction

This booklet aims to provide foreign readers with basic information about the situation of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia today. It covers topics such as the following:

- ✦ The linguistic and historical background.
- ✦ Knowledge and use of both languages in key areas of society.
- ✦ Relations between speakers of Catalan and Spanish.
- ✦ Language policy.

The information refers primarily to the part of Catalonia currently under the jurisdiction of the Catalan autonomous government (the Generalitat). It refers only when especially relevant to other places where Catalan is also spoken: Valencia, the Balearic Islands and Andorra, and parts of Aragon, Murcia, France and Italy.

It is based on both data and opinions. The opinions include those of the writer who has a long acquaintance with Catalonia, dating back to the early 1960s, and has been resident there for over twenty years.

It argues essentially that Catalan is a language which displays considerable vitality despite certain important handicaps. Foremost among these are the persecution it has suffered under successive Spanish governments (notably that of General Franco), the fierce competition of Spanish in present-day society, and the fact that it faces the challenge of an increasingly globalized world without the support only a sovereign state could.

It also reflects the view that measures to protect and foster languages, especially lesser spoken languages which have been persecuted, are not only legitimate but even conducive to *convivència* –the harmonious ‘living together’ of the title– provided of course that democratic means are used and the rights of the speakers of other languages –in this case primarily Spanish– are respected.

The Catalan language - a family portrait

Catalan is a member of the family of romance languages into which the vulgar Latin spoken in the different parts of the Roman Empire evolved over the centuries. Other related tongues include Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, Romansch and Provençal. From its original territory, stretching from just south of Barcelona to north of the present French-Spanish border, the language spread to lands further south, east and west which were conquered from the Arabs and to various other points in the Mediterranean. The shifting of international frontiers due to fluctuating economic and political interests over the centuries led to the area where Catalan is spoken today – often termed the ‘Catalan Countries’ – being split between four different European states: Spain, Andorra, France and Italy. The great majority of Catalan speakers are concentrated nowadays in ‘Southern Catalonia’ (the part of Catalonia which belongs to Spain), the ‘Valencian Country’ (the region of which the city of Valencia is the capital), and the Balearic Islands.

Relatives and neighbours

Catalan has many words and expressions in common with other languages that derive largely from Latin. The differences between them can be explained by a variety of factors:

- ♦ While some words and other features evolved direct from classical Latin, others developed from the varieties of vulgar Latin that were spoken at different times and in different parts of the Empire.

- ♦ Each language has been influenced in a distinct way, according to historical circumstances, by other languages –the pre-Roman languages of the area, Germanic and Slavonic languages, Arabic, Hebrew, Basque, and others.

Here are a few examples to illustrate the extent of the differences, and similarities, between Catalan, two of its most closely related sister languages, Spanish and French, and English.

Sentences made up of more abstract, academic words often look almost identical, not only in the different Romance languages, but in English as well (though of course they would sound very different if pronounced out loud).

English	The United Nations	decided	to intervene	in the conflict.
Catalan	Les Nacions Unides	van decidir	intervenir	en el conflicte.
Spanish	Las Naciones Unidas	decidieron	intervenir	en el conflicto.
French	Les Nations Unies	ont décidé	d'intervenir	dans le conflit.

In the following example, using more down-to-earth vocabulary, the differences are greater and the points of coincidence more unpredictable: sometimes a Catalan word may look like the Spanish, French or English equivalent, and sometimes it may resemble none of them.

English	The shops	will be closed	tomorrow	in most	cities.
Catalan	Les botigues	seran tancades	demà	a la majoria de	ciutats.
Spanish	Las tiendas	estarán cerradas	mañana	en la mayoría de	ciudades.
French	Les magasins	seront fermés	demain	dans la plupart des	villes.

A Catalan restaurant might offer its customers the following choice of dishes, which reflects a similar blend of similarities and differences:

GB MENU <i>Salad</i> (tomato, carrot, celery, olives) <i>Beef stew with mushrooms</i> <i>Strawberry ice cream</i> <i>Coffee or tea</i>	E MENÚ <i>Ensalada</i> (tomate, zanahoria, apio, aceitunas) <i>Estofado de ternera con setas</i> <i>Helado de fresas</i> <i>Café o té</i>
CAT MENÚ <i>Amanida</i> (tomàquet, pastanaga, àpit, olives) <i>Estofat de vedella amb bolets</i> <i>Gelat de maduixa</i> <i>Cafè o te</i>	F MENU <i>Salade</i> (tomates, carottes, céleri, olives) <i>Ragoût de boeuf aux champignons</i> <i>Glace aux fraises</i> <i>Café ou thé</i>

Catalan and Spanish - a different music

Catalan and Spanish sound noticeably different even to the foreign ear. The sharp, staccato quality of Spanish is quite distinctive. Catalan sounds 'broader' and has a softer, lisping sound, reminiscent of Portuguese.

The differences can be explained by phonetics. Certain sounds which are common in Spanish are lacking in Catalan, for instance the guttural Spanish *j* or *g* (x) (similar to Scottish *loch*) as in *Quijote*, or the Spanish *c* or *z* (θ) (like English *th* in *thin*), as in *González* or *Cáceres*. (Foreigners should note that the name of the Catalan capital is pronounced 'Barthelona' *only by Spaniards*, the genuine Catalan pronunciation being virtually the same as in English!)

In contrast, the following consonant sounds which are common in Catalan do not exist in Spanish:

Phonetic symbol	Imitated pronunciation	Catalan spelling	Examples of Catalan words
ʃ	sh in English shot	x or ix	caixa (box, savings bank), xocolata (chocolate)
ʒ	s in English measure or vision	g or j	germà (brother), jardí (garden)
ɫ	l in the Scottish pronunciation of lost (similar to English Baltic)	l	pernil (ham)
ll	similar to ll in Italian bella or taglatelli	ll (this letter is specific to Catalan)	intelligent, novella
z	s in English rose	s or z	casa (house), zero

Some of the consonant sounds which Catalan shares with Spanish are found at the end of words in Catalan but never in Spanish and Spaniards have considerable difficulties pronouncing them in this position. Examples are:

- ♦ m in words like *plugim* (drizzle)
- ♦ ll (symbol –similar to English *million*) in words like *vall* (valley)
- ♦ ny (symbol –similar to English *onion*) in words like *seny* (common sense).

Whereas Spanish has only the five basic vowel sounds, the Catalan vowels *e* and *o* can be either open or closed. The difference is something like that between *sell* and *they*, or *coffee* and *note* in English and is sufficient to differentiate between otherwise identical words. In the Catalan spoken in Barcelona, northern Catalonia and the Balearic islands, there is also a neutral vowel, similar to English *butter*, which does not exist in Spanish. Examples are the final vowels in *porta* (door) or *pare* (father).

Language, people and country

Each language is a mirror of the experience and wisdom of countless generations of speakers, their tears and laughter, their fears and hopes, their interaction, year in, year out, with the landscape and climate in which they have lived and died. A language is also, to a lesser degree, the reflection of the roots its people share with the inhabitants of other lands, notably their nearest neighbours.

The short list of Catalan proverbs and sayings on the opposite page, along with their Spanish, French and English equivalents, illustrates that combination of uniqueness and permeability which makes Catalan, like all languages, a treasure of human experience in a particular area of the planet. While some expressions are virtually identical in the different languages, others are quite original.

Just as languages are the mirror of a people's experience, so the names that identify families and places in a particular land are forged with the tools of that country's language. Catalan surnames and place names provide a clear illustration that Catalan is the language that has been spoken in Catalonia for countless centuries.

Common Catalan surnames which are everyday Catalan words referring to:

Features of the landscape: Pla, Puig, Riu, Camp, Pou, Castell (plain, hill, river, field, well, castle).

Plants and animals: Alsina, Om, Romaní, Bou, Conill (holm oak, elm, rosemary, ox, rabbit).

Occupations: Fuster, Ferrer, Pagès, Forner (carpenter, smith, farmer, baker).

Colours: Blanc, Negre, Roig (black, white, red).

Proverbs and sayings in Catalan and other languages

While some are virtually identical, others are quite original.

GB. *That's a horse of a different colour / a different kettle of fish.*

CAT. Això són figues d'un altre paner (Those are figs from a different basket)

E. Esto es harina de otro costal (That is flour from a different sack)

F. C'est une autre paire de manches (That's a different pair of sleeves)

GB. *To be born with a silver spoon in your mouth*

CAT. Néixer amb la flor al cul (To be born with a flower in your arse)

E. Nacer con estrella (To be born with a star)

F. Naître avec une cuillère d'argent dans la bouche (= English)

GB. *He who laughs last, laughs longest*

CAT. Riurà bé qui riurà darrer (= English)

E. Quien rie el último, rie mejor (= English)

F. Rira bien qui rira le dernier (= English)

GB. *As deaf as a post*

CAT. Sord com una campana (As deaf as a bell)

E. Sordo como una tapia (As deaf as mud wall)

F. Sourd comme un pot / comme une bécasse (As deaf as a pot / as a woodcock)

GB. *The early bird catches the worm*

CAT. Qui s'aixeca de matí, pixa allà on vol (He who rises early can piss where he likes)

E. A quien madruga, Dios le ayuda (God helps him who rises early)

F. A qui se lève matin, Dieu aide et prête la main (God helps and lends a hand to him who rises early)

GB. *A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*

CAT. Més val pardal a la mà que una grua enlaire (A sparrow in the hand is worth more than a crane in the sky)

E. Más vale pájaro en mano que ciento volando (A bird in the hand is worth more than a hundred in flight)

F. Un 'tiens' vaut mieux que deux 'tu l'auras' (Better 'Here it is' once than 'You'll have it later' twice)

Place names in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the coastal regions of Valencia either derive from Catalan words or are Catalanized versions of even more ancient Arabic or pre-Roman names, some of them Basque.

A few place names whose meaning is obvious in modern Catalan

Aiguablava	<i>blue water</i>	La Jonquera	<i>the reed bed</i>
Aiguafreda	<i>cold water</i>	L'Escala	<i>the port of call</i>
Caldes	<i>hot water (springs)</i>	Montjuïc	<i>Jewish mountain</i>
Ciutadella	<i>small (fortified) city</i>	Montroig	<i>red mountain</i>
Cap de Creus	<i>headland of crosses</i>	Montserrat	<i>sawn mountain</i>
Cap de la Nau	<i>headland of the ship</i>	Pedraforca	<i>forked rock</i>
Figueres	<i>fig trees</i>	Port de la Selva	<i>forest harbour</i>
L'Ametlla de Mar	<i>the sea almond</i>	Sitges	<i>silos</i>

The Catalan theory of relativity?

Time, we used to think, is the same everywhere. Einstein dispelled that misconception, but few people know that the Catalan language also has its own particular way of viewing time. Some English friends of mine discovered it the hard way when on holiday in an inland village of the Catalan-speaking island of Minorca.

