

Jude Webber & Miquel Strubell i Trueta

THE CATALAN LANGUAGE

PROGRESS TOWARDS NORMALISATION

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PREFACE

In 1986 Miquel Strubell was invited by the Anglo-Catalan society to address its annual conference, held that year at the University of Southampton, on the subject of the present state of the Catalan language. The aim of the paper was to provide a review of policies being pursued with the objective of achieving generalised and fully normalised use of the language in all domains within Catalonia. Attention was paid also to describing the activities of the II International Conference of the Catalan Language which had been held, in Catalonia and in other Catalan-speaking regions in Spain, France and Andorra, in April and May of the same year.

In these circumstances the Society felt that it would be appropriate to publish a version of the lecture in its collection of Occasional Papers. The project, however, suffered a series of technical setbacks which prevented it from being fulfilled within the reasonable time originally anticipated. When the possibility of publication was revived some years later, it was clear in discussions that the situation of the language had already evolved so much since 1986 that a thorough revision of the original text was called for. It was also clear that other commitments, at that time, prevented Miquel Strubell from undertaking this work and reassuming single-handed responsibility for the project. It was at this stage that the timely intervention of Robert Pring-Mill, Fellow of Saint Catherine's College, Oxford and a former President of the Anglo-Catalan Society, put the wheels in motion again. Robert had supervised Jude Webber's undergraduate dissertation (1989) on progress towards linguistic normalisation in Catalonia since the 1983 Language Normalisation Act. He approached the A-CS about the possibilities of publishing this research; contact was established between the two authors through the agency of the Society, and a combined effort produced the necessary revision and adjusted focus on the original material.

The present publication is thus the product of a gratifying Anglo-Catalan collaboration. The authors are happy to put their joint signatures to a survey which combines the perspective of a professional language planner,

actively involved in some of the projects described in the text, with that of a specialist observer from 'outside'.

Our study is structured in three complementary parts. The main text is a narrative account of the main processes in the normalised use of Catalan that have developed in the last few years, with emphasis placed on steps taken through language planning in its main areas of implementation. (Our scope has had to be limited to reviewing progress in the Principality of Catalonia itself, with only a sideways look at parallel developments and the particular complexities of normalisation throughout all the *Països Catalans* that our frontispiece map depicts.) The appendixes reproduce English versions of the main legal instruments, Catalan and Spanish, under the terms of which the normalisation process is being conducted. As complements to this material we also supply: analysis of linguistic data from the 1986 Census; a translation of the 1990 pronouncement by the Institute of Catalan Studies on the present state of the language, with its important recommendations for co-ordinated political action throughout all the Catalan-speaking territories; chronological tables which plot the development of institutional measures for language normalisation, first in the Principality and then in the wider ambit. Finally, we suggest further reading, with guidance on access to the ever-expanding bibliography, for those wishing to pursue the subject in more detail.

The fact is that, by its very nature, language normalisation in Catalonia is a process in constant development, and any publication on the subject will be in some degree 'out of date' by the time it appears. Nevertheless, the authors hope that this volume will serve as a useful report on key issues, providing a framework in which the continuing process can be understood and meaningfully followed. Another primary aim that we hope to have fulfilled is that of providing a basic tool to stimulate and facilitate further research on a topic whose importance is internationally acknowledged.

We are grateful to Robert Pring-Mill and to Alan Yates for making our collaboration possible, and to the Anglo-Catalan Society for providing this opportunity for us to combine our perspectives on a common concern which is by definition shared by all members of the Society.

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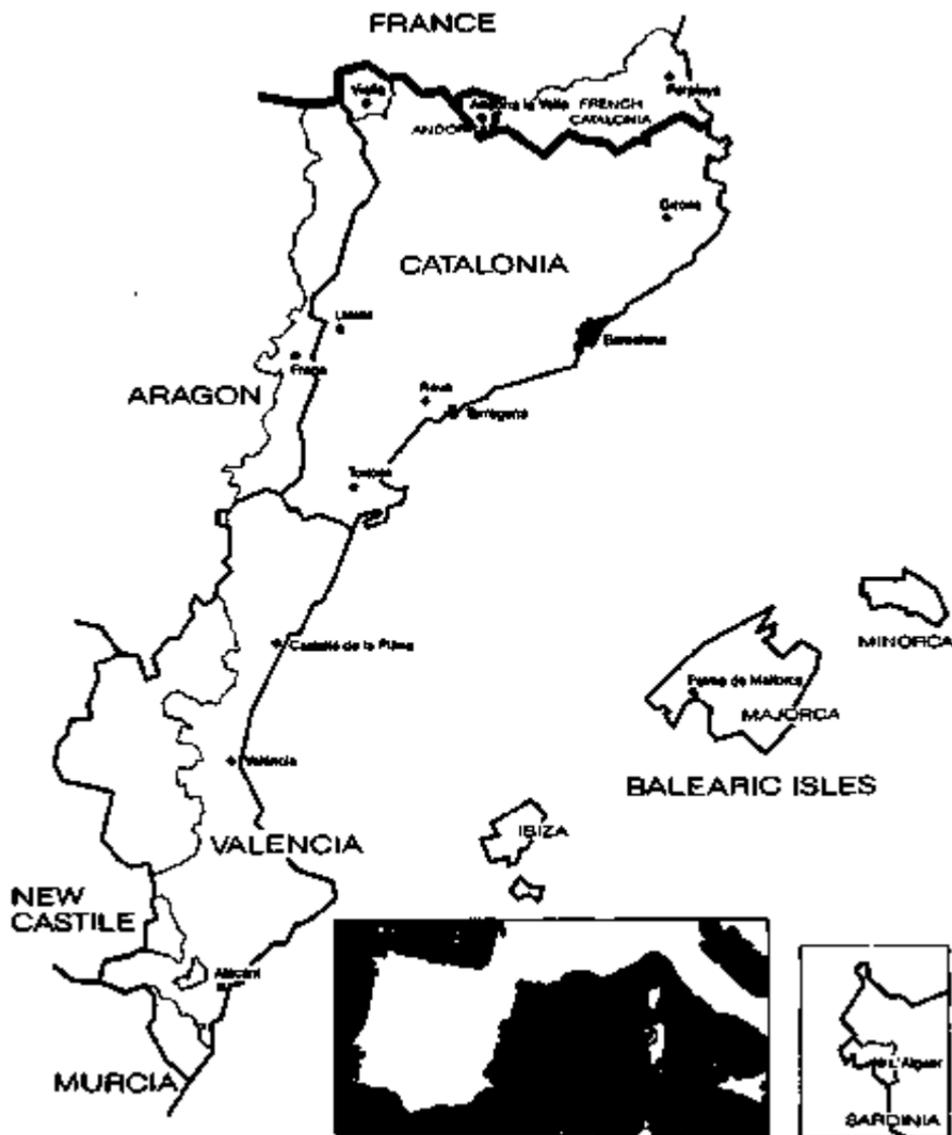
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THE PAÏSOS CATALANS or CATALAN-SPEAKING TERRITORIES



INTRODUCTION

'A nation without a state, a people without a language?': this was the title of an article published in the journal *Els Marges* in 1979, the year in which Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy was passed. Its scathing assessment of the inadequate measures taken by both the Spanish and the newly instituted Catalan governments to restore Catalan to its position as national language reached a bleak crescendo: the Catalan language and Catalan culture were in danger of dying out. The 1980s, however, brought a new vigour to language policies; some people might still attack them with the criticism 'too little, too late', but the prognosis today is much healthier and there is a greater commitment to raising the level of language consciousness, born of the knowledge that Catalan is still dangerously vulnerable if public support runs out. More recent jeremiads serve, at least, as antidotes to any complacency on this last, important point. This is the context of the latest polemic between 'catastrophists' and 'optimists' (covered in the book by F. Vallverdú, *L'ús del català... [1990]* that we cite in our Suggestions for Further Reading) and also of the recent pronouncement on normalisation from the Institute of Catalan Studies, reproduced as an Appendix below.

The Catalan language has always been at the heart of Catalonia's struggle to affirm her political identity, and it has retained its vitality despite having been made a political hostage so often in the course of sanctions against Catalonia throughout the modern period. Even so, in the new post-Franco democracy, the fight for proper understanding and recognition has been difficult and prolonged because attitudes towards language are often part of a broader cultural and political perspective. The reaffirmation of Catalan inevitably calls into question the status of Catalonia herself: as just one of Spain's autonomous regions, Catalonia cannot proscribe or dispense with use of the official state language, Castilian, however conflictive or damaging the effects of 'co-officiality' may be perceived to be.

Catalonia was openly committed to recovering and extending the use of her language even before the first steps towards political rehabilitation

were taken in 1978. *The Llei de Normalització Lingüística* (Language Normalisation Act) passed in 1983, presented a concrete framework for change in the form of a series of minimum requirements. In order to examine the state of Catalan today, we shall begin by exploring the historical and sociolinguistic backgrounds to the situation. We shall consider then how normalisation policies have been put into practice and look ahead to the implications of Catalonia as an actively bilingual society with its own—normalised—language.

I THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The state of Catalan today cannot fully be appreciated without an understanding of the language's history. Catalan is of a similar age to other Romance languages, having emerged gradually in the centuries following the collapse of the Roman Empire as the language of the people in the mountainous region joining the Iberian Peninsula to the rest of the continent. Documentary evidence, albeit scant, proves that by the tenth century there existed a language now identifiable as Catalan.

The Catalans gained *de facto* independence from the Franks at the end of the tenth century and gradually expanded their territory—first southwards in the Peninsula to cover the Valencian region, and subsequently eastward via the Balearic Islands—from then until the fifteenth century. By this time, Catalan had spread across the Mediterranean to Sicily, Sardinia and Greece and had become the official language throughout Catalan-speaking areas. Literary production flourished during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and prominent writers included the great polymath Ramon Llull (c1232-1315), the poet Ausiàs March (c1397-1459) and Joanot Martorell (c1414-1468), author of the celebrated novel of chivalry *Tirant lo Blanc*. It was in Valencia in 1474 that *Trobes en llaors de la Verge Maria* was published, the first book to be printed using a printing press in the Iberian Peninsula.

The use of Catalan began to decline when a monarch of the Castilian dynasty succeeded to the throne after the death (1410) of the childless King Martí l'Humà. A long period of political and cultural decadence ensued, coinciding with the rise of Castile at the head of Spain's projection (and subsequent fall, from the seventeenth century) as an imperial power on a global scale. Following the year-long siege of Barcelona in 1713 and the subsequent defeat of Catalonia in the War of Spanish Succession, the use of Catalan was actively discouraged by an increasingly centralised Spanish state. The language's status was eroded as it became progressively more

dialectalised and archaic, its use largely confined to limited 'domestic' and unofficial contexts.

Catalonia's political and linguistic history has clearly been a chequered pattern of supremacy, subordination and survival. Demographic expansion in the eighteenth century was the basis for renewed economic momentum in the industrial era. Against this background, Romantic nationalism highlighted the pre-existing differentials between Catalan society and the rest of Spain. The language was 'rediscovered' as the embodiment and symbol of collective identity, becoming the focal point of the revival movement, the *Renaixença*, that gathered strength throughout the nineteenth century. Hesitant, nostalgic and distinctly parochial in the early years, the *Renaixença* made positive gains as the urban middle classes asserted their socio-economic confidence and as Barcelona was transformed into the capital of a society in the full throes of industrialisation and modernisation. Initially confined to being a movement of linguistic and cultural recuperation—its nostalgic cast embodied in the revival of the medieval poetry contest of the *Jocs Florals*—the *Renaixença* acquired political overtones in line with the social dynamic of the last decades of the century, especially in Catalonia proper. In historical perspective, its significance was to have restored the Catalan language to a status and condition in which it could again be used as a natural vehicle of 'high' culture. This process was consummated in the *modernista* movement which succeeded it, fired by the conviction that cosmopolitanism was the essence of Catalan-ness and that this correlation should be visible across an entire repertoire of cultural expression.

By the beginning of the twentieth century Catalan culture in general, including literature in all forms, could stand on its own feet alongside its European counterparts. At the same time the embryonic political self-awareness was translated into an energetic movement of Catalan nationalism, centred in the Principality but reverberating across all the Catalan-speaking territories. The language itself was subjected to a rigorous process of standardisation and modernisation to equip it, as it were, for service in a new era of collective self-affirmation. The movement of *Noucentisme* directed the participation of intellectuals and writers in an operation that was presided over by the grammarian-lexicographer Pompeu Fabra. The Philological Section of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, founded in 1907, to which Fabra belonged, was one of the institutional pillars of the new Catalanism of the twentieth century; its

achievements in the sphere of language reform constitute the backbone of the fully 'normativised' language that is Catalan today.

The progress consolidated in the early years of the twentieth century did not, however, lead into an uninterrupted progression of political achievement. Under the presidency of the charismatic conservative leader, Enric Prat de la Riba, a degree of home rule was obtained with the amalgamation of the four *Diputacions* from each of Catalonia's provinces to create the autonomous *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (1914-1925), the ancestor of the present *Generalitat*. Internal political tensions, however, and intense strain in the relationship between Catalonia and the central Spanish government persistently contradicted autonomist aspirations. In a climate of crisis and general instability, centralist opposition to home rule in Catalonia eventually triumphed in the form of General Primo de Rivera's bloodless coup in 1923. Inevitably, the Catalan language became a principal scapegoat for the ills afflicting Spain as a whole.