Being devout Catholics, one of their first concerns was to look up the time of Sunday mass on the board outside the local church. When Sunday came round they pushed the church door open at the appointed time, only to find that the service was almost over. They checked the board again and, when the congregation came out, inspected the typewritten notice inside. Both confirmed their original reading. Concluding there must have been some temporary change, they returned the following Sunday at the same time. And the same thing happened.

When they told me of this, I too was temporarily baffled. Like other southern peoples, the Catalans and their Balearic cousins the *Illencs* (or 'Islanders'), are not noted for scrupulous attention to punctuality. On the other hand it is unusual, to say the least, for an entire congregation to flock to church at least 30 minutes *early*.

'What time was the mass?' I asked, groping for a clue.

'A quarter to eleven. What we did notice was that it was written in an odd way: first the fraction –one quarter– then the figure 11.'

Deep in my expatriate subconscious a light glowed.

'The Catalans have their own way of telling the time,' I told them, 'and $\frac{1}{4}$ 11' means a quarter past ten, not a quarter to eleven.'

My friends looked totally bewildered, so I did my best to explain the logic of the Catalan time system.

Whereas for English –and Spanish– speakers the cut-off point between the tenth and eleventh hours is 10.30 (we say half *past ten* but twenty-five *to eleven*), Catalan speakers consider that the eleventh hour begins as soon as the clock has struck ten. So what we see as a quarter *past ten*, they see as the first quarter *of the eleventh hour* or 'one quarter of eleven' (often written $\frac{1}{4}$ 11). Hence the mass was in fact scheduled to begin at 10.15 and my friends had arrived half an hour late. By the same reasoning, 'two quarters of eleven' means 10.30 and 'three quarters of eleven' means 10.45. Smaller time divisions are expressed by building on the same quarter-hour units: 3.35, for instance, is 'two quarters and five (minutes) of four', while 7.10 is 'five minutes before one quarter of eight'.

Though less daunting than Einstein's, the Catalan system is difficult for foreign minds to grasp. It does, however, offer scope for flexibility. See if you can figure out the following (solutions in footnote 3!):

- a) 'See you in half a quarter!'
- b) 'Expect me at quarters of ten.'

Fortunately for visitors, the Catalan system is seldom seen on signs intended for the general public and other more universally comprehensible ways of telling the time are in current use, including of course the international 24-hour system for travel timetables and the like.³

3. a) Strictly speaking, 'See you in $7\frac{1}{2}$ minutes'. In practice, this means 'in about 5 to 10 minutes'; b) 'Expect me any time between 9.15 (one quarter of ten) and 9.45 (three quarters of ten).' Both formulas are convenient ways of not tying yourself down!

The Catalan language - the past

An outline history of the country

It was Charlemagne's heirs who laid the foundations of the future Catalonia when they settled the lands on either side of the eastern Pyrenees to create a buffer against the Moorish caliphates who ruled the centre and south of the Iberian peninsula. Gradually these lands became independent from the empire and the counts of Barcelona acquired supremacy over their peers. In the 12th century the federated kingdom of Catalonia and Aragon was born of the marriage between the Count of Barcelona and the daughter of the King of neighbouring Aragon. That kingdom was itself joined to Castile in the late 15th century by another dynastic marriage, that of Ferdinand of Aragon and Catalonia to Isabella of Castile –the 'Catholic Kings'. Prior to this nothing even remotely resembling the country we now call 'Spain' existed and for several more centuries it remained nothing but a loose confederation.

Before this embryo of Spain was born, however, Catalonia had enjoyed a long period of prosperity and prestige under a government which, for the period, was highly democratic. The Catalan monarch met with representatives of the nobles, the clergy and the boroughs to discuss matters of public interest as early as the 13th century and in 1283 royal power was further limited when the parliament appointed an executive to govern the country between sessions. It was from this executive, which acted on behalf of the entire parliament or 'generality', that the present Catalan government, the Generalitat, took its name. Throughout the Middle Ages Catalan trade and industry flourished and the country's political and commercial influence extended all over the Mediterranean. The Catalan language spread to the kingdoms of Valencia and Majorca which had been reconquered from the Arabs in the 13th century and was extensively used in literature, philosophy, law and government.

The colonization of America subsequently caused trade to shift from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and the centre of power and wealth moved to Castile. Catalonia continued to be governed by its own laws and institutions until the absolutist Bourbon dynasty succeeded to the throne in the early 18th

Between 1250 and 1350 the Principality of Catalonia may be the European country to which it would be least incorrect to apply the apparently anachronic terms of political and economic imperialism and nation state ... This (Catalan political) creation is remarkable ... especially on account of its precociousness. Language, territory, economic life, the shaping of a mentality, a cultural community – the fundamental conditions of a nation – are already fully present as early as the 13th century.⁵

Pierre Vilar

century. It was the Bourbon King Philip V who, from 1714 onwards, abolished the remaining Catalan organs of government, imposed Castilian law, and launched the first concerted attempt to eradicate Catalan and impose a single language throughout Spain – Castilian, originally the language of the kingdom of Castile, which from about this time onwards begins to be called ‘Spanish’.⁴ This policy was pursued by successive Spanish governments, in different forms and with varying intensity, for over 250 years until the advent of democratic rule after the death of General Franco.

Despite the adverse political and linguistic situation, Catalonia enjoyed a period of renewed prosperity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Trade with the American colonies and the Industrial

Revolution had paved the way for the mid-19th century economic boom. This in turn prompted a cultural revival, the *Renaixença*, or rebirth. The movement was backed by a thriving industrial bourgeoisie constantly at odds with a central government dominated by the great landowners of the centre and south of the peninsula. In the wake of the *Renaixença* all forms of culture flourished and Catalan, which had declined into a mainly spoken tongue, gradually became once more a language of poets, playwrights and novelists.

For two brief periods in the first half of the 20th century Catalonia recovered some degree of control over her own affairs, notably under the Second Spanish Republic in the early 1930s. After the Civil War, everything changed once more: the democratically elected Catalan government was abolished, its President shot, and persecution of the Catalan language was resumed with unprecedented harshness until the death of Franco in 1975.

4. In deference to international usage, the term ‘Spanish’ is used by the author throughout this book to refer to the language whose official name (both in Spain and Latin America) is Castilian. ‘Castilian’ has been used only when translating legal texts and certain quotations.

5. Vilar (1962).

Since 1980 Catalonia has enjoyed political autonomy. It has its own parliament and a government, the Generalitat, which exercises the powers assigned to it under the Spanish Constitution and its own Statute of Autonomy in a variety of fields including culture and education. Catalan now has the official status to which it is entitled as Catalonia's own language, alongside Spanish, the official language of Spain.

Though this situation marks a decided change for the better, the effects of centuries of adversity are still apparent and the Catalan language faces the challenges of the new millennium with numerous handicaps.

The Catalan language through the ages

Catalan has been the language spoken in the area we now call Catalonia since the early Middle Ages. The first traces of the written language appear in the 9th century in the form of isolated Catalan words in Latin documents. The influence of oral Catalan is clearly perceptible during the following centuries in the Latin used by notaries to draft legal documents.

The oldest surviving fragment of a literary text comes from a Catalan translation of a work on Visigothic law called 'Forum Iudicum'. It is believed to have been written in the early 12th century. The earliest complete document in Catalan which has come down to us is a set of commentaries on biblical texts known as the *Homilies d'Organyà* (Organyà sermons) and dated round about the year 1200. By the 13th century a Catalan translation of the Bible had been made and there is evidence of an earlier version (12th century).

Catalan was subsequently used in legal and court documents and to draft the chronicles of Catalan monarchs. Distinguished writers in the Catalan language came, not only from Catalonia, but from other kingdoms in the Catalan-Aragonese federation: Ramon Llull –one of the first writers, in the 13th century (over 400 years before Descartes) to write works of philosophy in the vernacular, was from Majorca, while the gifted 15th century poet Ausiàs March was from Valencia, like his contemporary Joanot Martorell, the author of *Tirant lo Blanch*, which is considered the earliest forerunner of the modern novel.

Catalonia went into an economic decline after the union of the crowns of Castile and Catalonia-Aragon in the 15th century and literary output followed suit. In the wake of the War of Spanish Succession (1705-14) which put the Bourbon dynasty on the throne, Spanish was imposed as the only language of government, education and public life, and strenuous but unsuccessful

[The Catalans] speak only in their own mother tongue and until now no native of the place wrote except in Catalan, the use of the Spanish language not being practised; though the latter is commonly understood among persons who have followed the study of letters, but not at all by the common people.

José Patiño, Superintendent of Catalonia under Philip V of Spain (early 18th century).⁶

measures were enacted to eradicate Catalan from other spheres of life as well in the course of the following 200 years. The majority of the population continued to speak Catalan but when, in the second half of the 19th century, writers began to use Catalan once more, they were hampered by the lack of recognized rules of grammar and spelling. Philological studies based on historical and contemporary usage led to the publication in the early 20th century of the dictionaries and grammars which established the norms still in force today.

In the first half of the 20th century, during the periods when Catalonia recovered a degree of control over her own affairs, the language also flourished, giving rise to an abundant literature, as well as to many newspapers and periodicals. During the brief period of political autonomy in the early 1930s, Catalan became the language of government and pedagogically advanced schools were set up where Catalan was taught and used to teach other subjects.

The usual and ordinary language in Catalonia, not only in the countryside and the mountains, but even in large towns, including Barcelona, is the region's own language, Catalan.

In country villages, one hears Castilian spoken only as a rare exception. It is only spoken, to all intents and purposes, by Civil Guards and Carabineros ..., the vast majority of whom come from other regions of Spain.

In the capitals, too, among people of all conditions, even the most cultivated, the people of Catalonia speak constantly to one another in their own language: not only in the privacy of the family, but in all their dealings and social relations. Castilian is used only in contacts with Castilian-speaking persons and in official functions, of an academic or similar nature, when special circumstances require it.

Justí Guitart, Bishop of La Seu d'Urgell, July 1939.⁷

6. Benet (1995 : 14).

7. Benet (1995 : 219).

Repression of the Catalan language prior to Franco

The following are just a very few of the official measures against Catalan which commenced under the Bourbon dynasty. The sheer proliferation of such prohibitions, from the early 18th century to the 1920s, is in itself eloquent proof of the extent to which Catalan was and remained the usual language of the inhabitants of Catalonia of every condition and in all circumstances:

- 1716: prohibition of the use of Catalan in the administration of justice
- 1768: prohibition of the use of Catalan in public education
- 1772: prohibition of the use of Catalan in accounts books
- 1801: prohibition of the use of Catalan in theatrical performances
- 1862: prohibition of Catalan in documents drawn up by notaries
- 1896: prohibition of the use of Catalan in telephone conversations
- 1923: prohibition of the teaching of Catalan as an optional subject.⁸

The Catalan language under Franco

Though Catalans, like other people, are diverse in their political leanings, the Catalan government supported the Republican cause throughout the Civil War and the country was a major bastion of opposition to the 1936 fascist coup headed by General Francisco Franco. The occupation of Catalonia by Franco's troops heralded the final victory of the Nationalist forces. Franco considered the limited self-governing powers granted to Catalonia under the democratic but short-lived Second Republic as an attack on 'national unity'. Consequently the first measures implemented by his regime included the abolition of the Catalan government and steps aimed at suppressing the Catalan language and culture.