With the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931, Catalonia recovered a degree of autonomy unknown since 1714. Within the dispensations of the 1932 Republican Constitution, the *Generalitat* promoted the use of Catalan for education, administration, communications and culture; in short, Catalan for a time enjoyed a relatively normalised status of which it was to be violently deprived by the outcome of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. The years of the Franco regime (1939-1975) were a period of severe repression—cultural genocide even, in the early stages—the effects of which only began to be countered as the regime slowly loosened its grip on affairs during the 1960s. In the post-Franco transformation of the Spanish state a most salient line has been the Catalans' unanimous reaffirmation of the political and linguistic legitimacy briefly attained in the 1930s. Any scepticism concerning the justification of 're-normalisation' programmes in the newly democratic Spain of the late 1970s and 1980s can easily be refuted; Catalonia's credentials are evident. Throughout the whole of the modern period, the history of the Catalan language has been one of a constantly renewed struggle to overcome its essentially vulnerable position as the first victim of fluctuations in Spain's centuries-old centre-versus-periphery dissensions.

II SOCIAL, DEMOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

When the status of a language fluctuates between official and outlawed, language attitudes are profoundly affected. Discrimination is inevitable when one language is imposed upon another; the 'imposed' language is associated with official and correct usage while the other language tends to be downgraded and destabilised. The result is diglòssia, a situation of conflict between languages which co-exist where the decision to opt for one language rather than the other is made on the basis of socio-cultural prestige and as the result of social pressures prevailing over instinctive or subjective preferences. It is a salient feature of the type of bilingualism which has developed in Catalonia during this century.

Large-scale immigration during the 1950s and 1960s, chiefly from the south of Spain, has meant that the population of Catalonia has come to be composed of two different speech communities with radically different—though gradually lessening—capacities to switch between languages. The combination of such social factors and the political suppression of regional languages perpetrated under the Franco regime has created an ambivalent situation: in contrast to Castilian, which represents a kind of universal currency, both oral and written, Catalan tends to be forced into the inferior role of a vernacular, valid exclusively for Catalan nationals. Yet this same 'inferior' language possesses all the credentials of a 'normal', fully-fledged language and is, moreover, the symbol of group identity. When one section of the population is required to manipulate both codes, but the other is unwilling, or has no incentive to do the same, tension is unavoidable. Diglòssia has been likened to a time-bomb; certainly it entails a false equilibrium which, both gradually and with decisive turns, operates to the detriment of the subordinated language.

Catalan is now official throughout the Principality of Catalonia (the main area studied here), Valencia, the Balearic Islands and Andorra. It is also spoken, although unofficial, in the Roussillon region of France (known as

Catalunya Nord), in L'Alguer, Sardinia and in the border area of Aragón. Aranese, the Occitan language of the Vall d'Aran, is a special case, and has separate normalisation programmes.

According to some definitions, Catalan might be classed as a minority language, although this notion is obviously relativised by socio-political contexts. Danish or Norwegian are in no danger of being classed 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 both authentic historical roots and a strong claim to linguistic supremacy.

There are no accurate figures for the total number of Catalan-speakers; immigration into Catalonia and the consequent rapid expansion of Castilian 'ghettoes' around Barcelona have complicated the matter because distinctions have to be drawn between those who merely understand and those who understand and use Catalan. The first language census did not take place until 1975 and was restricted to the province of Barcelona. The 1981 Census covered the whole of Catalonia, but in terms of linguistic analysis the 1986 Census is the most sophisticated to date because specific functions of language were separated to give a clearer picture of proficiency in Catalan. (A full explanation of linguistic data from the Census of 1986 is included in our Appendix 5.)

A high-profile *Generalitat* advertising campaign to promote cultural identity declared: '*Som sis milions*'—"There are six million of us". Even in terms of Catalan-speakers, rather than simply inhabitants of Catalonia, this is now beginning to look like a conservative estimate.

III SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Language Consciousness and Attitudes

Despite the fact that the majority of Catalan families continued to use Catalan at home and for informal social purposes during Franco's regime, his pro-diglossic propaganda was extremely pervasive. Close and constant contact with non-Catalan speakers has adversely affected language consciousness in Catalonia and this has been blamed for the relatively slow recovery of the social use of Catalan following the reaffirmation of its official status in 1978.

In the light of the recent history of the Catalan language and the low levels of language consciousness, it is perhaps surprising that attitudes towards the Catalan language have proved so favourable. There has been widespread support for the teaching of Catalan in schools, and knowledge of Catalan is regarded, by a high proportion of non-Catalans, as a stepping stone to better job prospects.

The use of Catalan in public has usually been accepted and at best positively welcomed. Among non-Catalans, however, bilingual solutions are often preferred. Catalan has taken on a higher profile through meetings of all kinds, from neighbourhood associations to parents' meetings at schools. At the same time, such television programmes as *Dallas* in Catalan and the dubbing of some feature films into Catalan have helped to extend the impact and popular prestige of the language.

It would probably now be Utopian to contemplate the possibility of reinstating Catalan as the exclusive language of the *Països Catalans* in the near future. Even when this is acknowledged, the question of returning Catalan to a position of prominence, or even proper parity, without promoting discrimination on linguistic grounds is a delicate one. Speakers of other languages which have only a small international status have not considered the possibility of abandoning their languages, but have acquired other, necessary languages in, to use the Canadian educationist W.E. Lambert's term, an 'additive' way. There are some radical Catalan nation-

alists who oppose any promotion of bilingualism on the grounds that a second language perpetuates the threat to the survival of their own demographically restricted language. Nevertheless, if Catalonia is to have two active languages, a very positive case can be made for additive bilingualism as the least detrimental policy to be pursued. It can be seen as a matter of pragmatic expediency. Since Castilian seems here to stay, the only option is to depict Catalan as equally vital, but more vulnerable, and therefore in need of special protection.

But motivation remains crucial. The non-Catalan population must feel the inducement both to learn and to use Catalan. In nearly all schools, motivation to learn Catalan has established a significant momentum, both because knowledge of Catalan is widely considered by non-Catalans as a way of enhancing job prospects and because the increasing use of Catalan as a vehicle of instruction makes it immediately relevant. However, this is not matched by a similar motivation, or sufficient incentive, to favour Catalan in every kind of social context. There are few situations in which it is obligatory or essential to use Catalan; the 'comfortable' Castilian option is always available in an integrally bilingual context where compulsory education in Castilian for the best part of a century has virtually eliminated all monolingual Catalans.

2. Language Speaker Stereotypes

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Catalonia with its capital, Barcelona, was a highly developed, advanced urban society. The cultured bourgeoisie was essentially composed of Catalan-speakers; immigration was usually confined to Barcelona itself and non-Catalan immigrants tended to learn Catalan.

Following Franco's victory in 1939, Catalonia was subjected to political rather than economic repression. As a result, heavy immigration into the Barcelona conurbation from rural areas of the poorest parts of Spain (chiefly Andalusia and Extremadura), from about 1950 onwards, provided cheap labour at the lowest rungs of the urban social ladder. The Catalan-speaker was therefore seen as a socially ascendent person by immigrants and by Spaniards in general. The Spanish-speaker in Catalonia, particularly if he had a regional accent was, and still is, socially downgraded. The Catalan situation can therefore be regarded as an unusual one in Western Europe where minority languages generally have low prestige.

Such a situation has tended to encourage integration on the part of non-Catalans. However, a numerically smaller, although socially and professionally influential, sector of the workforce—including notaries, judges, magistrates, police, the military and, until recently, school teachers—have been, and to a considerable extent still are, appointed to their posts by a centralist selective procedure. Their 'aloofness' from the Catalan question has obviously modified the earlier association of Catalan-speakers with prestige and a high profile.

Research into language-speaker stereotypes, such as that carried out by Kathryn Woolard (1984, 1988) of the University of Wisconsin, has proved revealing in terms of how the use of a particular language can indicate feelings about status and solidarity. Professor Woolard conducted matched-guise experiments in which listeners were asked to evaluate and describe the personality of several people speaking in Catalan and Castilian with diverse shadings of accent. Listeners downgraded in-group speakers when they used the out-group language (for example, Catalans downgraded Catalans who spoke in Castilian):

A prestige factor was identified and when the results of all speakers are considered, the use of Catalan shows no stigmatisation, but actually bestows significantly more prestige than does Castilian.

If, as this research indicates, impressions are formed largely on the basis of who is speaking the language, rather than the place where the language is spoken, the task of language planners is further complicated. In the matched-guise experiments, the high prestige which was associated with Catalan reflects the relatively lower socio-economic status of most Castilian-speaking immigrants. Thus the status of a language is primarily due to the stereotype people have of the speaker rather than to the way in which the language is used.

In Professor Woolard's experiments, speakers felt greater solidarity when speaking or hearing their own language. Since a higher degree of solidarity did not result from using the other group's language, a non-Catalan-speaker might feel discouraged from attempting to speak Catalan. There is still a widely-held feeling among non-Catalans that Catalan is a language for Catalans only. Linguistic campaigns have sought to allay people's fears, encouraging them not to feel embarrassed or intimidated about speaking their language by seeking to promote a sense of common identity. 'Everyone who lives and works in Catalonia is Catalan' proclaimed perhaps the most successful political slogan of the past

20 years. Even so, less obvious fears persist, such as the loss of one's own—non-Catalan—ethnolinguistic identity or the potentially different scales of acceptability by which a non-Catalan's knowledge of Catalan and a Catalan's knowledge of Castilian are judged.

Language speaker stereotypes act not only across languages but also within them. Speakers of the Western variety of Catalan (including Valencian) have mixed feelings about Eastern Catalan speakers. Because of the importance of Barcelona, which is in the Eastern area, the Eastern accent has a generally accepted high-status value. Western Catalan speakers naturally attach little solidarity to the Eastern accent and the Barcelona-based Catalan television station TV3 was initially criticised for doing little to represent the Western accent in its programmes. Steps have since been taken to rectify the imbalance. Nevertheless, such reactions hint at the relationship existent in all languages between standard, or 'correct', usage and what are perceived as dialectal deviations. While written Catalan is virtually uniform, it is only recently that problems associated with definition and cultivation of an oral standard have begun to be focused objectively.

3. Ethnolinguistic Identity and Interpersonal Language Behaviour

Fluency in Catalan and place of birth are the variables which determine the self-identity of the population resident in Catalonia. Those who would describe themselves as 'Spanish' rather than 'Catalan' appear to do so on linguistic grounds; those who see themselves as equally Catalan and Spanish seem to do so on the basis of where they and their parents were born and their usual language.

In general, both for monolinguals and bilinguals, the principle of language accommodation usually applies. It is traditionally held to be anti-social for a bilingual not to use a monolingual's language, and indeed bilinguals in Catalonia have applied this principle for many decades when dealing with visitors from outside. But when applied to non-Catalans who have lived in Catalonia for ten or twenty years, and even to young Catalans born of non-Catalan parents, this norm conflicts with the principle of social integration and the function of language as one of the chief ways of achieving such integration. If such groups are still, ostensibly, treated as outsiders, their contact with Catalan is reduced and consequently so are

their opportunities for learning Catalan normally. Motivation to learn the language suffers; it is not perceived as 'necessary' for interacting with Catalans. This is compounded by the tendency to equate 'non-Catalan' with monolingual, which sometimes makes Catalans respond in Castilian when addressed by a person speaking Catalan with a non-Catalan accent. Such a response, which can be termed 'ethnolinguistic accommodation', is often experienced by those learning Catalan as a second language who regard it (understandably, although incorrectly) as aggressive and exclusive. The difficulties for language-planners are exacerbated by the fact that many Catalans switch languages in such circumstances automatically and are therefore unconscious of their own behaviour.

Bilingual conversation, in which the speaker only switches from Catalan when the interlocutor does not understand, has been suggested as a necessary initial stage in the restoration of Catalan. In the long term, its value is not disputed, because it promotes at least passive bilingualism among non-Catalans, but in practice it is often contrived and might be seen as an obstacle to communication. For it to succeed, even those Catalans who have taken a conscious decision to use Catalan regardless must resist the temptation to switch languages; and the new norm—'you must reply in Catalan if addressed in that language'—should not be imposed too hastily or inflexibly.

IV THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The Spanish Constitution (1978)—which, incidentally, was published in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado* in Basque, Catalan and Galician as well as Castilian—establishes that Castilian is the official language of the State and requires all citizens to know it. In addition, it guarantees the officiality of other Spanish languages within their geographical territory and in accordance with their Statutes of Autonomy. The text was a great step forward in many ways; it recognised that the wealth of language variety in Spain is a heritage shared by all Spaniards and which thereby attracts 'respect' and 'protection'. (The relevant text is reproduced in our Appendix 2.)

Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy (1979) described Catalan as its own language—'*la llengua pròpia*'—, a distinction not explicit in the 1932 Statute. It proclaims that Catalan and Castilian are the two official languages. The 1979 Statute failed, though, unlike the 1932 text, to make knowledge of Catalan a statutory requirement for members of the legal profession whereby they would have to operate a system of public law with Catalan and Castilian having notionally equal status. Nevertheless, it stated that:

the *Generalitat* will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will adopt whatever measures are deemed necessary to ensure both languages are known, and will create suitable conditions so that full equality between the two can be achieved as far as the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia are concerned.

In 1983, the Language Normalisation Act was passed. Its importance was underlined by the patience and care with which it was drawn up. Despite the need for such legislation being identified as early as 1980, the final version was not completed until Spring 1983. All political parties represented in the Catalan parliament agreed that the text should be worked out jointly, and, while still at the draft stage, it was submitted to the *Generalitat's* consultative body, the *Consell Consultiu*, for comment by legal specialists. The Bill was passed unanimously in April 1983; no votes were cast against it and there was only one abstention.

The Catalan Act was the first language normalisation legislation to

emerge from the Catalan-speaking autonomous regions. The other Acts are all essentially similar and follow Catalonia's lead in establishing the languages in question as the 'own language' of the autonomous region. The central government submitted the 1982 and 1983 Acts (passed by the parliaments of Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia) to the Constitutional Court. In 1986 the Court's decision, as far as Catalonia's Act is concerned, declared article 4.2 and part of article 6.1 unconstitutional. The former empowered the Catalan government to take the initiative in taking cases to court in order to defend the use of Catalan, and the latter gave the Catalan text of an act preference over the Castilian version in the event of any discrepancy of interpretation.

The Department of Culture of the present *Generalitat* defined the aims of its language policies as being to ensure

that Catalan once again occupies its rightful place as Catalonia's own language through a process of normalisation based on the general acceptance of this objective, the collaboration of everyone and with the aim of avoiding conflict or confrontation. (*Política Lingüística. Memòria del Departament de Cultura* [1982])

It has been clear that public awareness and sympathy are the keys to fully comprehensive linguistic normalisation. Ultimately, measures which encourage oral proficiency alone remain token gestures; forms of bilingualism, whether practised by Catalan- or Castilian-speakers, in which Catalan is spoken to a degree but hardly written, threaten the future survival of a language which few people can write. In addition, the general impoverishment of language which results from its having been treated as socially inferior makes the 'normativisation', or the definition of a 'standard Catalan', increasingly difficult. It also handicaps proper linguistic evolution in such areas as the development of new terminology, vital if a language is to be seen as fully adaptable to the most advanced technological and social developments.

The pace has had to be gradual, with long-term educational strategies needed to achieve a situation in which Catalan might be deemed entirely linguistically 'normal'. The *Generalitat* is responsible for ensuring that the directives of the Language Normalisation Act are implemented in all areas and with particular focus where required. Since it relies partly upon the local authorities for the actual application of policies, the *Generalitat* also has to coordinate operations globally, in such a way that interaction between its different instruments produces a coherent programme which can gain momentum. In this framework a fair number of decrees and other

legal measures have been put in place by the *Generalitat* since 1983, as is documented in our Appendix 4.

V INSTITUTIONAL MEASURES

The *Generalitat* returned in 1978 to face two kinds of problems: it had to build its own administration, partly by incorporating the 70,000 existing civil servants and partly by creating an entirely new body. It had to provide, as was declared, the 'institutional impetus' for Catalanisation programmes and be itself a working model. Practically no civil servants from the 1931-39 period could be recruited since the majority had fled the country in 1939.

The use of both Catalan and Castilian within official spheres was made completely definitive by Decree 107/1987. Those entering the Catalan civil service must now sit Catalan examinations and for those seconded to the *Generalitat* from central government special language training is provided in the form of language classes organised by the *Escola d'Administració Pública de Catalunya*.

Although such practical problems have meant that the pace of Catalanisation throughout local administration has not always been uniform, official bodies of the Autonomous Community, at municipal and parliamentary levels, have all been committed to the enactment of linguistic normalisation programmes—chiefly in the form of adult education and publicity campaigns. These two fundamental activities are reflected in the two main bodies created by the *Generalitat* to foster the use and knowledge of Catalan: the Directorate General for Linguistic Policy (*DGPL*) and the Catalan Teaching Service (*SEDEC*).

The *DGPL* cooperates with over ninety local councils in helping to finance and coordinate a network of Municipal Offices of Catalan and a number of Linguistic Normalisation Centres (*CNL*). Through the Commission for Linguistic Normalisation and the Technical Network for Linguistic Normalisation, the *DGPL* also aims to ensure that Catalan is used progressively more correctly and appropriately within the *Generalitat* itself. The Catalan civil service is organised in four regions and the majority of problems of this kind arise in the Barcelona region because of

the higher proportion of non-Catalan-speaking staff.

In December 1985, a document entitled "The Embryonic State of Linguistic Normalisation in Areas with a High Proportion of Immigration" from meetings held between officials of the Municipal Catalan Services (*Serveis Municipals de Català*) drew attention to what it considered to be the disappointing and intolerably slow progress in such areas. Lack of institutional support was highlighted and it was suggested that financial constraints had encouraged some councils to divert funds for linguistic normalisation to other, unrelated projects. A possible solution envisaged, and one which has increasingly gained credence, was the establishment of an autonomous body acting through the CNL. The DGPL would be relieved of pressure to oversee matters on such a large scale. This is now a reality: the statutes of the Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation (*Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística*) were approved by the Executive Council of the *Generalitat* on 22 October 1988 and the body definitively created on 15 December 1988.

The Consortium is clearly, within this ambit, the most elaborate organisational body to date. At present it numbers close to 30 local councils including Barcelona and all cities with over 50,000 inhabitants. Its president is the Director General for Language Policy, and the Directorate General's role is to establish the general priorities for the Consortium in planning the year's activities. It also provides specialist technical support. The Consortium clarifies the role of the *Generalitat* and the Town Councils (*Ajuntaments*), described by the Federation of Municipal Councils of Catalonia (*FMC*) as 'pioneers of linguistic normalisation', and it fixes the levels of their financial contributions at 65 per cent and 35 per cent respectively. According to the Draft Charter, *Tesis per a debatre*, advanced by the *FMC* concerning the finer points of the creation of the Consortium, this body

should be the place where the different Town Councils agree on the linguistic policies to be applied throughout the country.

Its principal target areas (public administration, media, education, commerce and industry, cultural and social sectors, Catalan courses for adults) are not new; evidently, normalisation programmes still have some way to go in all these areas. The hope is that the Consortium will ensure a more effective administration of efforts and resources. Town Councils are encouraged to participate actively and those which join the Consortium are

granted a representative and a vote at its Plenary Session and a majority in its own Linguistic Normalisation Centre. Annual proposals and evaluations will be made and they will be implemented through the Centres for Linguistic Normalisation; these Centres will, in turn, be able to advance suggestions for further action.

In addition, the Consortium has designated as one of its main priorities preparation by the *CNL* of a thoroughly researched socio-linguistic map of Catalonia. The need for such a map was raised explicitly in the Language Normalisation Act. In a different sphere, the Consortium has advised that areas with a particularly high concentration of non-Catalan-speakers appoint a councillor for linguistic normalisation (*Regidor delegat de normalització lingüística*); efforts in these densely populated areas have to be constant and well coordinated.

Returning to the initiatives of the *Generalitat*, the 1983-84 Campaign for the Promotion of the Language Normalisation Act (*Campanya de Divulgació de la Llei de Normalització Lingüística*) illustrated how every manifestation of the normal use of Catalan represented a step towards increased public awareness and more widespread use of Catalan: texts from the Act were published in the newspapers *Avui* and *El Periòdic de Catalunya*, a short explanatory film was made and round-table discussions and telephone and correspondence consultations were held.

Educational campaigns in particular have combined different concerns in this way. 'Catalan at School' (*'Català a l'Escola'*) brought Catalan theatre and cinema into the classroom, while 'Schools on Air' (*'Micro Obert a l'Escola'*) was based on radio experiments. The Centre for Information Technology (*Centre Divulgador de la Informàtica*) runs computer courses and encourages the development of new computer programs, many of which are translated into Catalan before being marketed.

Private companies have required a different type of encouragement, but the *Generalitat* has grasped the potential offered by some 38,000 establishments in the catering industry. The essential advisory services were set up to encourage the public prominence of Catalan in this important sector and to ensure that the Catalan which appears is standard and correct. Collaboration with the *Generalitat* on the part of restaurants, cafes and bars results not only in the award of a diploma for display but also in direct publicity. Similarly, campaigns to encourage the conversion of shop signs into Catalan had to be made attractive in commercial terms. Hence the Normalisation Service of the *Generalitat*, together with the sign

manufacturers' association Areluz and an advertising firm Byesa, offered, free of charge, to make the conversions from Castilian to Catalan, and even awarded prizes at the end of the campaign (during which several thousand applications for conversions were received) to the most attractive designs. The accompanying market research has yielded important information about the presence and use of Catalan within Catalan businesses and attitudes towards its use.

At the same time, the *Generalitat* has endeavoured to promote familiarity with Catalan beyond Catalonia. It has been represented at international conferences, such as the *Exposition de Terminologia científico-técnica y lingüística informatizada* (Madrid, February 1987), the annual *Expolangues Salon des langues, des cultures et de la communication Internationale* (Paris, March 1987) and *Jornades sobre tècniques i mètodes d'estudi del llenguatge administratiu* (Barcelona, November 1979). It is interesting to observe that, just as normalisation has fostered a practical interest in educational methodology, the catalanisation of terminology has encouraged attention to a whole range of specialist linguistic uses, including the legal, administrative, scientific and technological. In this regard we should acknowledge the importance of *Termcat*, a project jointly sponsored by the *Generalitat* and the Institute of Catalan Studies to set up a data-base of terminological materials available for public consultation. The consistent objective of all these initiatives is to strengthen the position of Catalan as a language capable of adapting to all modern requirements.

VI EDUCATION

Language normalisation programmes can only be said to have succeeded when the language in question is used normally in every situation. In this respect, all of the target areas are equally important. Nevertheless, there are certain key sectors where normalisation must be achieved and must be seen to be effective in order to gain public support and therefore safeguard the overall success of the programmes. Education is one such key area; it teaches standardised and correct usage and at the same time can help to educate attitudes, especially as '*l'escola catalana*', a school environment teaching entirely in Catalan, becomes a reality for more children. State education is the responsibility of the *Generalitat* and as such was the focus of the earliest normalisation initiatives.

Catalonia's education strategies, particularly those aimed at adults, have had to be broad-based. While gaining confidence in the language, immigrants also gain access to a culture most had previously considered marginal to their own, with the resulting improvement in their children's prospects of instant integration. Catalans whose formal instruction in their own language had been proscribed under Franco can acquire full literacy. Education is, therefore, a vital dual-purpose instrument which guarantees that an ever-increasing proportion of Catalonia's population will become fluent in Catalan, while making as many people as possible receptive to the need for normalisation and the ways in which this can be achieved.

1. Linguistic Normalisation in State Schools

In the fifteen years leading up to 1978, Catalan had not managed to recover more than a fraction of its previous position in schools. It was the medium of instruction in only a handful of private schools, most of which were in Barcelona. It was, however, taught as a subject in Catalonia proper thanks to the efforts of *Omnium Cultural*, a cultural, non-profit-making organisation once banned by Franco. As many as 230,000 school-children

attended these classes in each of the years immediately before 1978. Following Franco's death, many local councils gave the organisation financial support for the teaching of Catalan in schools.

In 1978, Royal Decree 2092/1978 marked the first important legislative step towards returning Catalan to the classroom by giving Catalan a legal status in schools. It made Catalan a compulsory subject in pre-school, primary and secondary education (although this was not extended to the final year of secondary education and the upper levels in technical education until two years later). More importantly still, it acknowledged the possibility of Catalan-medium education.

Similar decrees made Catalan compulsory in the Balearic Islands and in most of Valencia, although the traditionally Castilian-speaking areas of the interior were at first excluded. In general, progress here has been slower: Catalan has only been taught in all primary schools since 1986.

By 1983, the year of the Language Normalisation Act, a minimum presence of Catalan was guaranteed and provision had been made for at least one subject to be taught through Catalan in primary schools. In 1982, university entrance examinations also incorporated tests in Catalan.

The Language Normalisation Act responded to the need for a more coordinated approach by defining a series of minimum standards and the framework for continued change. In accordance with the status of Catalan as Catalonia's 'own language of education' it stated categorically:

Educational centres are obliged to make Catalan the normal vehicle of expression, both in internal activities, including those of an administrative nature, and in external ones.

The teaching of Catalan was essentially a stepping stone; it was made an explicit requirement of the Language Normalisation Act with the firmest intention that Catalan should be used progressively as pupils' mastery of it increased. Measures to enforce this followed swiftly after the Act was put into effect; by September 1983, further legislation stipulated the teaching of either social or natural sciences in Catalan in the middle cycle (8-10 year olds) of General Basic Education (*EGB*) and both in the higher cycle (11-13 year olds). Two subjects were to be taught in Catalan in secondary schools, from a choice between natural sciences, history and mathematics. In the schools for Vocational Training (*FP*) at least two subjects, totalling not less than five hours, were to be taught in Catalan. The use of Catalan would then be extended in subsequent years to cover an even bigger part of the curriculum.

Clearly, Catalan could never have come to dominate schooling overnight. Nevertheless, given the heightened public receptivity and greater prominence afforded to issues of language normalisation, we might perhaps have expected either a more generalised or a more accelerated progress. Even today, there is a degree of haphazardness in both the extent and the manner of teaching done *in* Catalan. Virtually all schools conduct some teaching in Catalan, according to recent official data, but between the legal minimum of two subjects and the maximum possible, all subjects, there are quite a number of variations, including those schools which are said to be teaching 'progressively in Catalan' (that is, with Catalan-medium teaching in the youngest classes, moving year by year up the school). The implications of such inconsistency are potentially serious. This is borne out by the results of an evaluation of attainment in Catalan carried out by *SEDEC* half-way through the 1980-81 school year, testing over 1,500 pupils in the fourth year of primary schooling at schools where Catalan had been taught in accordance with the 1978 Decree. On a scale of 0 to 100, the pupils achieved an average of 64.75 in Catalan and 71.02 in Castilian. Other similar surveys indicated that pupils attending where at least part of the curriculum was taught through Catalan had higher levels of oral expression than those who had only studied Catalan as a subject for four years. This supports the notion that the recovery of Catalan in a school environment will largely depend on the use of Catalan as a medium of instruction.