Repression was especially ruthless during the first decade or so. In the latter years of the dictatorship superficial concessions were made to placate international opinion: certain aspects of Catalan traditional folklore were tolerated (folk dancing, nativity plays, etc.), a few books and periodicals, mostly on erudite topics, were published, brief and usually unattractive radio and television programmes in Catalan were allowed at non-peak hours, and so on. But linguistic freedom was never re-established till the advent of democracy.

8. Benet (1995 : 11-14)

Some idea of the impact of this long and relatively recent period of repression can be obtained from the information documents and opinions reproduced in the following pages.

A few of the ways in which the Catalan language, culture and identity were persecuted under the 40-year Franco dictatorship

- ♦ In the initial phase it was an offence even to be heard speaking Catalan in public.
- ♦ The Catalan flag and anthem were prohibited.
- ♦ Civil servants were prohibited from speaking Catalan even among themselves, under pain of dismissal.
- ♦ The Catalan language could neither be used nor taught in schools or universities, whether public or private, and all Catalan contents (history, literature, etc.) were removed from the curriculum.
- ♦ The few Catalan-speaking teachers who had not fled the country or been imprisoned were posted to other parts of Spain and replaced by teachers who neither spoke nor understood Catalan.
- ♦ Teachers heard speaking Catalan at school could be dismissed.
- ♦ Cultural institutions, including the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the Institute for Catalan Studies, were dissolved.
- ♦ No books or periodicals could be published in Catalan.
- ♦ Existing stocks of printed matter in Catalan (such as letterheads or receipts) had to be destroyed or stamped over with expressions such as '¡Viva Franco! ¡Viva España!'
- ♦ Signs, announcements and written documents of every type had to be in Spanish.
- ♦ Companies, businesses, associations, institutions, etc. could not have Catalan names.
- ♦ Children had to be given Spanish, not Catalan, first names and the names of all other citizens were translated into Spanish.
- ♦ Catalan place names (towns, streets, geographical features, etc.) were translated into Spanish (sometimes inaccurately).
- ♦ Correspondence addressed a person's Catalan name or to the Catalan name of a street or town was 'lost' or returned as undeliverable.
- ♦ Catalan could not be used at any public meeting or ceremony.
- ♦ Names of organizations, streets, shops, etc. containing references to Catalonia were changed (the Library of Catalonia became the Central Library, etc.).

The character of each region will be respected, but without prejudice to national unity, which we want to be absolute, with a single language, Castilian, and a single personality, that of Spain.

Francisco Franco (1938)⁹

The armed triumph of the Caudillo Franco has just granted you the immense benefit of liberation and the ineffable honour of the full, irreversible and irrevocable incorporation of the men and lands of this hard-working and fertile region into the grandeur and unity of the fatherland ...

Rest assured, Catalans, that *the private and family use of your tongue* will not be persecuted; that your customs and traditions, through which the rich nuances of a strong and firmly sensitive race are expressed, will find in the new regime the warmest approval, that your economy, the cornerstone of the Spanish economy, with which it forms a single indivisible whole, will be urgently rebuilt ...

Excerpt from the ban addressed to the people of Barcelona by the general in charge of the occupation forces the day after the city fell to Franco's forces (27 January 1939).¹⁰

9. Francisco Franco, *Palabras del Caudillo* (19 abril 1937 - 31 diciembre 1938), p. 38. Quoted in Benet (1995 : 91).

10. Benet (1995 : 265). Our italics.

11. Benet (1995 : 254).

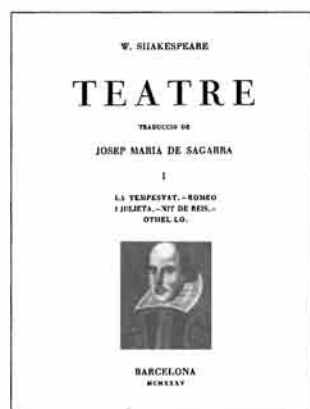
12. Benet (1995 : 259).

13. Benet (1995 : 356).

Endorsement of Franco's language policy from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy

After Franco's victory the Nazi paper *Rostocker Anzeiger* described Catalan as a mere dialect of Spanish, artificially converted into a language for political purposes, and noted with satisfaction: 'Now this dialect will return to the rank which naturally belongs to it, exactly the same as the other dialects of the peninsula' (1939).¹¹

Mussolini's son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano, commented in the following terms in a telegram to the Italian ambassador to Franco's Spain on the prohibition of Catalan as the 'second language' in the Catalan 'province': 'Make it known to the Generalissimo that such a measure has been welcomed with keen interest in Italy where everything he does to wipe out all trace of separatism and regionalism from Spain is seen with sympathy.'¹²



Even Shakespeare was banned in Catalan. This clandestine 1945 edition is pre-dated '1935'.¹³

MARTES 5 SEPTIEMBRE DE 1939

GOBIERNO CIVIL

Nuevo plazo para redactar rótulos e impresos en el idioma nacional

Los contraventores serán sancionados con fuertes multas

El gobernador civil de la provincia ha dictado las siguientes circulares:

«No obstante las exhortaciones y facilidades publicadas por el excelentísimo Ayuntamiento de esta capital para que desapareciesen de los edificios y servicios públicos y privados, así como de las Entidades que de cualquier modo se relacionen con el público, toda especie de inscripciones no redactadas en el idioma nacional, y a pesar de la conminación de sanciones que oportunamente se hizo conocer, es patente que restan aún visibles excepciones concebibles más bien como efecto de negligencia, que de absurda rebeldía.

Pero como dicha orden ha de ser cumplimentada, y Barcelona y su provincia han de ofrecer a sus residentes y visitantes nacionales y extranjeros el aspecto de una tierra tan íntegramente española como lo fué en los tiempos de su más gloriosa tradición en que los Monarcas, inmortales fundadores del Imperio Español, se complacían en residir en esta urbe como en su propia sede, he dispuesto conceder un plazo que terminará el día 15 del corriente mes de septiembre para que desaparezcan los restos que quedan de inscripciones rojo-separatistas y sean substituidas por textos correctamente redactados en el idioma nacional, los que todavía aparezcan en cualquier otra lengua, en fachadas, muestras comerciales, documentación utilizada en la relación con el público, inscripciones y rótulos, así como toda clase de escritos, anuncios y documentos de entidades públicas y privadas, asociaciones y fundaciones de cualquier especie, y, desde luego,

los que pertenezcan a servicios públicos sin excepción, así en la capital como en la provincia.

Queda autorizado el uso de anagramas en que se abrevie la denominación de Sociedades autorizadas legalmente, así como nombres comerciales autorizados, y denominaciones de marcas marcas registradas, según la legislación nacional y la internacional; pero en este caso no se permitirá el uso escueto y aislado del anagrama, nombre o marca, sino que deberán ir acompañados de algunas palabras explicativas precisamente en el idioma nacional. No se permitirá tampoco simplemente los rótulos o inscripciones no redactadas en dicho idioma, ni se aceptarán eufugios ni excusas de ninguna clase. Las Entidades que, demostrasen, con documentación, haber intentado oportuna aunque infructuosamente, por escasez de papel, la sustitución de sus documentos y papeles impresos no redactados en el idioma nacional, podrán imprimir el reverso o páginas libres, cruzando el texto no español con la frase «Arriba Español», que se imprimirá en tinta roja y gruesos caracteres, sin perjuicio de substituir con toda urgencia tales impresos.

A partir del día 16 inclusive, los contraventores de esta orden pagarán de 100 a 1.000 pesetas diarias, según su posición económica, participando en un 25 % del importe de las multas en firme, los denunciadores de casos justificados, quienes deberán dirigirse a la Jefatura Superior de Policía y puestos de la Guardia civil y provincia respectivamente, así como al Gobierno civil.

Text issued by the Civil Governor of Barcelona ordering all signs in Catalan to be removed and replaced by signs in Spanish, complete with a list of fines (Benet, 1995 : 268).


JEFATURA SUPERIOR DE POLICIA
DE BARCELONA

Reg. de MULTAS
Núm. _____

Excmo. Sr.

OL.

tengo el honor de elevar a V.E. a los efectos procedentes, denuncia que formula la Comisaría de Vigilancia de Sabadell, contra FERNANDO COMADRÁN, con domicilio en la Ronda del Alcazar de Toledo nº 86 de dicha ciudad por tener un letrero en la fachada de su fábrica sita en la Carretera de Barcelona nº 193, redactado en catalán que dice: "OLIS D'OLIVA P.P. COMADRÁN".

Ha de hacer constar a V.E. que según informes, algunas personas le habían indicado que quitara el referido letrero, de lo que ha sido advertido nuevamente por los Agentes denunciadores.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.
Barcelona 28-Noviembre-1939
Año de la Victoria.

EL JEFE SUPERIOR.




Excmo. Sr. Gobernador Civil de la PROVINCIA.


JEFATURA SUPERIOR DE POLICIA
DE BARCELONA

Reg. de MULTAS
Núm. _____

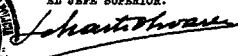
Excmo. Sr.

OL.

A los efectos que en justicia esti me procedentes, tengo el honor de poner en su conocimiento, que en la fachada de la tienda nº 6 de la calle de Reparación, propiedad de JUAN COLAS GEMAS, figura un letrero redactado en catalán en el que se lee: "CHOCOLATER", contra viniendo las disposiciones vigentes.

Debo significar a V.E. que el referido propietario ha sido advertido de la obligación de retirar a la mayor brevedad el cartel de referencia.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.
Barcelona 9-Diciembre-1939
Año de la Victoria.

EL JEFE SUPERIOR.




Excmo. Sr. Gobernador Civil de la Provincia.-

Letters from the Barcelona Chief of Police to the Civil Governor reporting signs in Catalan outside business premises for the purpose of imposing fines. The offending Catalan words are 'Olive oil' and 'Chocolate manufacturer' respectively (Benet, 1995 : 337).

- 10 de marzo de 1941.

Excmo. Sr. Don Antonio F. de Correa y Véglison
Gobernador Civil

Barcelona

Distinguido Excmo. Sr. y apreciado jefe :

Adjunto me permito remitirle un impreso en catalán repartido por el vecino de esta ciudad José Barceló Pau, con ocasión de contraer matrimonio y, además, la ficha político-social del mismo, a los efectos que V.E. estime procedentes.

Como primera providencia, esta Alcaldía ha impuesto al repetido vecino, por contravención de las disposiciones sobre uso del idioma oficial, la multa de 500 pesetas.

Con el mayor afecto y consideración queda a las órdenes de V.E. y brazo en alto le saluda,

Firmado : José M^e Marcet.

Notification of a fine to be paid by a man who had cards announcing his marriage printed in Catalan (Benet, 1995 : 349).

It is vital to make a serious assessment of the impact of the Franco regime on the Catalan cultural tradition because it remains at the root of the greatest problems we face. We are talking about a cultural break that lasted for two generations and involved the elimination –exile, repression and replacement– of social and cultural cadres (political, union and civic leaders, intellectuals and writers, journalists, artists, teachers, etc); about the dissemination by the State of a new culture for the mass consumption of the new popular classes, using new mass communications media, especially radio and television. Knowledge of the language was blocked, the heritage of documents and printed matter was destroyed, and Catalonia's past was concealed or systematically effaced, and these are just a few of the factors which generated the spiral of ignorance about the recent historical current of Catalan culture. This ignorance, which is still colossal among today's intellectuals, is one of the most lasting results of the ethnocide perpetrated by the Franco's regime.

Joan Manuel Tresseras¹⁴

The political nature of language?

There is a possibly apocryphal story about a Spanish-speaking archbishop of Barcelona who was appointed under the Concordat, a neat agreement with the Vatican which enabled Franco to fill the Spanish hierarchy with prelates sympathetic to his political –and linguistic– ideas.

As the new archbishop walked down a Barcelona street he paused to watch a group of small children at play. His expression darkened as he listened to their prattle. 'So young,' he exclaimed in horror, 'and they're *already* speaking Catalan!' For indoctrination by parents with the deplorable Marxist-separatist leanings which, in his view, had caused the Civil War was clearly the only possible explanation for such utter depravation.

Unfortunately many visitors to present-day Catalonia labour under a similar misapprehension: so deep-rooted is the notion that all Spanish nationals are native Spanish-speakers that to speak Catalan seems a politically motivated act –not 'Marxist-separatist', perhaps, but certainly not spontaneous, not like the use of any 'normal' language.

Yet Catalans do not speak Catalan out of affinity with a particular political cause, because they dislike Spaniards, or to exclude outsiders: they speak it for exactly the same reason as the rest of us feel most at ease speaking whatever language we learnt with our families, friends and neighbours in childhood.

14. Joan Manuel Tresseras, in FJB (1999 : 712).

Getting your 'impositions' straight

A short time ago I was introduced to an Austrian lady who had been living in Catalonia since the early 1960s. Like many foreigners she spoke Spanish but no Catalan, even after close to forty years, and recalled her early years in Franco-dominated Catalonia with nostalgia. 'There was none of this nonsense about language then,' she said. 'The Catalans spoke Catalan at home all the time, in the evenings and at weekends. But there was no imposition!'

No imposition? Millions of people, living in their own country, were reduced to speaking their mother tongue *at home, in the evenings and at weekends*, because a fascist dictator had so decided and to accommodate outsiders. And there was *no imposition*?

Implicit in her assessment was the notion that it is somehow reasonable to expect Catalans to speak a language that is not their own, but unreasonable to expect other Spaniards and foreigners to learn and use Catalan. And that learning Catalan when you live in Catalonia is an imposition, whereas learning Spanish is not. Yet she was happy enough to speak English to me and, had she chosen to settle in Geneva, for instance, would hardly have expected the Genevois to refrain from using French *except at home* so that she could go about speaking German. So what is so different about Catalan?

The idea, successfully propagated by centuries of Spanish governments, that Spain has only one 'real language' undoubtedly has a lot to do with it. But another explanation is surely the fact that all Catalans *can* speak Spanish and *do* speak it when the situation requires.

That seems a high price to pay for proficiency in a second language, and citizens of countries where fluency in English, for instance, is widespread may well wonder what the implications would be for them if such an idea were to catch on. Might their command of English one day be used to justify relegating their own languages to home use, in the evenings and at weekends? And if that happened, would there be no imposition?

Immigration

During the first 15 years of the Franco regime, though Catalan was relegated to the private sphere, it remained the language of the majority of Catalans, except those with political or economic reasons for adopting the language of the regime.

Then a drastic change occurred, not in the outlook of Catalans, but in the actual population of the country. The powerful Catalan industry was the first to recover from the effects of the Civil War. A massive influx of immigrants –well over 1 million between 1951 and 1970– flocked to Catalonia from other parts of Spain. They settled around Barcelona and the city's industrial suburbs mushroomed. Some boroughs saw their population multiply by 5, 6 or even 7 in 20 years, and by the 1970s 60% of their inhabitants were from outside Catalonia, not counting children born after arrival. The figure for Catalonia as a whole in 1975 was 38%, a percentage far in excess of the peak immigration periods experienced even by countries like the United States.¹⁵

Most of these 'other Catalans', as they came to be called, were refugees from the poverty-stricken countryside of the south and west of Spain. In Catalonia another form of poverty awaited them: initially that of the shanty towns which sprang up as the result of governmental lack of foresight, corruption and incompetence; later, for the more fortunate, that of the crowded, isolated jerry-built housing complexes of the industrial belt.

The phenomenon had untold consequences for the Catalan language too. The newcomers were virtually all Spanish speakers with no knowledge of Catalan. Nor had they any opportunity to learn it in a society where the only language in public use was their own and where they themselves lived in virtual ghettos. By the time democracy and Catalan self-government arrived, many had been in the country for twenty to thirty years and a whole generation of children had grown up in a totally Spanish-speaking environment.

The effects of the influx are still apparent today. According to the latest census data (1996) 28% of Catalan residents even now were born in non-Catalan speaking parts of Spain: the original immigrants, by dint of hard work, have improved their situation and become an integral and accepted part of Catalan society. It is estimated that they and their descendents make up 41% of the present population, which means that most families, particularly in the Barcelona suburbs, are of mixed or non-autochthonous descent.¹⁶

15. Figures from official census data quoted by Recolons (1976).

16. Lepretre (1997 : 62).

Many of the problems which prevented the use of Catalan during the dictatorship –large concentrations of Spanish speakers in certain areas and unfamiliarity with the language– are still with us, as the results of a survey conducted in the spring of 2000 clearly reflect. Among the almost one in three respondents who said they did not normally speak Catalan, 84% invoked the following reasons:

- ♦ Hardly anyone round about me speaks Catalan (39.6%)
- ♦ I am afraid of speaking it badly (23.4%)
- ♦ I cannot speak it (31.1%).¹⁷

The 1996 (Census) data confirm that the most significant shortcomings in the knowledge of Catalan stem from the *traditional* factors: on the one hand the anti-Catalan language policies of the 19th and 20th centuries; on the other, the conditions in which the massive influx of immigrants reached Catalonia during the years from 1955 to 1975.

J. Farràs, J. Torres and F. Vila¹⁸

Immigration update

Since the 1980s, immigration from other parts of Spain has virtually ceased. However, immigration from foreign countries, notably the Third World, Eastern Europe and Latin America, is growing fast. The figures are not comparable with the influx of the 1950s and 1960s: those born in foreign countries, according to the 1996 census, amounted to only 2.9% of the total, though many immigrants without residence permits are not included in this figure. The numbers are rising fast, however, and the cultural gap between certain contingents of new immigrants –especially those from North and sub-Saharan Africa– and the host community is much wider. Their integration is further hindered by the precarious legal and economic situation in which many find themselves.

The census provides evidence that at least some foreign residents –probably those from developed countries for whom interaction with the host com-

17. Ubach (2000).

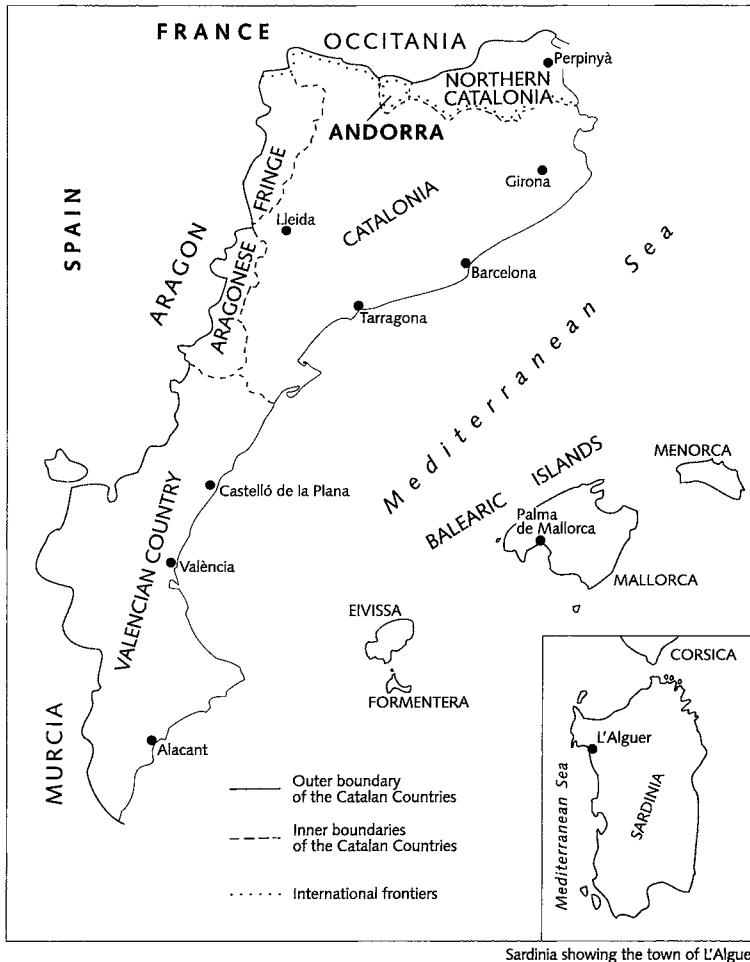
18. Farràs et al. (2000 : 157).

munity comes more easily-- are learning Catalan much faster than Spanish immigrants who moved to Catalonia under Franco. The many new residents from Latin America, however, are swelling the already large Spanish-speaking community, and those of other origins are understandably keen to learn, not Catalan, but Spanish, the language which is the basic requirement for interaction with the central government immigration authorities and with potential employers both inside and outside Catalonia.

The Catalan government's lack of jurisdiction in this field remains a major impediment to harmonious integration between newcomers and natives and, though there is no widespread friction at present, the phenomenon undoubtedly takes on added complexity when the host community itself is experiencing difficulties in defending its own linguistic and cultural rights.

The Catalan language today

Nowadays Catalan is spoken in an area of 68,000 km² with a total population of 10 million. That area includes three autonomous communities in Spain –Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia– as well as the easternmost part of Aragon and a few boroughs in Murcia bordering on Valencia. It also includes the independent principality of Andorra, the French region of Rousillon (department of Pyrénées Orientales), and the town of L'Alguer (Alghero) in Sardinia, Italy.



Map of the different areas where Catalan is spoken (Catalan Countries).