By the time the Language Normalisation Act was passed, some three-quarters of primary schools had already incorporated Catalan into the curriculum as a teaching medium, but full integration was not complete until the 1986-87 academic year. This initial slowness reflects the difficulties, often practical (e.g. lack of textbooks, development of methodology) which such a task faced.

Practical difficulties were compounded by the shortage of Catalan-speaking teaching staff. In 1977-78, they accounted for only 52 per cent of pre-school and primary-school teachers, and the figure was much lower for the more critical province of Barcelona. It was also lower in primary than in pre-school classes and in state schools than private schools.

Officially organised in-service training or *reciclatge* courses began in the academic year 1978-79, the year in which Catalan first became a compulsory subject. Some 7,700 teachers enrolled initially and the numbers grew

steadily, including many more Castilian-speakers, until a peak was reached in 1982-83, when 18,600 teachers enrolled.

The Language Normalisation Act stressed that:

In accordance with the demands of their educational duties, all teachers must master both official languages

and stipulated that Catalan universities provide courses and other means

to ensure that all students and teachers who do not understand Catalan may learn it.

Reciclatge schemes were primarily designed as a supplement to a teacher's professional training, with the emphasis on stimulating oral proficiency. Despite their qualifications, many teachers were still reluctant to use Catalan in the classroom. Other intensive teacher-training programmes included the 'Font Rosella experiment', first practised in Sabadell in 1982 and in which non-Catalan-speaking teachers were replaced by trainee teachers for one term, releasing them to use the school timetable for their own linguistic retraining. This permitted the introduction of Catalan in a coherent manner into an area densely populated by immigrants and was successful enough to be continued in subsequent years. Perhaps its success was due to the separation of its twin objectives, namely teacher training and the introduction of Catalan. Similar in approach, the Plans for Permanent Institutional Training consisted of a two-part immersion and consolidation scheme based on cooperation between the Town Councils, teacher-training centres and services of the Directorate General for Primary Education. They too provided in-service linguistic training for the teacher who was, periodically, replaced by a student teacher. Incidentally, teacher-training centres have themselves reflected a high level of teaching in Catalan; data from the Directorate General for Universities, with reference to the academic year 1985-86, cites the *Escola Universitària de Formació de Professorat d'EGB*, Tarragona division, as imparting 62 per cent of all classes in Catalan.

The obligation for teachers to demonstrate knowledge of, and ability in, Catalan has proved to be a delicate subject; several courts have found any entrance requirements for administrative posts which stipulate working knowledge of Catalan to be 'discriminatory' against non-Catalan-speakers. However, teachers of Catalan contest that their flexibility is in turn restricted since they will not, under present circumstances, be able to teach Catalan in parts of Spain beyond the *Països Catalans*. In fact, only very recently have teachers of Catalan in Valencia, for example, been able to

apply for equivalent posts in, say, the Balearic Islands. A big step forwards in this quarter is expected from the February 28, 1991 Constitutional Court ruling that it is legal to make working knowledge of Catalan a job requirement for prospective civil servants (including teachers) in Catalonia.

In terms of normalisation policies, the Language Normalisation Act proposed a compromise which could be accused neither of attacking the 'cultural heritage' of non-Catalan-speaking immigrants, nor of prejudicing the full official rights of Catalan within the autonomous community of Catalonia:

Infants have the right to receive their early instruction in their usual language, be it Catalan or Castilian.

Perhaps the most satisfactory way of achieving as quickly as possible the objective of full Catalan schooling was offered by the 'immersion' programmes. Begun in 1983—84, they were designed to deal with the specific socio-linguistic situation in the industrial belt around Barcelona, and other areas with a majority of non-Catalan-speaking residents. Since such children receive little contact with Catalan in their home environment, nursery schooling, and in some cases, the initial stages of *EGB* were conducted entirely in Catalan. The advantages included the harnessing of a child's optimum linguistic ability at an age when his or her capacity spontaneously to read in Castilian would not be damaged. It was also suggested that Catalan phonetics, which present greater complications than those of Castilian, would serve as a useful preliminary to the study of other languages. Tests have proved that immersion programmes have no negative effect whatsoever on the normal development of a child's comprehension and thought. Immersion programmes now cater for 70,000 pupils in the 4-7 years age range, and enjoy full parental support. From outside Catalonia, however, vociferous objection to these developments is raised by supporters of the Spanish language.

As a brief aside, we might observe that the normalisation of education has not overlooked pupils with particular learning difficulties or disabilities. It is encouraging to note that education in Catalan has been advocated for profoundly deaf children, although not for entirely positive reasons. According to J. Llugany and N. Silvestre (1985):

The stage which the normalisation of the Catalan language has now reached allows one to introduce the option of Catalan mother tongue for the deaf child from a

Catalan-speaking family. This would be the most appropriate context for the acquisition of the second language... since the superior social status still accorded to Castilian today means that it is more likely to be acquired by the deaf child as a second language than Catalan.

Such a policy at least implies that deaf children will be adequately prepared to participate in, and benefit from, the normalisation of Catalan as this has an increasing impact on Catalan society.

2. Catalan Courses for Adults

Adult education is obviously quite different from ordinary schooling because of its voluntary character, but linguistic normalisation programmes in Catalonia have required a constant dedication to adult courses since positive attitudes from non-native adult speakers of Catalan are vital for the rapid realisation of the language planners' goals. They also compensate, to a considerable extent, for distortions from the past. A whole generation of Catalans were educated in schools where Catalan was banned by the Franco regime, a deficit steadily being rectified in adulthood. In fact, in 10 years over 300,000 adults have attended Catalan courses.

With the full official backing provided by the Language Normalisation Act, adult Catalan courses have flourished. Thanks largely to their main instrument, the *Generalitat's* multi-media course *Digui, digui...*, they have played a significant role in improving linguistic standards and are surely in part responsible for halving, between the censuses of 1981 and 1986, the proportion of the population of Catalonia that was returned as not understanding Catalan.

Non-vocationally orientated courses have adopted a communicative approach appropriate to the needs of the Castilian-speaker resident in Catalonia. A review of the teaching programmes during the 1985-86 academic year highlighted their tripartite thrust: language, grammar and culture. The result in 1986 was a provisional edition of *Curricula for Catalan Courses for Adults (Programes dels Cursos de Català per a Adults)* which led to a series of experiments and the introduction of pilot schemes during the following academic year.

There is now a special board which issues certificates of proficiency in Catalan. The *Junta Permanent de Català*, under the auspices of the Catalan government and in tandem with a sister organisation in Valencia, awards

certificates at various levels, including diplomas for professional language advisers and for teachers of Catalan to adults. The most recently instituted certificate is for foreign students, the *Certificat Internacional de Català*.

Provided that political and socio-cultural factors ensure the continuance of linguistic normalisation, it is tempting to assign a time limit to the life span of open-access adult Catalan courses. If indeed no child completes *EGB* until he can demonstrate proficiency in both Catalan and Castilian, then today's generation of school children ought, ultimately, to eradicate the future need for such programmes. Nevertheless, public attitudes remain the decisive factor: only the continued acceptance of Catalan's fully normal status will ensure that the majority of the resident population will not need to attend adult courses to achieve literacy in Catalan. The current levels, suggesting that two-thirds of Catalonia's population still cannot write in Catalan, show that the struggle is by no means over yet.

VII MEDIA

Catalan is increasingly being used in the press, in publishing, on television and on the radio, and the situation is more satisfactory now than at any time since 1939. But there are particular problems associated with normalising the media: they are communications industries as well as public services and cannot afford to lose ground to their competitors or to lose money, however important the principle at stake. They do, nevertheless, guarantee a more effective transmission of the needs and aims of linguistic normalisation to a greater proportion of the population than does any other single method or campaign.

Despite the strength of its previous journalistic tradition, Catalonia had virtually no autochthonous media in its own language when autonomy was re-established. Advances have been rapid, and Catalan has also been directly incorporated into new communications technology as it has evolved internationally.

1. The Press

The press in Catalonia is the longest established means of public information communication and is the most effective means of popularising Catalan as a written language. Today, there are only two daily publications written entirely in Catalan with circulations throughout Catalonia—*Avui* (established in 1976) and *Diari de Barcelona* (whose Catalan version dates from 1986) and four local ones—*El Punt*, in Girona, *Regió 7* in Manresa, the *Diari de Lleida* and *Nou Diari* in Reus and Tarragona. Alongside the array of national and local newspapers written in Castilian, these totals are depressing, but it is encouraging to note that *El Punt* is the leading newspaper in Girona in terms of sales, and that its local competitor, the *Diari de Girona*, at present bilingual, is planning to become fully Catalan in the near future. Since the Language Normalisation Act shows itself in favour of periodical publications which are even only partially written in

Catalan, presumably as an initially positive, but transitory stage, then the Catalan edition of *El País*, containing pages in Catalan and the *ABC* supplement for Catalonia might be termed progressive. At the same time, however, sociolinguists highlight the negative implications of code-switching in oral communication; is the dual presentation of Catalan and Castilian in the press an indirect reflection of this characteristic of speech already acknowledged as potentially deleterious?

The most effective way to normalise the press might appear to be through targeting general information dailies for conversion to Catalan. There are, in fact, more periodicals, municipal information bulletins and free press publications which are predominantly Catalan in preference to Castilian, ensuring that the reader receives a regular supply of material. Indeed this local press output in Catalan has a circulation as wide and sales as high, in daily terms, as the third-largest daily newspaper in Castilian.

There are some—too few—technical publications in Catalan, such as *Quaderns Tècnics*, which have gained rapid recognition and respect. However, the size of the market, which is thoroughly bilingual at this level, prevents this from becoming a major growth area. The use of Catalan in any type of publication carries some element of risk since it will be hard to equal the commercial success of Castilian counterparts. In 1986, for example, neither *El Món* nor *El Temps*, both weekly news journals, exceeded sales of 15,000 copies per issue, whilst the Spanish periodicals *Cambio 16* and *Tiempo* sold 142,957 and 138,952 copies respectively, of which 25,700 and 27,900 copies were sold in Catalonia. (*El Món* is now defunct, the other main weekly being currently *Set Dies*. The market remains, then, a difficult one to expand.) Commitment to linguistic choice ensures, in the case of Catalan, that a significant Spanish market can never be cultivated, although in theory such a 'closed market' should also have the positive effect of ensuring an efficient circulation and prominence within Catalonia itself. The outlook is bleak, not because of the quality or nature of the publications themselves, but because of external factors: limited circulation means limited revenue, which in turn limits the content. Such publications find themselves unable to meet the costs involved in investigating the news which state-wide publications can report. A similar problem was faced by TV3, the Catalan television channel, when it was denied entry into the European Radiodiffusion Union and thus access to international news pictures.

Training of the journalists themselves has not been neglected; there are

new courses to teach reporting styles of all kinds and a Register of Journalistic Companies and News Agencies has been created. New initiatives have been able to take advantage of modern technology and methods, and yet Catalan is apparently still far from holding its own in the periodicals market. The Catalan press seems to be linguistically 'normal' insofar as it exists. What distorts the picture is the abnormal context in which it finds itself.

2. Television

In the Language Normalisation Act, the presence of at least one television station broadcasting habitually in Catalan was guaranteed. At present, Catalonia has her own channel, TV3, which has been transmitting since late 1983 and a more recent Canal 33. The campaigns since 1978 to convert Spanish Television's TVE-2 into an autonomous channel ultimately failed, but since 1987 it has been possible to disconnect the channel from the Spanish network and to broadcast programmes in Catalan during the afternoons, although advertisements in Castilian are still shown during that time. TVE-1 broadcasts the midday news in Catalan on weekdays. The creation of TV3 made possible the unprecedented step of broadcasting in Catalan at peak viewing time. The potential impact of this can only be measured in relation to the very limited tolerance of Catalan television under Franco when its presence on the screen had been restricted to one hour per month (!) in 1964, rising to nine hours per month by 1974.

Experiments in local television date from 1980, but the arrival of an all Catalan channel broadcasting to the whole of Catalonia was evidently welcome and its popularity has grown considerably whilst television audiences for TVE-1 and TVE-2 have remained more static. In general, a positive assessment of the impact of television in Catalan, and of its importance in 'naturalising' the language normalisation process, is one of the most salient points of concurrence in sociolinguistic analyses. Among other things, it has shown up the artificiality of 'regional' linguistic divisions within the *Països Catalans* and has raised the relevance of a 'standard' oral variety of the language. This whole area, however, remains one which is potentially volatile, and where complacency would be most dangerous.

Under the terms of the Spanish Constitution, the State holds exclusive responsibility for the establishment of basic communication norms. Autonomous governments are granted concessionary rights to develop and

execute such norms within a given framework; hence the expansion of television services must, in most cases, follow central government initiatives. This will be the case of cable and satellite ventures, for which the Spanish corporation RTVE currently holds the monopoly.

In 1988, the Private Television Act was passed by the Madrid parliament, permitting a system of franchising for periods of up to ten years. Private enterprises in both radio and television broadcasting alike tend to favour the use of Castilian; under the provisions of the new Act, however, it was believed that private stations would be obliged to transmit regional programmes for a few hours daily. Full normalisation within this medium will depend, as in the case of periodical publishing, upon incentives to the private sector to generalise the spread of Catalan as the normal language of broadcasting. Early experience and immediate prospects in this sphere are not encouraging. In the first two years of broadcasting by Antena 3, Telecinco and Canal Plus—with franchises covering the whole of Spain, a situation different from that obtaining in the UK—these companies have done little if anything to introduce Catalan into their programmes. In a typical week's broadcasting (March 31–April 6, 1991) the presence of the two languages on the State and *Generalitat* owned channels was almost evenly balanced: 2265 hours in Spanish (52%) and 208 hours in Catalan (48%), of which 112½ were on TV3, 60¾ on Canal 33 (the *Generalitat's* second channel), 6 on TVE-1 and 38¾ on TVE-2. However, the total 377 hours broadcast in Spanish by the private stations in the same period introduce a significant imbalance and place the Catalan language in a vulnerable position.

3. Radio

Radio broadcasting in Catalan appears to be linguistically in a more stable position. State channels which broadcast in Castilian to the whole of Spain are balanced by the *Generalitat-owned* stations Catalunya Ràdio and Catalunya Música, broadcasting throughout Catalonia, and Ràdio Associació de Catalunya in the Barcelona area. They cater for a wide variety of tastes and use Catalan virtually exclusively. Catalan is also used for the FM transmissions on RTVE Radio 4 and Radio Cadena Española, the latter broadcasting to seven cities in Catalonia. Technological advances have improved the quality of radio transmission in general and following the frequency modulation in 1982, by which the *Generalitat* was authorised

to grant licenses for FM broadcasting, these too have stimulated a considerable growth of local and private stations, although there are still no medium-wave channels broadcasting in Catalan.

Nevertheless, the picture is rather less clear-cut than it may appear: at the beginning of 1988, there were some 130 municipal stations, mainly around Barcelona and Girona. Although they broadcast largely in Catalan, some have come into conflict with the *Generalitat* over revenue from advertising and have been forced to close.

Of the private stations, only Cadena 13, now transmitting to 16 cities in Catalonia, broadcasts in Catalan; the choice of language seems to correspond roughly to public or private ownership. As in the case of newspapers and periodicals, competition from the Castilian media is strong and a November 1987 survey conducted by the Catalan Radio and Television Corporation showed Radio 1 (state owned) at the top of the ratings table.

Apparently, little can be done to accelerate the pace of Catalanisation in this field. The *Generalitat* has amply complied with the stipulations of the Language Normalisation Act:

The *Generalitat* is obliged to stimulate the normalisation in broadcasting stations, which it may subsidise under the corresponding parliamentary control and with due budget provisions.

If the State provisions are inadequate to guarantee sufficient presence of Catalan, they can no more be increased than private ventures not using Catalan can be abolished. In the long term, and especially in the light of the new tendency beginning to emerge in Catalonia towards the creation of multi-media consortia, it can only be hoped that all-round linguistic normalisation becomes reflected in a greater confidence to use Catalan in the media.

4. Book Publishing

Statistics indicate that the number of book titles published in Catalan is increasing steadily, with the total of 4,447 in 1990 representing 11.1% of all books published in Spain in that year. In line with upward trends in production figures in Spain as a whole, it is assumed that the number of titles will continue to rise. The position of Barcelona as the foremost publishing centre in Spain, will mean that, despite increases, publishing in Catalan will always be overshadowed by that in Castilian. Catalan publishing can, however, only benefit from such a well established international industry.

It is significant that sizeable subsidies, administered through the *Servei del Llibre*, are earmarked for the promotion of books in Catalan. The Department of Culture has, in particular, addressed itself to the question of distribution by purchasing some 200 to 300 copies (depending on their sale price) of first editions of books published in Catalan by firms based in the Principality, and sending them to its own network of public libraries (of which there are over 100). Literary awards have also been created to reward outstanding productions in Catalan in all genres while the recently formed *Institució de les Lletres Catalanes* has initiated programmes to encourage translations of Catalan works and to increase awareness abroad of Catalonia's rich literary heritage. It is appropriate that Catalonia should celebrate the festival of her Patron Saint, Sant Jordi, with the *Dia del Llibre*, an occasion when the intimate links between patriotism, language and culture are emphatically pronounced.

5. Film and Video

Film and video production in Catalonia is beginning to see an upward trend after a general recession during the 1980s. In 1987, 19 feature films were produced in Catalonia of which ten used Catalan.

A fully normalised film industry should ideally produce its own films in Catalan and provide Catalan versions of films in other languages. Particular attention should be paid to new releases in order to make the cinema in Catalan as accessible and attractive as possible. The *Generalitat* has offered aid for films to be dubbed or sub-titled. A significant step towards widening the audience, both for Catalan films and for TV3, was made when, in January 1988, the Catalan Association of Film Producers and TV3 agreed ways of coordinating joint projects. TV3 pledged to spend 200 million pesetas in 1988 on the transmission and pre-purchase rights of Catalan productions and agreed to screen at least one Spanish film for every three foreign films shown. In this sphere, normalisation of Catalan is hampered by fierce competition not only from Castilian but also from other foreign sources.

Video has been recognised as a valuable tool within home and school environments. The *Generalitat* has been able to provide equipment and the broad-based multi-media teaching programmes have generated educational material in Catalan. For recreational purposes, community video schemes were experimented with in Barcelona and Valencia but have met with legal

opposition. In the future, as video equipment becomes still more readily available and more Catalan versions of films are produced, such difficulties may be overcome. Optimism must be tempered, however, by awareness of the general instability of this sector. Ironically, it was only when the recently established private TV stations were forcing video clubs into crisis that the *Generalitat* was able, in 1990, to persuade the major distributors to market Catalan versions of such successful films as *The Godfather*, *The Ten Commandments* and *Psycho*.

Above all, the Language Normalisation Act pledges continued support to what will prove to be a fast developing and far-reaching set of industries in the 1990s. Technological advances in the field of communication and the media—as in the case of the proposed telecommunications tower to be designed for the Olympic Games in 1992, with the related changes to the telecommunications infrastructure—will eliminate the need for Catalan always to follow in the footsteps of Castilian. The media need not be exclusively Catalan-orientated to be linguistically normal; the aim, and the key to future expansion, is to make Catalan fully acceptable, for Catalan and newly re-educated Castilian speakers alike, and thus to guarantee it a growing visible and audible presence in society.

VIII EUROPE

Language normalisation programmes aim above all to change attitudes towards language, primarily within the country but also outside it. It is a sad fact that so many of the tourists who visit Catalan resorts confuse what they experience with 'Spanishness' and its falsified overlay of bullfighting and flamenco, and leave without even recognising that Catalan is the ordinary language of the inhabitants. To some extent such holidaymakers are only being offered their own image of what they expect to find, but not enough is done either inside or outside the *Països Catalans* to promote awareness of linguistic realities or of the genuine Catalan culture. This said, it is to be expected that the official status of Catalan at the 1992 Olympic Games will help to change visitors' perceptions. New impetus might thereby be given to efforts being made generally to 'upgrade' the tourist influx.

Sensitive to ignorance abroad about the Catalan situation, the *Generalitat* has taken steps to ensure that Catalonia's profile is visible in the new-look 'Europe of Nations' of the 1990s, and that the Catalan voice is clearly heard there.

The position of 'minority' languages within the European Community has not entirely been overlooked; in 1983 it was calculated that 30 million of the Community's inhabitants had a 'regional language' or a language whose use was restricted to a small area as their mother tongue. There is a European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages and an indication, at least, of its significance can be seen in terms of the rapid growth in its budget: 100,000 ECU in 1983 rising to 710,000 ECU by 1987.

The parliaments of the Balearic Isles (in November 1987) and of Catalonia (in December 1987) made a formal petition to the European Parliament for the Community to regulate the use of the Catalan language by its institutions. The European Parliament passed the Reading Report in December 1990, with just one dissenting vote, recommending the following:

- (1) The publication in Catalan of the treaties and fundamental documents of the European Communities.
- (2) The publication in Catalan of public information regarding the European Communities.
- (3) The inclusion of Catalan in the Commission's grants for the study of European languages.
- (4) The use of Catalan in the Office of the European Communities which will open in Barcelona.

The petition, with the recommendations of the European Parliament as a significant backcloth, is awaiting the decision of the European Commission and Council of Ministers, where the stance of the Spanish government's representatives is likely to be crucial. The Catalan petition is particularly pertinent in the light of the fact that in 1972, when Ireland joined the European Community, a version of the Act of Accession was published in Irish and this version holds full official validity. Irish is unique in that it possesses official status without being a working language of the Community. The socio-linguistic situation of Ireland bears little comparison with that of Catalonia, since Irish is neither understood nor spoken on the same scale. Yet the anomaly is allowed to persist. Nor can the exclusion of Catalan from the *Lingua* programme—for which Luxembourgish and Irish qualify—be regarded as objectively justified. Once again, the confusion created by the existence of a normalised language with no internationally recognised state in which it is used exclusively (except for Andorra, not a member of the EC), puts Catalan in an uncertain position which has yet to be resolved. Europe, even so, continues to represent the forum in which this problem is most likely to be settled to the satisfaction of a majority of Catalans.

CONCLUSION

To the surprise of many, Catalan culture is recovering well from a period of repression unlike anything experienced in any other Western European country. The standard Catalan-speaker stereotype is emerging as a favourable, high-status one; the integration of non-Catalans is improving and Catalan is known and increasingly used by Catalans and non-Catalans alike.

Yet linguistic normalisation has been controversial. One of the major obstacles has been the need for a certain degree of positive discrimination in favour of Catalan so that proper equality of opportunity should exist within the *Països Catalans* for Catalans and Castilians alike. In this context, the February 28, 1991 Constitutional Court decision to uphold Article 34 of the Law on the Public Duties of the Administration of the *Generalitat*, which insists that civil servants should have oral and written knowledge of Catalan, opens the way for decisive progress. Likewise, the Catalan government's apparent intention to submit to Parliament a bill to improve the 1983 Language Normalisation Act could have important consequences.

Possible tension still lurks in those Catalan-speaking areas which lag behind the Principality in terms of institutions and the application of language policies. In Valencia and the Balearic Islands some ultra-Conservative groups maintain that Catalan is being 'imposed' on them in schools and official circles. If the achievements of linguistic normalisation are not to be jeopardised, the *Països Catalans* must learn to exploit together the advantages of being a bilingual society. An unfair imbalance must never again be allowed to threaten the status of the Catalan language—or its future survival.

APPENDIXES

1. Autonomy Statute for Catalonia (1932) [Extract].
2. Spanish Constitution (1978) [Extract].
3. Autonomy Statute for Catalonia (1979) [Extract].
4. Language Normalisation Act for Catalonia (1983) with Key Legislation Implementing its Provisions.
5. Linguistic Data from the Census of 1986.
6. On the Present State of Linguistic Normalisation (Institute of Catalan Studies, 1990).

1. AUTONOMY STATUTE FOR CATALONIA (1932)

Article 2

The Catalan language is, like Castilian, official in Catalonia.

For official relations between Catalonia and the rest of Spain, and likewise for communication between Authorities of the State and those of Catalonia, the official language will be Castilian.

Any official order or resolution declared inside Catalonia must be published in both languages. Notification will also be in this form if requested by the interested party.

Within Catalan territory, citizens of whichever mother tongue will have the right to choose the official language they prefer in their relations with the Courts, the Authorities and civil servants of all kinds, both of the Generalitat and of the Republic.

Any text or document presented before the Law Courts, if written in Catalan, must be accompanied by the corresponding Castilian translation, if requested by any of the parties.

(Translation by M.S.)

2. SPANISH CONSTITUTION (1978)

Article 3

1. Castilian is the official language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
2. The other Spanish languages will also be official in their respective Autonomous Communities, in accordance with their Statutes.
3. The richness of Spain's different linguistic modalities is a cultural patrimony which will be the object of special respect and protection.

(Translation by M.S.)

3. AUTONOMY STATUTE FOR CATALONIA (1979)

Article 3

1. Catalonia's own language is Catalan.
2. The Catalan language is the official one in Catalonia, as is Castilian, official throughout the Spanish State.
3. The Generalitat will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will take the necessary measures to ensure adequate knowledge of them and will create the conditions which will allow them to attain full equality with respect to the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia.
4. The Aranese tongue will be taught, and will be the object of special respect and protection.

(Official Translation)

4. LANGUAGE NORMALISATION ACT FOR CATALONIA (1983) WITH KEY LEGISLATION IMPLEMENTING ITS PROVISIONS

(The text of the Language Normalisation Act for Catalonia is reproduced here in full. Key legislation implementing its provisions is given on the facing right-hand page where relevant, beginning on page 59.)

The Catalan language, an essential element in the formation of Catalonia, has always been the nation's mother tongue and natural vehicle of communication, as well as the symbol of a cultural unity with deep historical roots. Besides, it has always been a witness to the fidelity of the Catalan people to their land and specific culture. Finally, it has served very often as an instrument of integration, enabling every citizen of Catalonia, regardless of geographical origin, to participate fully in our peaceful coexistence.

Forged in its own lands, and later shared with other territories with which it forms a linguistic community that, over the centuries, has made a valuable contribution to the culture, the Catalan language has been in a precarious position for some years, a position characterised principally by the meagre presence of Catalan in official spheres, in education, and in the mass media.