It is estimated that some 9 million people understand Catalan in these different areas and approximately 7 million can speak it, though reliable figures are available only for Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia. The following are the most recent census data, expressed in percentages of the total population and absolute numbers:

Knowledge of Catalan

	Understand Catalan	Can Speak Catalan	Can Read Catalan	Can Write Catalan
Catalonia 1996 (1)	95.0% 5,683,237	75.3% 4,506,512	72.5% 4,330,251	45.8% 2,743,326
Balearic Islands 1991 (2)	88.8% 587,096	66.7% 441,340	55.0% 363,819	25.9% 171,240
Valencia 1991 (3)	82.1% 3,056,794	50.6% 1,882,094	37.7% 1,403,739	15.1% 560,880

(1) Population of 2 years and over. (2) Population of 6 years and over. (3) Population of 3 years and over.
Source: census data published by the Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya.¹⁹

In some areas Catalan is given a different name, though it is in effect the same language with variations no wider than those that separate the Spanish spoken in Spain from that of Latin America, British from American English, or Flemish from Dutch: it is called *valencià* in Valencia, *mallorquí* in Majorca, *tortosí* around Tortosa in southern Catalonia, and so on. Catalan is the sole official language of Andorra and has official status, alongside Spanish, in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia. At the time of writing, the Aragonese government has introduced a bill aiming at giving it co-official status in certain parts of Aragon.

The situation of Catalan has been weakened by 250 years of repression, particularly under the Franco regime. It also suffers from being under the jurisdiction of so many different governments at state and sub-state level which are prevented by political structures –and often by inter-party rivalry– from coordinating their efforts at home and abroad. Even so, the Catalan language displays surprising vitality. It is the ninth most widely spoken language in the European Union, and has more speakers than certain state languages such as Danish, Norwegian, Finnish or Slovenian. Catalan grammars and methods

19. Farràs et al. (2000) and Reixach (1997).

for learning Catalan have been published in several other languages and numerous bilingual dictionaries are available. Moreover the level of economic development of the area where it is spoken, its widespread use among all age groups and sectors of the population, its successful transmission from one generation to the next, its use in government, schools, higher education, public life and the media, and its ability to express concepts related to science, technology, business, and other key fields give it better prospects for survival than most of Europe's other lesser spoken languages.

According to some definitions Catalan might be classed as a minority language, although this notion is obviously relativized by socio-political contexts. Danish or Norwegian are in no danger of being classified as such – they are official languages of independent states– yet each of them has fewer speakers than Catalan. The fact remains that Catalan is spoken today* by well over six million people, and chiefly in a country where it has authentic historical roots and a strong claim to linguistic supremacy.

Jude Webber and Miquel Strubell²⁰

* Written in 1991.

... Catalan (is) a perfectly viable European language and the second language in Spain, of the size of a veritable Denmark ... : it is spoken by one in six citizens of Spain and official for one in four.

Isidor Mari²¹

Analysis of current economic trends on the Open University of Catalonia site.

20. Webber & Strubell (1991).

21. Mari (1993 : 180).

All these internationally famous personalities speak or spoke Catalan. For most of them, it is or was their mother tongue.



Top to bottom and left to right: Pau Casals (musician), Montserrat Caballé (opera singer), Salvador Dalí, Joan Miró, Antoni Tàpies (artists), Xavier Mariscal (graphic designer), Ricard Bofill (architect), Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (novelist), Àlex Crivillé (motor cycle champion), Joan Antoni Samaranch (former Chairman of the International Olympic Committee), Federico Mayor Zaragoza (former UNESCO Director General).

Knowledge of Catalan - what the figures say

The picture of the knowledge of the Catalan language in Catalonia which emerges from recent census data is reflected in the following table:

Knowledge of Catalan in Catalonia - evolution 1981-86

	Understand Catalan	Can Speak Catalan	Can Read Catalan	Can Write Catalan
1981	79.8	no data	no data	no data
1986	5,287,200 90.3%	3,747,813 64.0%	3,542,012 60.5%	1,844,493 31.5%
1996	5,683,23 95.0%	4,506,512 75.3%	4,330,251 72.3%	1,844,493 45.8%
Difference 1986-96	+ 4.7%	+ 11.3%	+ 11.8%	+ 14.3%
Difference 1981-96	+ 15.2%	—	—	—

Source: census data supplied by the Institut Català d'Estadística.²²

The interpretation of the above figures is facilitated by observing that ***lack of knowledge*** of the Catalan language is concentrated in certain groups and linked to specific factors:

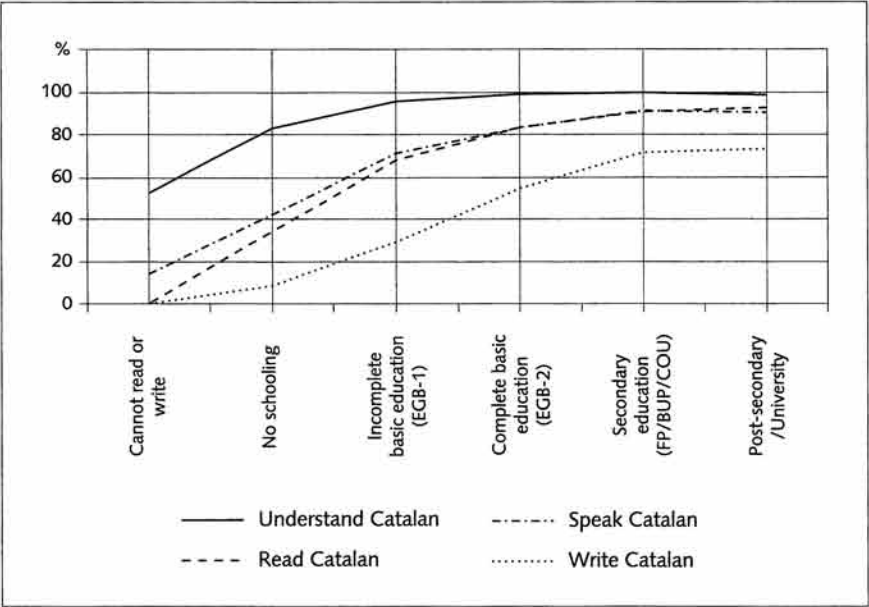
♦ More advanced age: one in three persons aged *over forty* **cannot** speak Catalan, compared with only 5% of *teenagers* and 10% of *young adults* (see graph on knowledge by age overleaf).

♦ Low educational achievement: nearly two-thirds of those who do **not understand** Catalan are either *illiterate or did not finish primary school*. In contrast, 90% of those with higher studies (secondary school graduates and above) can understand, speak and read Catalan (see graph on knowledge by schooling overleaf).

♦ Unskilled occupations: **inability** to understand and speak Catalan tends to be associated with *less highly qualified occupations* (less than 70% of 'blue

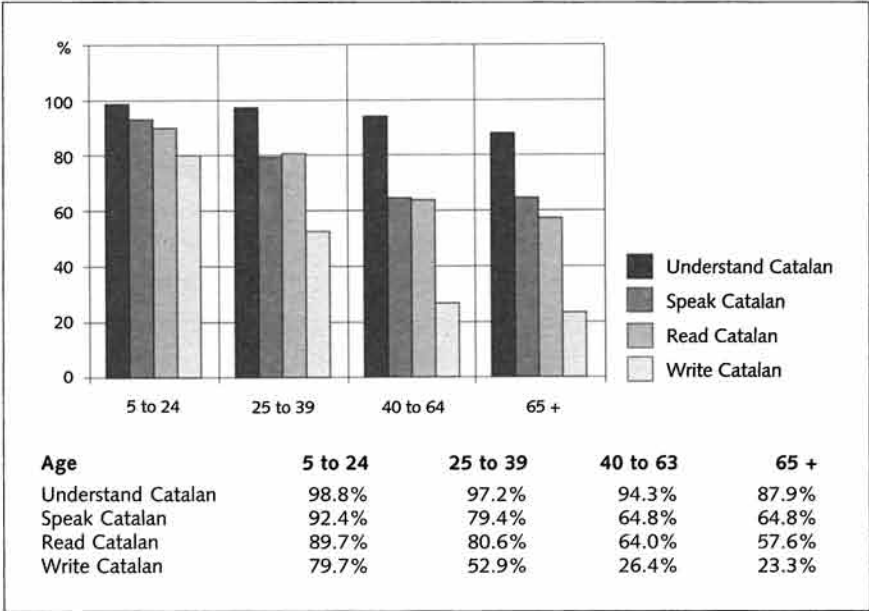
22. Farràs et al. (2000 : 30).

Knowledge of Catalan by level of schooling - 1996



Source: Census data supplied by the Institut Català d'Estadística. Adapted from Farràs et al. (2000 : 99). Percentages of population aged 15 and over.

Knowledge of Catalan by age - 1996



Source: Census data supplied by the Institut Català d'Estadística. Farràs et al. (2000 : 57).

collar' workers speak Catalan, compared with over 87% of those in 'white collar' jobs).

♦ Place of birth and residence: 74% of those born in *non-Catalan speaking parts of Spain* and resident in the mainly *industrial suburbs* of Barcelona are **unable** to speak Catalan (though far more can understand it).

Knowledge of Catalan - reading *between* the figures

The latest official figures on knowledge of Catalan in Catalonia can be seen as either encouraging or as discouraging, depending on how they are read.

On the positive side virtually the entire population aged 2 and over (more than 5 million people) understood Catalan at the time of the last census (1996), 3 out of 4 (close to 4 million) could speak it, and almost as many could read it. These figures showed a marked improvement over the last ten years and since the restoration of democracy (the topic was not, of course, included in censuses carried out under Franco).

The fact that a command of Catalan is associated with youth and higher educational and professional qualifications is also encouraging, particularly if one recalls that many other stateless languages are spoken primarily by the elderly and the less educated.

On the negative side, however, a language is clearly in an abnormal situation when approximately a quarter of the population *cannot* speak or read it and nearly half *cannot* write it. The contrast between the situation of Catalan and that of Spanish is further proof of this imbalance: a survey conducted in 1998 indicates that *97% of the population of Catalonia and other Catalan-speaking regions in Spain understand, speak and write Spanish*.²³

Furthermore, while knowledge is clearly rising and is a prior condition to actual use, it does not follow that all those who *can* speak Catalan actually *do* speak it in the course of their everyday lives. Nor does tell us anything about *how well* they speak and write it. Data and comments on both these aspects are to be found in the following sections.

23. CIS. Data referring to the autonomous communities of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands from the 1998 survey carried out by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

Use of Catalan

The only information available from the official censuses refers to knowledge of the Catalan language. For information about actual use of Catalan and Spanish we must resort to survey data. A recent survey of language use²⁴ reflects a near-tie between Catalan and Spanish throughout Catalonia, though Spanish has a significant lead in Barcelona and especially its industrial belt:

Usual language:	Catalonia	City of Barcelona	Barcelona Metropolitan area
Catalan	49.6%	46.2%	37.5%
Spanish	49.9%	52.9%	61.7%

The same survey enquired about the respondents' language preference with respect to reading matter and media. While the popularity of Catalan audiovisual media is high, the lower scores for activities involving reading reflect the below-normal familiarity of the population with written Catalan. The category 'predominantly Spanish' includes 32.5% of respondents who read newspapers and 26.9% who read books *'exclusively in Spanish'*.