A number of the causes and conditioning factors of this situation have been decisive. In the first place, Catalan lost its official status two and a half centuries ago, when the «Nova Planta» decreed that Castilian was the only official language, a measure which was reinforced well into the twentieth century with the prohibitions and persecutions of Catalan language and culture unleashed after 1939. In second place, the introduction, during the mid 19th century, of compulsory education, meant that Catalan was proscribed in schools in Catalonia where, until 1978 and with the exception of one or two brief periods, Castilian was the only vehicle of education, and the only language compulsorily taught. In the third place, the influx into Catalonia of a large number of mainly Castilian-speaking immigrants has occurred for many years without Catalonia being able to provide adequate socio-economic, urban, educational, and other structures to enable them to become integrated and to participate fully in Catalan society from their own cultural identities, which the Generalitat acknowledges and respects. Finally, the emergence of the modern mass media in the Castilian language, among which television plays the preponderant role, has contributed to the almost total banishment of Catalan from the public sphere.

Now that a new period of democratic coexistence and of recognition of the personalities of the different peoples who form the Spanish State has begun, Article 3 of the Constitution, after stating that «Castilian is the official lan-

guage of the Spanish State» which «all Spaniards have the duty to know and the right to use», says that «the other Spanish languages shall also be official in their respective autonomous communities, as laid down in their Statutes», and affirms that «the richness of the different linguistic varieties of Spain is a cultural heritage which must be the object of special respect and protection».

More particularly, Article 3 of the Statute of Autonomy says:

1. Catalonia's own language is Catalan.
2. The Catalan language is the official one in Catalonia, as is Castilian, official throughout the Spanish State.
3. The Generalitat will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will take the necessary measures to ensure adequate knowledge of them and will create the conditions which will allow them to attain full equality with respect to the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia.
4. The Aranese tongue will be taught, and will be the object of special respect and protection.

Thus the article establishes the distinction according to which Catalan is Catalonia's own language and, at the same time, the official language, while Castilian, being the official language of the Spanish State as a whole, is also official in Catalonia. Therefore, under the Statute of Autonomy, Catalonia has its own language and two official languages, the Generalitat is obliged to promote and guarantee the full equality of both languages. The Generalitat is exclusively responsible for culture in general (Art. 9.4) and is fully responsible for education (Art. 15) as well. Thus linguistic normalisation in Catalonia is not only defined, but also entrusted to a task of the Generalitat which, in turn, must direct all the political thrust at its command to adopt measures and to create the conditions which will guarantee this normalisation.

The restoration of Catalan to its rightful place as Catalonia's own language is the unquestionable right and duty of the Catalan people and must be respected and protected. In this regard, knowledge of the language must spread throughout the whole of Catalan society, to all citizens regardless of the language they normally speak, within a global framework in which everyone will accept the use of both languages and recognise and contribute to the recovery of Catalan as one of the fundamental aspects of the reconstruction of Catalonia.

Consequently, this Act proposes to overcome the current situation of lin-

guistic inequality by stimulating the normalisation of the use of the Catalan language throughout Catalan territory. In this sense, the current law guarantees the official use of both languages in order to ensure that all citizens may participate in public life; establishes knowledge of both languages as an educational objective; balances them in the communication media; eradicates discrimination for reasons of language; and specifies the means of channelling linguistic normalisation in Catalonia.

Finally, the Act deals also with the specific case of the territory of the Vall d'Aran, where a specific language has been preserved over the centuries, is still spoken today, and requires its own normalisation process which is indeed recognised in Article 3.4 of the Statute of Catalonia. Consequently, in accordance with the above-mentioned article, the Act contains a section which specifies the measures of linguistic normalisation applicable to the Vall d'Aran.

PRELIMINARY SECTION

Article 1

1. The aim of this present Act is to develop Article 3 of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia in order to undertake normalisation in the use of the Catalan language in all spheres, and to guarantee the normal and official use of Catalan and Castilian.

2. Bearing in mind the linguistic situation in Catalonia, then, the aims of this Act are the following:

- a) To protect and promote the use of Catalan by all citizens.
- b) To make effective the official use of Catalan.
- c) To normalise the use of Catalan in all communication media.
- d) To ensure the spread of knowledge of Catalan.

Article 2

1. Catalan is Catalonia's own language. All its citizens have the right to know the language and express themselves in it, both verbally and in writing, in their everyday lives and in public acts, both official and unofficial. This right implies, above all, being able to address Government bodies, public organisations, and public and private enterprises in Catalan, either verbally or in writing; express oneself in Catalan at all meetings; carry out professional, labour, political, and trade-union activities and receive schooling in Catalan.

2. Manifestations of thought or will and oral or written acts, whether public or private, cannot in Catalonia be subject to any form of discrimination if they are totally or partially expressed in Catalan, and are as legally binding as any document drawn up in Castilian, and consequently they cannot be subject to any difficulty or postponement, or requirements for translation or any other demand.

3. Under no circumstances can anyone be discriminated against because of the official language he or she uses.

Article 3

Legal entities working in Catalonia must also respect what is laid down in the previous article.

Article 4

1. Citizens of Catalonia may appeal to courts and tribunals to obtain legal protection of their right to use their language.

S = Central (Spanish) Legislation C = Catalan Legislation

Law 30/1984 on Measures for the Reform of the Civil Service (S)

Art. 31: The following will be treated as serious infractions:

(b): Any action constituting discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, religion, language, opinion, birthplace or any other condition or personal or social circumstance.

Law 17/1985 of 23 July on the Civil Service of the Generalitat (C)

Art. 93 (b): Any action constituting discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, religion, language, opinion, birthplace or any other condition or personal or social position.

Royal Decree 628/1987 of 8 May (S)

amending articles 86 and 223 of the *Regulation of the Civil Register*. The Council of Ministers... has allowed the appeal put forward by the Executive Council of the Generalitat of Catalonia with relation to *Royal Decree 1917/1986 of 29 August* amending specific articles of the *Regulation of the Civil Register*, and accordingly to amend the said *Royal Decree* so that in the new version of article 86 of the *Regulation of the Civil Register*, co-official status will be granted, alongside Castilian, to other Spanish languages in those Autonomous Communities where such provision is made in their Statutes of Autonomy.

Penal Code (S)

An. 165. Any person employed in a public service and who refuses another person any of the benefits to which he or she is entitled on the grounds of origin, sex, family situation or whether or not that person belongs to a particular ethnic group, race, religion, political group or union, may be sentenced to 'arresto mayor' (*) and a fine of 30,000 to 300,000 pesetas.

Should such action be taken against an association, foundation or society or against its members on the grounds of the origin, sex or family situation of its members or any one of its members, or because they belong or do not belong to an ethnic group, nation, race or particular religion, the same penalties shall apply.

[*arresto mayor = imprisonment for one month and one day]

2. *Notwithstanding the right of those affected to do so directly, the Executive Council of the Generalitat is authorised, with all necessary legal powers, to act on its own initiative or at the request of any person, together with those affected or separately, and to carry out any political, administrative or legal actions necessary to make effective the citizens' rights recognised in article 3 of the Statute and in this Law*.*

SECTION I

Concerning Official Use

Article 5

1. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also the language of the Generalitat and of the Catalan territorial Administration, of Local Administration, and of all other public corporations that belong to the Generalitat.
2. Catalan and Castilian, as the official languages of Catalonia, are to be used compulsorily by the Administration in the form established by law.

Article 6

1. Laws approved by the Parliament of Catalonia must be published simultaneously in Catalan and Castilian editions, in the *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat*. The Parliament is responsible for drawing up the official version in Castilian. *Should there be any doubts in interpretation, the Catalan version shall be considered valid**. With regard to their publication in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, the corresponding legal norms must be abided by.
2. Publication in the *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat*, when required, of the normative dispositions and official resolutions of the Public Administration of the Generalitat and of the local authorities of Catalonia, shall be in simultaneous Catalan and Castilian editions.
3. As far as language is concerned, all documents arising from administrative action, notices, printed matter, and forms issued by the aforementioned entities, drawn up in Catalan, have official validity.

*Article 4.2 and part of Article 6.1 (marked in italics) were declared to be unconstitutional by Constitutional Court, on June 26, 1986 (No. 83/1986).

Decree 107/1987 of 13 March (C)

regulating the use of the official languages by the Administration of the Generalitat of Catalonia.

Decree 254/1987 of 4 August (C)

modifying the wording of articles 5.7 and 16 of *Decree 107/1987...*

Art. 5: Documents sent by the Generalitat to other public Administrations within Catalonia shall be written in Catalan.

Art. 7: Documents from the Generalitat destined for public services outside Catalonia shall be written in Castilian or, if applicable, in the other official language of the particular administration in question.

Art. 16: Provisions for obligatory publications by the Administration of the Generalitat shall be in both official languages. . .

Law 8/1987 of 15 April, Municipal on Local Government in Catalonia (C)

Art. 2: Notices to meetings of the organs of local government bodies, agendas, minutes and other writings and documentation arising from the proceedings may be written in Catalan with no translation required.

Article 7

1. As far as language is concerned, all administrative activity carried out in the Catalan language in Catalonia is perfectly valid and effective.
2. The Executive Council must regulate, through dispositions, the normalisation of the use of Catalan in the administrative activities of all organisms under its jurisdiction.
3. Local corporations must do likewise, within the limits of their jurisdictions, in accordance with the principles and norms established in this law.

Article 8

1. Within the territory of Catalonia, all citizens have the right to have dealings with the Generalitat, with the Civil Administration of the State, with Local Administration, and with any other public body, in the official language of their choice.
2. In proceedings initiated at the request of a private individual, the Administration must provide any other interested parties, if they so desire, with written summaries of that which affects them, in the language of their choice.
3. In proceedings initiated by the Administration, whichever of the official languages is used, the Administration is obliged to provide documents or written summaries requested by the interested parties, in the language of their choice.

Article 9

1. Within the territorial boundaries of Catalonia, all citizens may use the official language of their choice in their dealings with the Judiciary, and no form of translation can be demanded of them.
2. As far as language is concerned, written material and documents presented in Catalan before courts and judges in Catalonia, as well as judicial proceedings carried out in Catalan in Catalonia, are fully valid and effective.

Article 10

Public documents executed in Catalonia are to be prepared in the language of the executor's choice, or should there be more than one executor, in the language that they decide. In all cases the notary public must issue in Castilian those copies which will have effect outside the territories where Catalan is the official language. The notary public must issue copies or written summaries in Catalan or Castilian, according to the wishes of the interested party, and translate the relevant documents when necessary, under his own responsibility.

Organic Law 6/1985 of 1 July on Judicial Power (S)

An. 2: Judges, magistrates, prosecutors, clerks and other court officials may also use the Autonomous Community's own language...

Art. 3: The parties, their representatives and counsel may use the language which is also official in the Autonomous Community, both in oral and written matters.

Art. 4: Court cases carried out and documents presented in the official language of an Autonomous Community will have full validity and effect with no translation into Castilian required.

Article 11

In all public registers under the jurisdiction of the Generalitat, inscriptions must be made in the official language in which the document is drawn up or the declaration is made. If the document is bilingual, it will be registered in the language chosen by whoever presents the document. All certificates granted by register officials will be in Catalan or Castilian, according to the language used in the request.

Article 12

1. Place-names in Catalonia, except those of the Vall d'Aran, are official only in their Catalan form.
2. In accordance with established legal procedure, it is the responsibility of the Executive Council of the Generalitat to decide upon the official names of territories, population nuclei, inter-urban roads under the jurisdiction of the Generalitat, and places throughout Catalonia. The names of urban roads and streets are to be decided by the relevant town councils.
3. These names will be official for all purposes and all signposts, street-names, etc., will have to be adjusted accordingly. It is the responsibility of the Executive Council of the Generalitat to supervise the standardisation of public signs, respecting, in all cases, international norms which the State has adopted.

Article 13

Public enterprises must take measures to guarantee that those of their employees having direct dealings with the public be familiar enough with Catalan to attend any matter with normality.

SECTION II**Concerning Education****Article 14**

1. Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is also the language of education at all levels.
2. Infants have the right to receive their early instruction in their usual language, be it Catalan or Castilian. The Administration must guarantee this right and provide the means to ensure it can be exercised. Parents and teachers may exercise it in the name of their children, by requiring it to be applied.
3. The teaching of Catalan and Castilian is obligatory at all levels and grades of non-university education.

Decree 125/1984 of 17 April (C)

regulating the use of the Catalan languages in public documents.

Art. 1: Public documents in Catalonia shall be drawn up and authorised by notaries in the official language chosen by the petitioner or, in the case of more than one petitioner, in the language upon which they agree.

Art. 2: If no agreement over language is reached, the document will be drawn up in both official languages, without using the dual column system.

Order of 8 September 1983 (C)

applying Decree 362/1983:

Art. 8.1: Children who begin their General Basic Education after the publication of this order will, on reaching the middle cycle, be taught social or natural sciences in Catalan. In the second stage, they will be taught both subject areas in Catalan.

Art. 9.1: After the 1983-84 academic year, secondary schools teaching *Batxillerat* and *COU* will teach two of the following four subjects in Catalan to first-year pupils: natural sciences, art, history and mathematics.

4. All children in Catalonia, irrespective of their usual language when they first enter school, must be able to use both Catalan and Castilian normally and correctly by the end of their basic education.
5. The Administration must take the necessary measures so that: a) children are not separated into different centres for reasons of language; b) Catalan is used progressively as pupils' mastery of it increases.

Article 15

No child who has begun his studies after the publication of this law may be given the certificate of basic general education unless he can demonstrate, on finishing it, that he has adequate mastery of Catalan and Castilian. However, proof of mastery of Catalan may not be required of those children who have been excused from studying the language during all or part of their schooling, or of those who have studied basic general education outside Catalonia, and the Executive Council will provide regulations for these circumstances.

Article 16

1. In centres of higher education staff and students alike have the right, in each case, to express themselves, either orally or in writing, in the official language of their choice.
2. Catalan universities are obliged to offer courses and other means to ensure that all students and teachers who do not understand Catalan may learn it.

Article 17

1. In adult vocational training courses both Catalan and Castilian must be taught.
2. In specialised courses where language is taught it is compulsory to teach Catalan and Castilian.
3. In specialist training centres under the jurisdiction of the Generalitat in which the language is not taught, Catalan language courses must be offered to those students whose knowledge of it is inadequate.

Article 18

1. In accordance with the demands of their educational duties all teachers must master both official languages.
2. Curricula for teacher-training centres and courses must be prepared so as to ensure that all students achieve full mastery of Catalan and Castilian, in accordance with the requirements of each teaching speciality.

Order of 6 December 1983 (C)

amending the drafting of articles 8 and 9 of the Order of 8 September:

Art. 8: The Governing Bodies of the different centres will allow teaching in Catalan at the levels specified in the previous paragraph in other subject areas apart from those specified in the aforementioned paragraph...

Art. 9: In successive academic years, the use of Catalan will gradually be extended to other years and subjects...

Article 19

Regulations governing the appointment of teachers must establish the mechanisms and conditions necessary to ensure that the previous article is applied.

Article 20

Educational centres are obliged to make Catalan the normal vehicle of expression, both in internal activities, including those of an administrative nature, and external ones.

SECTION III**Concerning the Communication Media****Article 21**

1. The Generalitat is obliged to promote Catalan language and culture in its own communication media referred to in article 16.3 of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia. The language normally used must be Catalan.
2. The Executive Council of the Generalitat must regulate the normalisation of the use of the language in the communication media under the jurisdiction or control of the Generalitat, with the aim of ensuring understanding and improving knowledge of the Catalan language, bearing in mind the linguistic situation of the area of coverage of each specific medium.

Article 22

1. In accordance with article 16.2 of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, the Generalitat will be empowered to subsidise periodical publications printed either totally or partly in Catalan while conditions unfavourable to their production and diffusion still persist. Such subsidy will be granted without discrimination and within budget provisions.
2. The Generalitat is obliged to stimulate the normalisation of Catalan in broadcasting stations, which it may subsidise under the corresponding parliamentary control and with due budget provisions,

Article 23

1. The Generalitat is obliged to stimulate and foment with adequate measures the theatre, cinema production in Catalan, dubbing and subtitles in Catalan for non-Catalan films, shows, and all other forms of public cultural entertainment in Catalan.
2. The Generalitat must contribute to the promotion of books in Catalan with measures that will boost publication and distribution.

Decree 2455/1982 30 July (C)

Register of journalistic companies, journalists and subsidies for printing materials transferred to Generalitat for supervision.

Decree 497/1983 21 November (C)

regulates subsidies to periodical publications written all or partially in Catalan within the framework of the Act.

3. All measures adopted to foment these and other media that may be considered will be applied objectively, without discrimination, and within budget provisions.

SECTION IV

Concerning Institutional Support

Article 24

1. The Executive Council of the Generalitat, through the College of Public Administration, is obliged to guarantee that Catalan is taught to all civil servants and employees of the Generalitat and the local authorities of Catalonia.

2. It can also undertake to teach Catalan to employees of the Central Government, within the terms agreed upon.

3. Full mastery of both official languages is necessary for the obtention of the final certificate of studies of the College of Public Administration of the Generalitat.

Article 25

1. The Executive Council of the Generalitat has to promote the normalisation of the use of Catalan in commercial, advertising, cultural, social, sports and all other kinds of activities.

2. Similarly, local authorities have to do likewise within their own domain, and may grant tax reductions or exemptions for acts related to normalisation of the use of Catalan.

Article 26

Wherever the socio-linguistic situation demands, the Executive Council, in agreement with the local corporation in the affected area, must create or subsidise centres dedicated, fully or in part, to the teaching, use, and spread of the Catalan language.

30/1984 on Measures for Reforming the Civil Service (S)

Art. 19: In public examinations to join the civil service, public administrations must, within their respective field of competences, provide for the selection of duly qualified officials to fill posts in Autonomous Communities which have two official languages.

Law 17/1985 of 23 July of the Civil Service of the Administration of the Generalitat (C)

Art. 30.2: Officials from other administrations who join the Generalitat... will have to possess a sufficient level of Catalan to be able to work there.

An. 34:... In the selection process, an adequate level of both written and oral Catalan will have to be demonstrated.

(Article 34 has been contested and is being brought before the Constitutional Tribunal.)

Royal Decree 1122/1988 of 23 September (S)

approving the general labelling, presentation and publicity regulation for bottled food products.

An. 19: The compulsory information on the labels of food products marketed in Spain must at least appear in the official language of the State.

Article 27

1. The Executive Council has to set up a plan to make people conscious of the normalisation of linguistic usage in Catalonia subsequent to when this Act takes effect.
2. The Executive Council must order the preparation of a sociolinguistic map of Catalonia, which will be up-dated regularly, in order to adjust its regulating and executive activity in its language policy and also to evaluate the impact of this plan on the growing knowledge of the Catalan language.

SECTION V**Concerning the Normalisation of the Use of Aranese****Article 28**

1. Aranese is the Vall d'Aran's own language. The people of the Valley have the right to know the language and to use it in everyday life and public activities within the territory.
2. The Generalitat, together with Aranese institutions, must take the necessary measures to guarantee knowledge and normal use of Aranese in the Vall d'Aran and to stimulate its normalisation.
3. Place-names in the Vall d'Aran officially have the Aranese form.
4. The Executive Council has to supply the means to ensure that Aranese is taught and used in the schools of the Vall d'Aran.
5. The Executive Council must take measures to ensure that Aranese is used in the communication media of the Vall d'Aran.
6. Any subsequent regulations arising from this Law must take into account the use of Aranese in the Vall d'Aran.

Decree 397/1983 (C)

assigns to the *Direcció General de Política Lingüística* the function of applying, promoting and advising on language normalisation.

Additional Provision

The Generalitat has to foster, in agreement with the relevant bodies, the normalisation of the use of Catalan in Central Government offices in Catalonia, in the Judiciary, in registers, in public bodies, and in other administrative spheres not under the jurisdiction of the Generalitat. With regard to the Judiciary in Catalonia, the establishment of suitable linguistic regulations, for proceedings resolved outside Catalonia, must also be promoted.

Temporary Provisions

First: Regarding the use of Catalan by the Administration, the period of adaptation of services and bodies to what is laid down in this law, cannot exceed two years in the case of the Generalitat, local authorities, and other public bodies under the jurisdiction of the Generalitat. As regards Central Government Administration in Catalonia, the Generalitat must set up agreements with the relevant bodies in order to establish similar periods of adaptation.

Second: 1. All signs referred to in Article 12, which are not written, or which are written incorrectly, in Catalan, must be written correctly in Catalan within a maximum period of two years. Despite this, however, in the case of urban place-names, beside new signs written in Catalan, old signs may be preserved if they have a long tradition or artistic design.

2. The authorities and bodies affected by this transitory provision must inform the relevant department of the Generalitat of the periods of application and follow any further instructions they may receive from it.

Third: 1. So that teachers may know the two official languages in Catalonia, and while teacher-training centres have still to draw up their curricula, the Executive Council will provide the necessary means to ensure that all those studying there will achieve an adequate knowledge of the Catalan language.

2. Once this law has taken effect, the Executive Council of the Generalitat will organise relevant courses for serving teachers at all levels, in order to ensure their mastery of Catalan.

Fourth: As long as the Generalitat has no communication media of its own as explained in Article 21, the Executive Council will take any necessary measures including, where appropriate, a scheme of specific protection within budget provisions, to ensure the existence of at least one set of television programmes and one radio broadcasting station to cover the whole of Catalan territory and normally use Catalan.

Order 35/1987 of 17 June (S)

regulating the use of the official languages of the Autonomous Communities within military services.

Art. 2: Documents written in the official and own language of an Autonomous Community, which are sent to military services by individuals, public corporations or self-governing institutions which belong to that Community will have full validity and effectiveness.

Art. 5: In all minutes and duty reports circulated in the armed forces, Castilian will always be used, regardless of to whom the instructions are addressed, the communications or notifications and the Autonomous Community in which this takes place.

(Translation by J.W.)

Fifth: Until the objectives mentioned in Article 1 have been achieved, the public budgets of the Generalitat will devote sufficient funds to undertake the activities and functions deriving from the execution of this Act.

Final Provisions

First: The Executive Council of the Generalitat is authorised to apply and draw up the regulations of this Act.

Second: This Act will take effect the day after its publication in the *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat*.

I therefore order all citizens to whom this Act applies to cooperate in its fulfilment and all Tribunals and Authorities concerned to see that it is carried out.

Barcelona, April 18th 1983

Jordi Pujol,
President of the Generalitat of Catalonia

Max Calmer,
Conseller of Culture

(Official Translation)

5. LINGUISTIC DATA FROM THE CENSUS OF 1986

These graphs are based on linguistic data from the census of 1986 in an attempt to provide a clearer reflection of the distribution of proficiency in Catalan throughout Catalonia. Totals from the censuses of 1976 and 1981 have been included for comparison, but comparisons can only be made tentatively, because of the new format of the 1986 census and the inclusion of data for municipalities which did not previously exist.

The 1986 census is the most sophisticated to date, clarifying specific functions for ability in Catalan:

- (i) does not understand
- (ii) understands
- (iii) understands and can read
- (iv) can speak
- (v) can speak and read
- (vi) can speak, read and write

As the census is presented, this information is then synthesised:

- (a) understands = ii+iii+iv+v+vi
- (b) can speak = iv+v+vi
- (c) can read = iii+v+vi
- (d) can write = vi

Graphs 1a) and 1b) show that intensified normalisation programmes in the five years 1981-86 have contributed to a 10% increase in the comprehension of Catalan. This has been particularly marked in the province of Barcelona where some two-thirds of Catalonia's population live, and where high levels of immigration have led to the introduction of 'immersion' programmes in schools and other intensive normalisation measures.

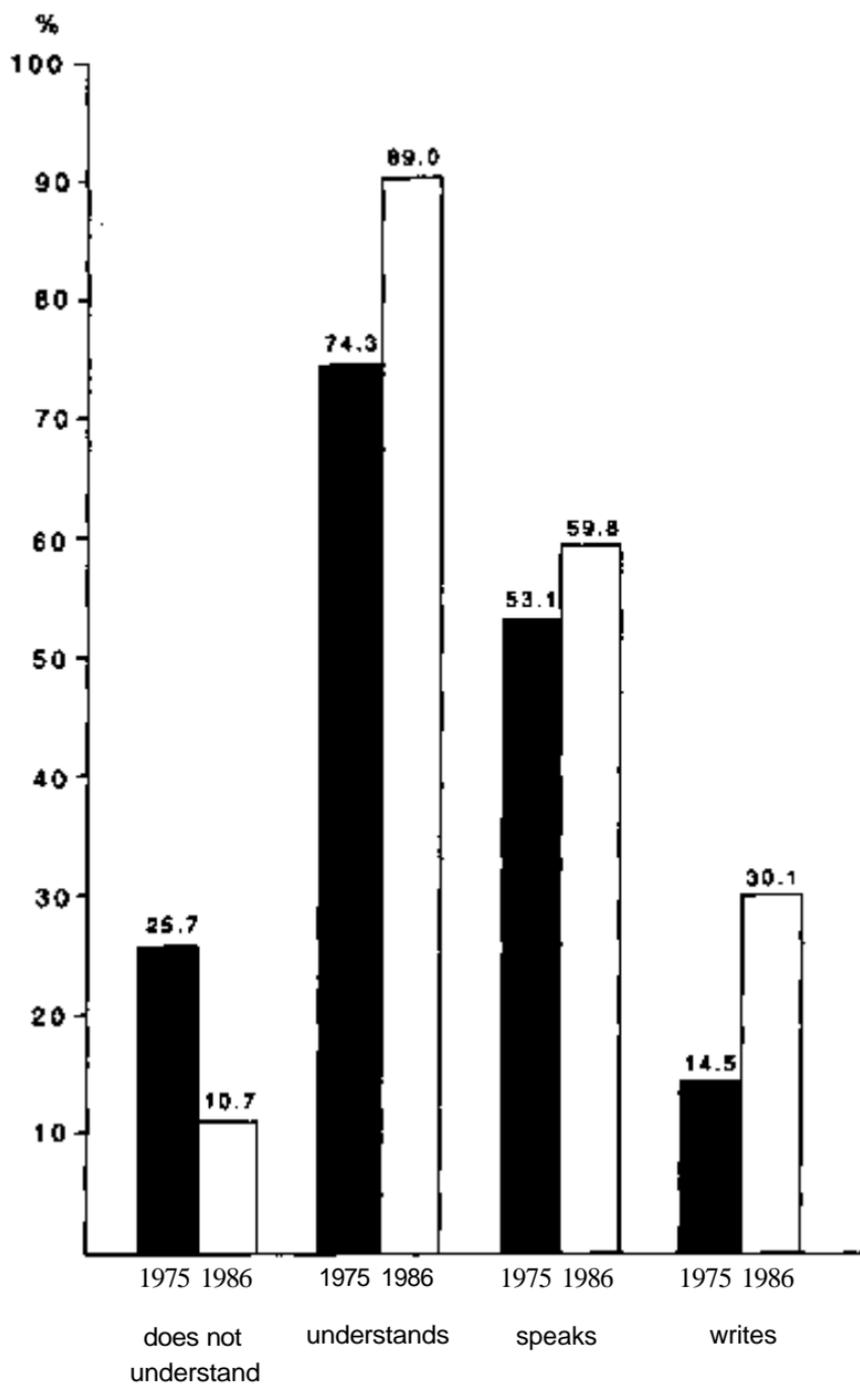
Graph 2 shows the four provinces in rank order. Differences between them are at their greatest in terms of spoken ability.