Preferred language(s)	Press	Books	Radio	TV
Predominantly Catalan	23.5%	17.7%	35.5%	34.7%
No preference	19.1%	24.1%	29.7%	34.3%
Predominantly Spanish	52.6%	53.8%	30.4%	30.7%

In another a study conducted in early 2000²⁵ respondents all over Catalonia were asked which language they used most often in different situations. The results, which appear on the opposite page, again show the infrequent use of written Catalan while highlighting the relatively widespread use of the spoken language.

Among young people survey results indicate that actual *use* of the language falls far short of *ability* and that language switching is frequent among

24. Survey carried out by DYM in February 1999, *Avui* 19-6-1999. Non-responses have been eliminated from the figures presented.

25. Fabà et al. (2001).

Situation	% who use Catalan
asking a stranger a question in the street	51.7
with neighbours	46.1
shopping	52.9
with friends	42.3
with a barman in a bar or café	48.7
at work	50.4
with fellow students	56.5
with a local policeman	50.8
taking personal notes	36.7

the young. Whereas the percentage of young people able to speak Catalan is in excess of 90%, only 56.5% speak Catalan with fellow students while 16.2% speak both languages. Another study commissioned in 1999²⁶ yielded the following data on overall language use among the 15-29 age group: Always or mostly Catalan, 44.2%; Catalan and Spanish equally, 25.1%; Always or mostly Spanish, 30.0%.

On the other hand, there are signs of a rise in the use of Catalan in families since fewer respondents speak Catalan to their parents and peers than with their children (43-44% compared with 51%). In the home than language switching has increased sharply: fewer than 1% of respondents state that they speak both languages with their parents, as against 9% who speak both with their children.²⁷

The standard of Catalan

The Catalan used today still bears the scars of the persecution of the language under Franco. Native Catalans, especially those over forty, though they speak their mother tongue fluently and spontaneously in informal situations, frequently face the following problems:

26. Survey conducted in 1999 on behalf of the Catalan government's General Secretariat for Youth and Department of Culture. *Avui* 3-1-1999.

27. Fabà et al. (2001).

- ♦ Insufficient command of Catalan spelling and grammar.
- ♦ Unfamiliarity with the correct Catalan style and phraseology for more formal situations (formal correspondence, reports, speeches, etc.).
- ♦ Ignorance of specialized vocabulary in Catalan (scientific and professional terms, names of foreign places and people, neologisms, certain forms of slang, etc.).
- ♦ Inability to differentiate correctly between the two languages (confusion between similar words with different meanings in Catalan and Spanish, use of Spanish syntax, pronunciation, colloquialisms, etc.).

Such phenomena are difficult to illustrate with figures, though some are eloquent enough. The fact that only three out of five people *born in Catalonia* can write Catalan (and only three out of four university graduates can do so) is a clear illustration of the impact of all-Spanish schooling.

Nor has access to a Catalan education entirely eradicated such problems among the young. While today's young people have had infinitely better opportunities to learn to speak and write Catalan correctly, many come from Spanish-speaking families and others have been influenced by the poor Catalan spoken by older relatives and friends. Models of acceptable language usage are few and far between: many radio and television announcers, well-known public figures, personalities of the world of culture and even teachers still have a command of Catalan which would be considered deficient in any normal language context. To all this must be added the continuing predominance of Spanish throughout society and particularly in areas of special interest to the young: mass media, contemporary music, computer games, magazines, professional sport, and so on.

How Catalans see the language question

Survey results consistently indicate that the majority of Catalan residents, whatever their linguistic background, are aware that Catalan is an endangered language and of how this came about. Consequently, the principle of measures to restore the language balance receives widespread support, within the usual spectrum of opinion found in any democracy, some people feeling not enough is being done while others would be content with less.

Many examples could be quoted. A survey carried out in 1999²⁸ showed

28. Survey carried out by DYM in February 1999. *Avui* 19-6-1999.

Juggling with languages

When I moved to Barcelona in the early 1980s I rented a room for several months in a flat belonging to two charming Catalan ladies from an upper middle class family.

The flat was on the top floor and there was no lift, so the ladies ordered their groceries once a week from the local supermarket. The procedure was as follows:

- ♦ The two ladies sat at the kitchen table and discussed what items were to be ordered. The conversation was in Catalan, the only language I ever heard them speak with their family and friends, but they wrote out their list in Spanish, the only language they had been taught at school.
- ♦ They phoned the Catalan-speaking manager of the supermarket and, reading from their Spanish list, dictated the items to him in Catalan.
- ♦ The manager, who could not write Catalan either, wrote down the list of purchases in Spanish.
- ♦ When the groceries arrived, the ladies chatted in Spanish to the Spanish-speaking delivery boy who had moved to Barcelona at the age of 8 but still had difficulty understanding Catalan.
- ♦ As they put their groceries away in cupboards and refrigerator, one lady called out the name of each item in Catalan while the other checked it off the grocer's Spanish bill.

Initially I was fascinated by the complexity of the language switches involved. Later I realized that virtually the entire Catalan-speaking population had to go through the same rigmarole in innumerable situations of everyday life.

What I also realized was that my landlords were not using Spanish by choice: their own unfamiliarity with written Catalan, and the delivery boy's unfamiliarity with even the spoken language, left them with no alternative. Most of today's young people are better equipped to use Catalan in such situations: with a command of both languages, they can choose which they *prefer* to use, though social and economic pressure continues to give Spanish the upper edge.

that the overwhelming majority (83%) considered that *everyone who lives in Catalonia should know Catalan*. Over half (52-59%, according to place of residence) were in favour of an equal balance between Catalan and Spanish, while nearly a third (29-31%) felt the balance should favour Catalan. More than 57% of respondents gave Catalan government language policy a positive or highly positive assessment as against only 15% who took a negative or

What language conflict?

Contrary to what a very small, usually politically motivated minority sometimes claim, there is no language conflict in Catalonia today, in the sense of frequent clashes between speakers of Catalan and Spanish. In over 20 years in the country I have never witnessed any major incident, any display of real resentment or ill-will between Catalan and Spanish-speakers beyond the banter and grumbling that are equally characteristic of any normal relationship between people with different backgrounds, viewpoints or tastes.

Nowadays it is increasingly commonplace to hear conversations in which each speaker uses his or her own language, confident that the other is likely to understand and accept the give-and-take involved. This 'passive bilingualism', as it is often termed, is possible thanks to the command of Spanish which Catalans have possessed for decades and thanks to the (usually more limited) familiarity with Catalan acquired by most resident Spanish speakers through the re-introduction of Catalan into the schools and media.

Under the dictatorship the situation was very different. Catalan speakers were under constant and severe pressure to use Spanish in countless situations, while Spanish speakers were under virtually no pressure at all to learn or use Catalan. Nobody could be assumed to understand Catalan or to be sympathetic to its use: hence conversations in Catalan were only possible when all the participants knew each other to be habitual Catalan speakers. To address a stranger in Catalan in those days was to risk incomprehension and, frequently, hostility. In any formal or public situation Catalan was not only politically incorrect: for many years it was *politically banned*.

There is little doubt that the way the language situation has evolved in recent years is conducive to a more balanced exercise of language rights between Spanish and Catalan speakers and thus to social harmony and *convivència*, but real equality still seems a long way off.

highly negative view. Most were in favour of equality for Catalan and Spanish, and those who wished Catalan to predominate far outnumbered those who wished the predominant language to be Spanish. In answer to another question, the majority felt that Catalan and Spanish should be used equally in the press, radio, television, books, courts of justice, restaurants and cafés. Between 37% and 42% wanted Catalan to be uppermost in each of these fields, while only 4-7% wanted Spanish to predominate.

Catalan in the world

Examples of international activities by Catalans and their government

♦ Catalonia has been a leading partner in the EU's Committee of Regions and has cooperated actively with other industrially advanced regions of Europe in France, Germany and Italy.

♦ The Catalan President, despite constitutional constraints on international relations, made an average of 22 trips abroad each year between 1987 and 1997. He is a regular speaker at events such as the World Economic Forum.²⁹

♦ The Catalan government is represented by thirty-seven commercial and cultural offices abroad, twenty-two of them outside Europe.³⁰

♦ The Catalan economy has a high coefficient of openness (153%), a figure which reflects the large proportion of exports and imports in relation to its GDP. Catalan international trade virtually doubled its share of the world market between 1985 and 1997. Sectors displaying rapid growth include transportation, electronics and tourism.³¹

♦ As one of the four co-official languages at the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, Catalan was used alongside English, French and Spanish in all the official ceremonies, sports events, regulations and other documents.

♦ Catalonia has provided important input to projects such as the European Charter of Minority Language and the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights.

♦ A team of researchers at the Catalan Institute for Sociolinguistics was one of the three partners in the Euromosaic project, which yielded an extensive report on the state of languages in Europe for the European Commission.³²

♦ 'Digui digui', a method for learning Catalan developed by the Catalan Ministry of Culture, was a Council of Europe pilot project in the field of multimedia language teaching.

♦ The Catalan Ministry of Culture was one of the founding members of the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE).

29. Calculated from data supplied by the Catalan government's Department of the Presidency and published by Caterina Garcia Segura in FJB (1999: 409).

30. Figures for 1998 supplied by COPCA, CIDEM and Patronat Català Pro Europa according to Caterina Garcia Segura in FJB (1999 : 407).

31. Alex Costa & Jordi Galter, in FJB (1999 : 207).

32. EUROMOSAIC (1996, vol. I & II).

- ♦ A major international fair on the theme of multiculturalism –the Universal Forum of Cultures– is to be held in Barcelona in 2004.
- ♦ Catalan specialists have played a key role in the development of immersion teaching methods with input from similar experiments carried out in Quebec. These techniques have since been applied with the help of Catalan consultants in Finland, Italy and other countries.
- ♦ An international congress on language testing will be held in Barcelona in 2001 as part of European Year of Languages, a project in support of multilingualism backed by the European Commission and the Council of Europe.

The Catalan language in the European Union

As a result of a resolution passed by the European Parliament in December 1990, the Catalan language has official recognition within the EU, a status which has been implemented by measures such as the dissemination of treaties and other basic texts in Catalan and the use of Catalan in community offices in Catalan-speaking areas. However, Catalan does not enjoy the ‘working language’ status enjoyed by official state languages of similar dimensions.

Many Catalan observers are following the linguistic implications of present trend towards enlarged membership of the EU with interest. Fifty-six native European languages are spoken in the present EU, of which eleven are working languages; the new enlarged EU could well have a total of seventy native languages (not counting those of immigrant groups).³³ To make all official state languages into working languages would probably prove unmanageable in such circumstances and this could well offer stateless languages with a large number of speakers, such as Catalan, an opportunity to achieve equal footing with state languages of comparable importance instead of being excluded from major language programmes, such as Lingua, as has occurred in the past.

Catalan studies abroad

It is possible to study Catalan at over 150 universities throughout the world. The following are among the seventy or so universities with Catalan reader-ships: Amsterdam, Berkeley, Budapest, Frankfurt, Freiburg, Grenoble, Hei-

33. Nelde (2000).

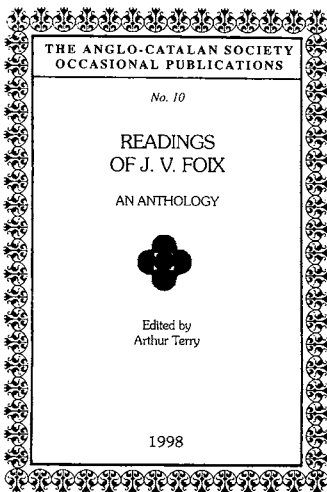
The difficulties of learning Catalan

The discovery that a foreigner can speak their language fills Catalans with delight and amazement. Yet they seem unwittingly to go out of their way to prevent them from doing so. They bend over backwards to accommodate outsiders and will frequently speak Spanish, without the slightest prompting, when talking to strangers who, by reason of their appearance, accent, name or attitude, are thought to be from elsewhere, especially foreigners.

Most Catalans, even when aware that the stranger *does* understand their language, still use Spanish out of a sometimes misguided sense of 'politeness'. In fact the outsider who *wants* to practise Catalan has very few opportunities to do so!

The English writer Mathew Tree, who is also resident in Catalonia, illustrates this point in an account of the problems his mother encountered when she visited Catalonia.³⁴ To prepare for her trip she had done a crash course in Catalan but to no avail, for everyone without exception insisted on speaking Spanish to her the second they discovered she was English. Her son suggested that on her next visit he would prepare a button with the legend 'I am not a nationalist. It's just that I'm not Spanish.'

This story is entirely borne out by my own experience. Even after decades in Catalonia, I still find that people still switch to Spanish in the middle of a perfectly satisfactory conversation in Catalan merely on discovering that my name is Hall, rather than Ferrer or Puig.



delberg, Humboldt (Berlin), Krakow, London, Mexico, Montevideo, Moscow, Münster, Oxford, Naples, Paris-Sorbonne, Paris VIII, Poznan, Provence, Rome, Rosario, Toulouse, Urbana, and Venice. The Sorbonne has set up a chair in Catalan literature and runs a Centre for Catalan Studies in the Marais district of Paris where language courses, lectures and other cultural activities are held.

An official International Certificate of Catalan is awarded, in accordance with the norms of the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE). Between 1990 and 1999 3,848 candi-

34. Tree, M., 'PSE, Normal' (*El Punt*, 2-4-2001), quoted by Graham Pollock in 'Reflexive nationalism and conceptual false friends' (www.theglobalsite.ac.uk).

dates had enrolled in courses to obtain the Certificate. Examinations were held in 1999 in twenty-five different foreign cities.

There are several active associations for specialists in Catalan studies. These include the Anglo-Catalan Society, North American Catalan Society, Associació Catalano-Germànica, Association Française des Catalanistes and Associazione Italiana di Studi Catalani. There are also 61 officially recognized Catalan social and cultural centres abroad, most of which offer courses in Catalan language and culture.³⁵

'Cultiver son jardin' ... à la catalane

Certain observers, deliberately or mistakenly, have conveyed the impression that Catalans are obsessed by purely local matters –studying traditional folklore, exalting the deeds of obscure unsung heroes and fostering their own little-known tongue– to the exclusion of all that is modern, outward looking and progressive.

This view, in my opinion, is largely unfounded but it is easy to see how it arose.

For a start, everything which gives Catalonia a personality of its own has, for centuries, been played down to reinforce the notion of an undivided and indivisible 'Spain'. Consequently many foreigners, even the better educated, are unable to point to Catalonia on the map, and dancing *sevillanas* or publishing a study of *Don Quixote* somehow seem less 'local' than dancing *sardanes* or writing a thesis on *Tirant lo Blanc*, an earlier tale of chivalry written in Catalan to which Cervantes acknowledged his indebtedness.

For another thing the neglectful, when not actively aggressive, treatment Catalonia has received from successive Spanish governments has led Catalans to rely more than other peoples on their own efforts and resources. They accordingly invest considerable energy in 'cultivating their own garden'.

Like Voltaire's *Candide*, however, their efforts extend well beyond the garden fence, encompassing leading-edge research, high-speed rail tracks and communications technology as well as culture and the arts. Geography and economics have a lot to do with this. Catalonia is no tiny inland enclave but a land of six million inhabitants, standing at the gateway to the Iberian peninsula but facing out over the Mediterranean. Its capital is a major metropolis and it grew prosperous through industry, trade and (latterly) tourism. International trends –from the industrial revolution to contemporary art and culture– have entered the peninsula through Catalonia and the concepts of cooperation and exchange are of crucial importance.

35. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 127 et sqq.).

... the State spends some 10,000 million pesetas on the international promotion of Spanish, but nothing on Catalan. And the cultural budget allocated to Madrid is seven times greater than that of the whole of Catalonia. This is not a State of self-governing regions, but a State with some bothersome regions.

Baltasar Porcel³⁶

36. *La Vanguardia*, 23-4-01.

The Catalan language in society

Media and press

Though Catalan-language media and press cover a broad spectrum, they continue to face two major problems:

- ♦ *The continuing repercussions of the persecution of Catalan during the Franco era*

For a considerable proportion of the population, including older generations of native Catalans educated in all-Spanish schools and Spanish speakers who settled in Catalonia under the dictatorship, Catalan remains a primarily spoken language. Radio and television programmes in Catalan have won large audiences but low literacy levels limit the readership of Catalan printed media and hinder the production of all types of media on account of the numerous language checks needed to ensure quality.

- ♦ *Market forces*

Commercial producers, broadcasters and publishers worldwide favour more widely spoken languages which reach larger audiences, at lesser cost, and generate more advertising income. Multinationals and Madrid-based media groups, who act beyond the control of the Catalan authorities and unhampered by a Spanish government largely unconcerned by the welfare of 'regional' languages, control an increasing share of the Catalan market and operate almost entirely in Spanish. This situation has numerous side effects: more and more Catalan media are being absorbed into Spanish or international groups, better career prospects and pay entice Catalan professionals away, the contents and quality of Catalan language media are adversely affected by the need to compete for audience with commercial media in Spanish, the capabilities of the Catalan production and publishing industries are diverted into creating products in Spanish, and so on.

Television and radio

Catalan television viewers currently have the choice between

- ♦ TV3 and Canal 33 –two publicly owned channels operated by the Catalan Corporation of Radio and Television (CCRTV) which broadcast wholly in Catalan

- ♦ TVE1 and TVE2 –two publicly owned channels run by the Spanish government's Televisión Española which broadcast mainly in Spanish, except for somewhat less than two hours a day in Catalan (for Catalonia and the Balearic Islands) at mainly off-peak time slots.

- ♦ Antena 3 and Telecinco –two commercial channels which broadcast virtually entirely in Spanish.

- ♦ Canal Plus –a commercial pay channel whose programmes are all in Spanish.

- ♦ Various pay-to-view digital platforms, all of which broadcast in Spanish.

- ♦ Approximately 113 local television stations which broadcast nearly all their own programmes in Catalan (except for films).³⁷

In 1999 TV3 and Canal 33, the two channels operated by the CCRTV (Catalan Corporation of Radio and Television), broadcast a total of 16,183 hours, all in Catalan. The channels' own productions accounted for 56.6% and they carried over 900 hours of advertising (85-90% in Catalan). A further 15,766 hours were broadcast by satellite.³⁸

In the early 1980s the only programmes in Catalan had been local broadcasts by Televisión Española at off-peak times. From the very start TV3, the main channel of the CCRTV set up in 1984, reached an exceptionally wide audience despite using a language that was still unfamiliar to many non-native viewers. Until the advent of commercial television in 1988 it succeeded in maintaining the overall balance between the amount of Catalan- and Spanish-language viewing. By 1988 TV3's rating in Catalonia was 43.6% and its programmes were being relayed to a sizeable Catalan-speaking audience in Valencia and the Balearic Islands.

The Spanish government's Commercial Television Law, passed in 1988, brought about a radical change by failing to make any provision for the

37. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 65).

38. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 63).

	A	A	B	B
	tv3	2	TV3	33
MAÑANA	6.00 Canal 24 horas. 7.30 Telediario matinal. Presentadores: Leticia Ortiz y César Maciá. Incluye Encuentros de San Fermín. 9.00 TPN Club (infantil). 10.30 La nueva familia Addams (serie). Miércoles tiene problemas con su profesora de pintura. La niña se niega a utilizsar los colores y sus padres deciden contratar al mejor artista. 10.55 Una chica explosiva (serie): "El silencio" (capítulo 13). (E) 11.20 Los repecoraciones (serie): capítulo 184. (E)	6.30 Cracada. 7.15 El 98: "La guerra de los 10 años". 8.10 Otros pueblos, rituales. 9.00 Otros pueblos, fiestas. Nueva (86). 9.30 La ruta de Sarmarkanda. 10.05 Indico. 11.00 La película de la mañana: "Despedida de casaca" (*). Tras once meses y un día de matrimonio, Sonia y Raúl se divorcian. Sin embargo, no les resulta sencillo separarse: ninguno de los dos renuncia a sus derechos sobre el piso, de modo que el juez no tiene más remedio que obligarlos a compartirlo. (Ver la sección TVPelículas.)	7.00 Telenoticias mat. Editor: Xavier Casati. Presentadores: Raquel Sans, Deportes: Raeli Bogot. 8.30 Bore dia. Cartelinyes (informativa). Director y presentador: Joan Oliver. 10.40 Missaga de poder (telenovela): capítulo 133. Roger coge a Neus en brazos y Judith y Clotilde explican a Miquel y Agustí su defensa de Marçal. Capítol després que fue Roger quien le rompió la mano. 11.30 Invisibile (serie): "El ped Van Bassen" (E) (E) (E)	7.00 Club Super3 (infantil). Els fruits. Els intrépids. Bluffers (7.25). Teddy Trucks (7.50). 10 + 2 (8.05). (E) Les aventuras de Buda (8.15). (E) Pira (8.25). L'orquestra de l'Oscar (8.50). La bruixa novida (9.15). (E). Anna (9.25). (E). (E). Les aventures d'en Rocky en Bullwinkle i companyia (9.50). (E) (E). Dovesen (10.15). Conan (10.40). Roger Power (11.05). (E). Cantes del guardie de la cripta (11.30).
	12.15 El hombre invisible (serie): "El talón y el gato" (capítulo 12). 13.00 Los vigilantes de la playa (serie): "Punto de ebullición". El mayor patrocinador de los vigilantes visita la base de Hoval el día en el que todo parece haberse puesto en marcha de Seon: el ordenador central se ha estropeado, falta personal y, para colmo, la visitante de honor de la semana, hija del citado patrocinador, amenaza der su sueno a Joana y Zach para escapar de su sueno. 14.00 L'informatu migdia. 14.30 Carreras de Varano (técnico nacional). Presentador: Anne Igartiburu.	12.50 La pecera (concurs). 13.00 TPN Club. Doreman, el gato cósmico. Aventuras en palacios. Digion. El regreso de los cazafantasmas.	12.20 Pal-lecker. "L'inspector Clousseau" (Inspector Clousseau) (*). El insalable Clousseau de la police française ha algo destinado a una misión especial en Scotland Yard para resolver una serie de crímenes en Suiza. (Ver la sección TVPelículas) (E). 13.35 Videocine (E). 13.56 Avans informatiu migdia. (E). 14.00 Telenoticias Catalunya. 14.20 medi ambient (tecnico). Hoy "Estrategia belica del mar de Barcelona". 14.30 Telenoticias migdia. Director: Mireia Sans. Presentadores: Xavi Cardé y Montse Jane. Deportes: Xavier Bonastre (E).	12.00 Club Super3 (infantil). El món d'en Sarama. El món de la ciència. 12.30 Planeta Terra: La vida a tocar de la Ribera (documental). 13.30 Jd.net. Bola de cine City "Hien robat la bola an Galtu en un pa any". 14.00 Jd.net. Ramon: "Akane & a l'espia". 14.30 Jd.net. El detectiu Conan: "L'assassin del cap de la famia: Pò". 14.53 Jd.net. Shun Chan. (E).
MEDIADIA				
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At the end [of the 1990s] the consolidation of radio and television consumption in Catalan, under the leadership of the media which are dependent on the CCRTV, is a *fait accompli*. But this should not ... be allowed to conceal the growth of the supply of communications media in Spanish. The inequality between [Catalan and Spanish] will become increasingly obvious as a result of the expansion of digital platforms, the future expansion of cable and its audiovisual production capability, and the growing interest of major multimedia groups in absorbing the greatest possible number of interests. ... On the threshold of the 21st century, we must be content with the existence of a balance which favours Catalan in terms of audience but which is detrimental to Catalan in terms of business, market and breadth of supply.

Mònica Terribas
and Xavier Bosch⁴⁰

2000. The ratings also confirm the popularity of a wide range of Catalan television programmes: eighteen of the forty top ranking programmes in Catalonia in November 2000 were by TV3. They included the afternoon, evening and week-end news (well ahead of rival Spanish-language news programmes), as well as sitcoms, soaps, current affairs programmes, football transmissions and films, all produced or dubbed in Catalan.⁴¹ The most successful Catalan soap operas have been followed by nearly a million viewers.⁴²

Catalan television, however, in spite of its undeniable popularity, is at an obvious disadvantage compared with the three commercial and two public channels broadcasting entirely or largely in Spanish, not to mention the new digital channels.

In the field of radio the situation is similar. The CCRTV's Catalunya Ràdio has considerably more listeners than any other station covering the whole of Catalonia and heads the morning and afternoon rankings, while other Catalan-language public and commercial channels also score well (Com Ràdio, RAC1, etc).⁴³ Of the approximately 200 local ra-

dio stations, over three quarters broadcast at least 90% of the time in Catalan.⁴⁴

However, Catalan-language radio stations cannot compete with the *com-*

40. FJB (1999 : 696).

41. Taylor-Sofres, quoted in COM21-2 (2001 : 29-32).

42. Josep Gifreu in FJB (1999 : 753).

43. COM21-2 (2001: 29-30).

44. Generalitat de Catalunya (2000 : 65).

bined audience of the numerous public and privately owned Spanish-language networks, many of them part of powerful media groups which cover all of Spain: SER, COPE, Radio Nacional de España, etc. The percentage of commercial radio programmes in Catalan barely reaches 10%.⁴⁵

The press

Daily newspapers

In 1999 over 750,000 daily newspapers were sold in Catalonia, an average of 126 per 1,000 inhabitants. This figure is low by the standards of many more northerly countries but well above the Spanish average of 101 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. Fourteen daily papers are published in Catalonia, of which three are general news dailies, two are devoted to sports, and nine are local or regional in scope (some publishing separate editions for different parts of the country). Seven Spanish dailies also publish special editions for Catalonia. Figures on their respective readerships will be found in the table overleaf, which does not include Spanish and foreign papers not specifically aimed at Catalonia which have much lower circulations.⁴⁶

The fact that the daily press published in and for Catalonia accounts for well over 80% of the circulation figures indicates the existence of a clear demand for specifically Catalan news coverage. This bars major Spanish papers like *El País*, *El Mundo* or *ABC* from offering serious competition, even with special editions for Catalonia. The same specificity is not reflected, however, in terms of language since Catalan language dailies represent only 23.8% of the most popular titles and 20.3% of the sales. If the editions for Catalonia of Spanish papers are excluded, the Catalan-language daily press accounts for 35.7% of the titles and 24.8% of the circulation (almost half the circulation in the case of local and regional dailies). The choice of daily papers in Catalan, moreover, is limited: for instance, none of the popular daily sports papers are in Catalan.⁴⁷

The latest newcomers to the Catalan market are not included in the above figures. These are two daily newspapers for Barcelona which are distributed

45. Idem.

46. Calculated from official figures for 1999 issued by the Oficina de Justificació de la Difusió and published in COM21-2 (2001: 43-51).

47. COM21-2 (2001 : 43-51).

Daily newspapers published in:	Type of paper	% of total circulation	Number of titles	Number of titles in Catalan	Circulation (total copies sold)	Copies sold in Catalan	% of copies sold in Catalan
Catalonia	General information	54.7	3	1.5 (1)	412,479	111,764 (2)	27.1
Catalonia	Sports	15.6	2	0	118,135	0	0
Catalonia	Local and regional (3)	11.2	9	3.5 (1)	84,262 (2)	40,931 (2)	48.6
Spain - editions for Catalonia	General information	11.2	4	0	84,114	0	0
Spain - editions for Catalonia	Sports	5.9	2	0	44,266	0	0
Spain - edition for Catalonia	Economy	1.4	1	0	10,217	0	0
		100	21	5 (23.8%)	753,473	152,695	20.3

(1) The decimal represents the Catalan edition of dailies which publish separate editions in Catalan and Spanish.

(2) Figures for the papers which publish separate editions in Catalan and Spanish are correct to within 0.5%.

(3) Many local and regional papers are also published on a non-daily basis (see below).

free of charge and claim print runs of 100,000 and 200,000 copies respectively. Both contain articles in Spanish and in Catalan, but the Spanish titles – *Barcelona y m@s* and *Metro directo* – and the fact that one is the offshoot of a Madrid paper and the other is published by the Spanish subsidiary of a Swedish based group may be of significance for the future.⁴⁸

Sales of Catalan language dailies are low in comparison with the proportion of the population able to read Catalan and the re-establishment of a Catalan daily press after the nearly 40-year-long ban has been fraught with difficulties. The first Catalan language newspaper to break the forced monopoly of Spanish was *Avui*, which appeared on the streets in 1976, a few months after Franco's death. It is still in circulation, unlike several other Catalan general news dailies launched in subsequent years which ran aground for a variety of reasons. A real break-through came in 1997 with the decision of *El Periódico de Catalunya*, which already had a strong foothold in the market with its edition in Spanish, to publish another edition in Catalan. Translation from one language to the other is done by largely computerized means and two out of every five readers subsequently opted for the Catalan edition. The re-

48. COM21-2 (2000 : 23), COM21-3 (2001 : 31).



Comienza el reflote del submarino 'Kursk'

⊕ LA OPERACIÓN para rescatar la nave del fondo del mar de Barents empezó ayer y está previsto que concluya el día 20 de septiembre. Además de 106 cadáveres de tripulantes, quedan en el interior del sumergible 18 torpedos sin explotar y 24 misiles nucleares, que según los rusos no llevan ojiva atómica. J.M.M.



Comença el rescat del submarí 'Kursk'

⊕ L'OPERACIÓ per rescatar la nau del fons del mar de Barentsz va començar ahir i està previst que s'acabi el dia 20 de setembre. A més a més de 106 cadàvers de tripulants, queden a l'interior del submergible 18 torpedes sense explotar i 24 míssils nuclears, que segons els russos no porten ogiva atòmica. J.M.M.

La UE presiona a los guerrilleros albaneses

⊕ EL CONSEJO de Ministros de Asuntos Generales de la UE acordó ayer prohibir el visado de entrada en zona comunitaria a los extremistas albaneses de Macedonia. La medida, de momento en suspenso, pretende presionar a los guerrilleros para que respeten el alto el fuego y colaboren en las negociaciones políticas. E.O.

La UE pressiona els guerrillers albanesos

⊕ EL CONSELL de Ministres d'Assumptes Generals de la UE va acordar ahir prohibir el visat d'entrada en zona comunitària als extremistes albanesos de Macedònia. La mesura, de moment en suspens, pretén pressionar els guerrillers perquè respectin l'alto el foc i col·laborin en les negociacions polítiques. E.O.



gional paper *El Segre* also began issuing a Catalan edition the same year. As a result of these two developments, the proportion of Catalan-language daily papers rose from 9% to over 20% of the circulation. The overall trend in the local and regional daily press is encouraging, with virtually all titles showing increased sales in recent years. One regional paper published in Catalan – *El Punt* – is expanding especially fast, with a readership of close to 23,000 in 1999 and nine different local editions.⁴⁹

Weeklies and magazines

Catalans read more weeklies and magazines than people in most other parts of Spain: Catalonia, with only 16% of the population of Spain, accounts for 20% of total sales (2,400,000 copies according to official 1999 figures).

Catalan-based publishers account for between 40% and 45% of the circulation figures (according to the type of periodical). However the overwhelming majority of the weeklies and magazines on sale in Catalonia, on topics ranging from current affairs, to fashion, television, cars, computers or family life, are in Spanish, because the publishers are forced to compete in the Spanish and Latin American markets with powerful Madrid-based and multinational publishing groups. On most of the above-mentioned topics, and many others, there are quite simply no Catalan-language publications on the market.

A handful of Catalan-language periodicals do manage to thrive, however, most of them targeted at specialized sectors of the reading public. Examples include magazines for children or young people, such as *Cavall Fort* or *La Revista dels Súpers* (some 46,000 copies between them), a magazine on Catalan regions and cities (*Descobrir Catalunya* – over 20,000 copies), the veteran cultural affairs journal *Serra d'Or* (which now prints 10,000 copies and was for many years the only periodical in Catalan tolerated by the dictatorship, thanks to the protection of the Benedictine monks of Montserrat), and one high-quality current affairs magazine published in Valencia – *El Temps* – with a print-run of approximately 30,000.

The proportion of Catalan-language publications is much higher in the local and regional non-daily press. This sector comprises some thirty general news weeklies with an overall circulation of approximately 70,000, plus 300 or so local magazines and advertising papers. The great majority of such pe-

49. COM21-2 (2001: 43-51)