Graph 3 and the accompanying maps attempt to show geographical differences more rigorously. In themselves, these data do not permit the distinction to be made between those people who now have knowledge of Catalan but previously did not; they also treat the entire population aged two years and upwards together. They are based upon the respondents' entirely subjective judgements. Nevertheless, the following conclusions regarding the implications of linguistic normalisation can be made:

- (1) In the 10 years since the census of 1975, a generation of school-age children have been in contact with an intensifying programme for linguistic normalisation at school. Catalan has passed from being an optional subject in 1975 to the compulsory vehicle for education, at least in a proportion of subjects. Adult education has become increasingly established, and it is significant to note that the *Generalitat's* records show 17,000 adults enrolled in Catalan courses for the academic years 1981-82, reaching a peak of 41,625 for the years 1986-87. Educational measures have apparently had significant results. If, during the decade when the teaching of Catalan, both to children and adults, escalated, and those possessing writing skills more than doubled from 14.5 per cent to 30.1 per cent, the five years from 1986 to 1991 are certain to record a continuation of this trend, as general comprehension of Catalan is improved and as Catalan schooling (*'l'escola catalana'*) becomes a reality in an increasing number of schools.
- (2) The proliferation of texts in Catalan, including newspapers, journals, official communications, advertising, shop signs and consumer labels have helped bring about the increase in reading and understanding skills proved by this data. Oral comprehension must also have been aided by radio and television broadcasts. The *Estudio General de Medios* gives statistics for television audiences indicating that the percentage of the adult population (aged over 15) watching TV3 rose from 30.7 per cent in 1984 to 54.2 per cent in 1987, and that the total percentage for viewers for the same years rose from 74.7 per cent to 92.6 per cent. The existence of a fourth channel, broadcasting in Catalan, would suggest that comprehension could be improved still further. Areas particularly severely affected by the linguistic 'abnormality' benefit from the mass media in Catalan which cover the entire principality. In this respect, it is interesting to note that written ability in the province of Barcelona compares better to written ability in other provinces than any of the other language functions highlighted. Thus two specific normalisation thrusts, education and the media, seem to have made contributions: education has taught how to read and the written media have provided more material.
- (3) Given the positive developments in linguistic normalisation and the present sociolinguistic situation, the upward trends visible from this

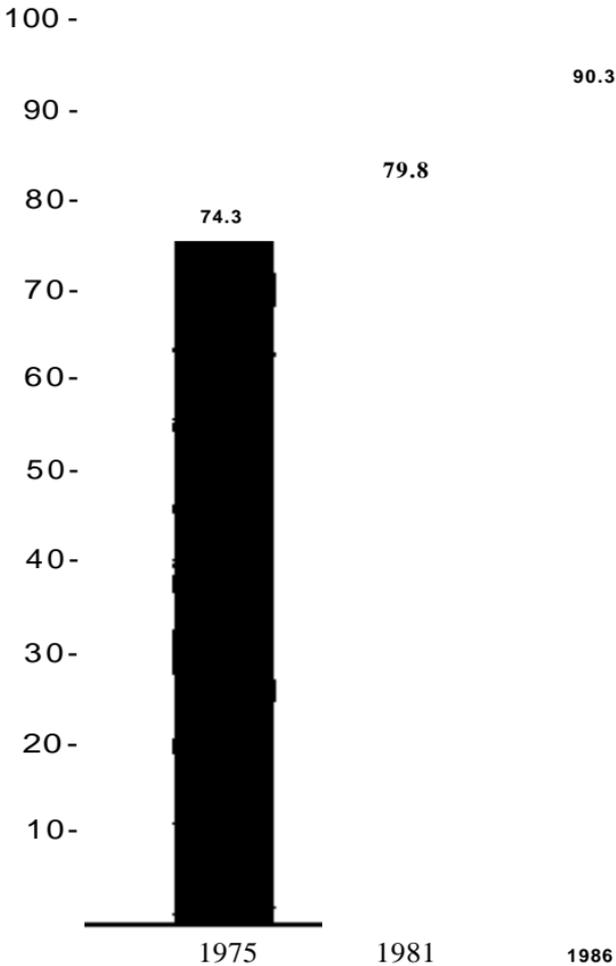
data are not likely to be reversed. The Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation, created in 1988, will, if successful, increase the pressure to achieve normalisation in its target areas. This, together with the specific stimulus of the 1992 Olympic Games, for which Catalan will be one of the four official languages, will almost certainly be reflected indirectly in the 1991 census. A 10 per cent increase in comprehension, similar to that recorded between 1981 and 1986 would put the 1991 total at 100 per cent. Whether or not this will be the case, such data alone cannot prove the extent to which Catalonia has in fact become truly linguistically normal since it excludes people's opinion of Catalan and the entire question of linguistic preference. Nevertheless, linguistic censuses testify to the practical adaptation of society to what are now the established needs of Catalan.

1 a) Comparisons between linguistic data from 1975 and 1986 censuses.
(Province of Barcelona)



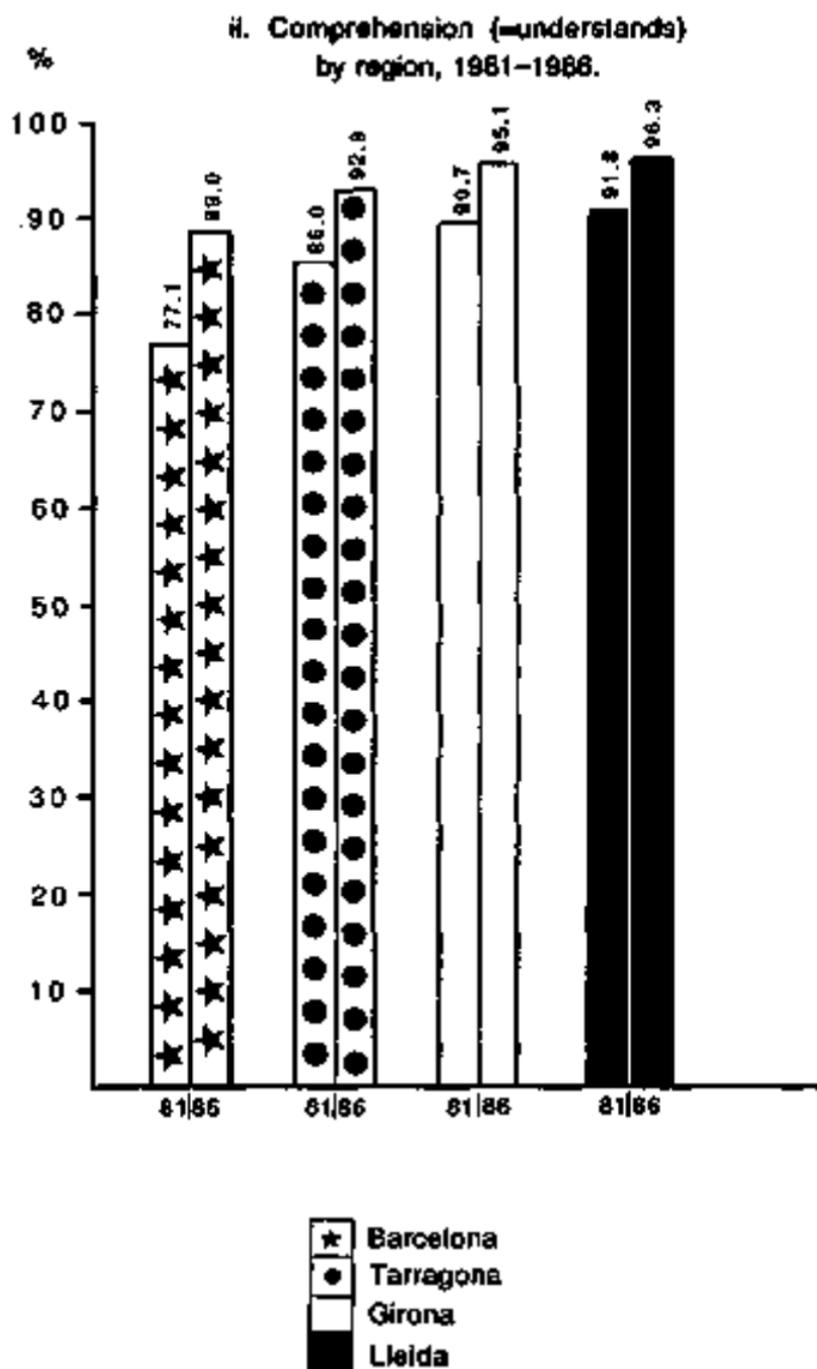
1b) Comparisons between linguistic data from 1975, 1981 and 1986.

i. Comprehension (=understands)
of Catalan in Catalonia.

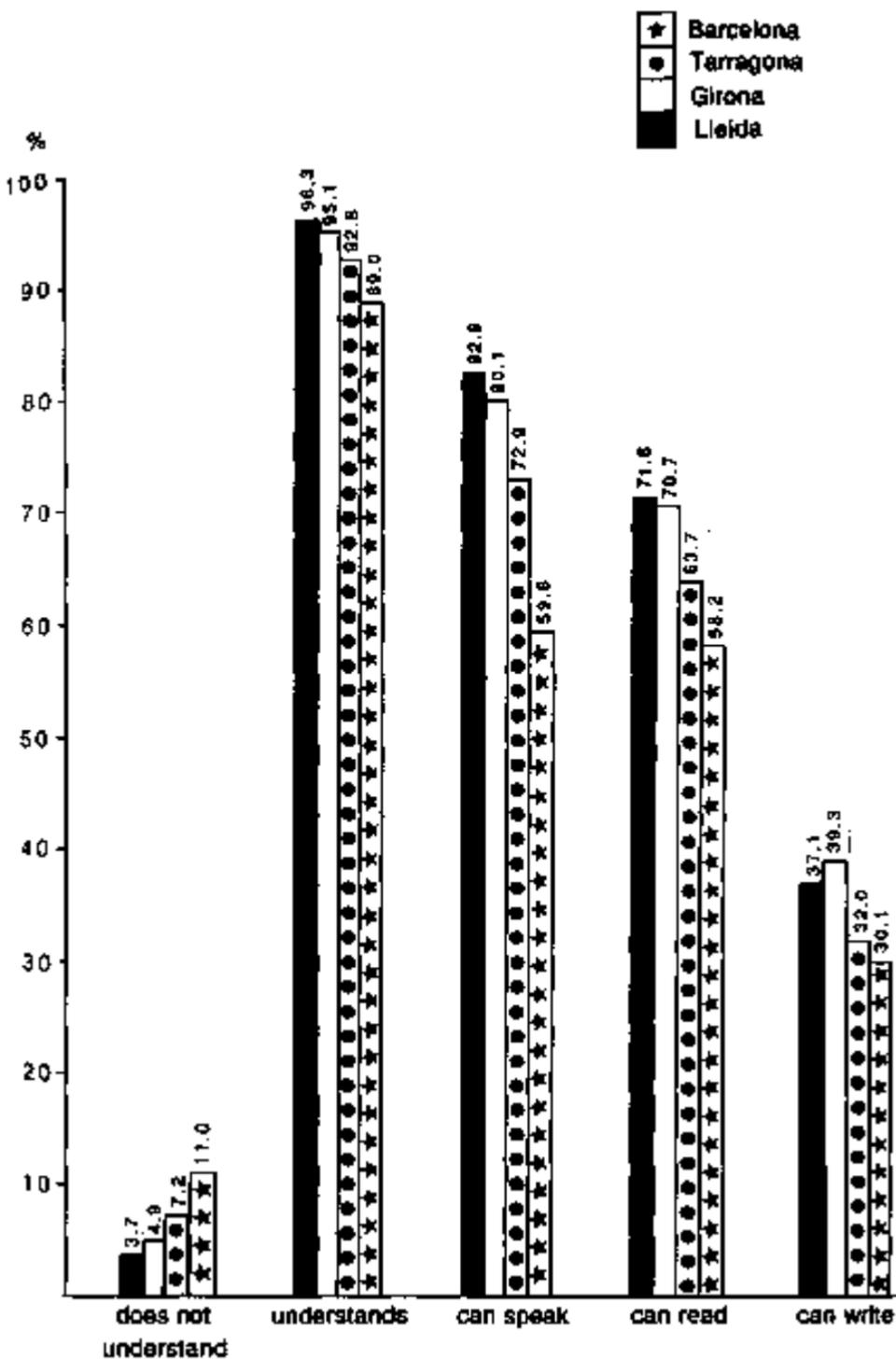


(Barcelona Province only)

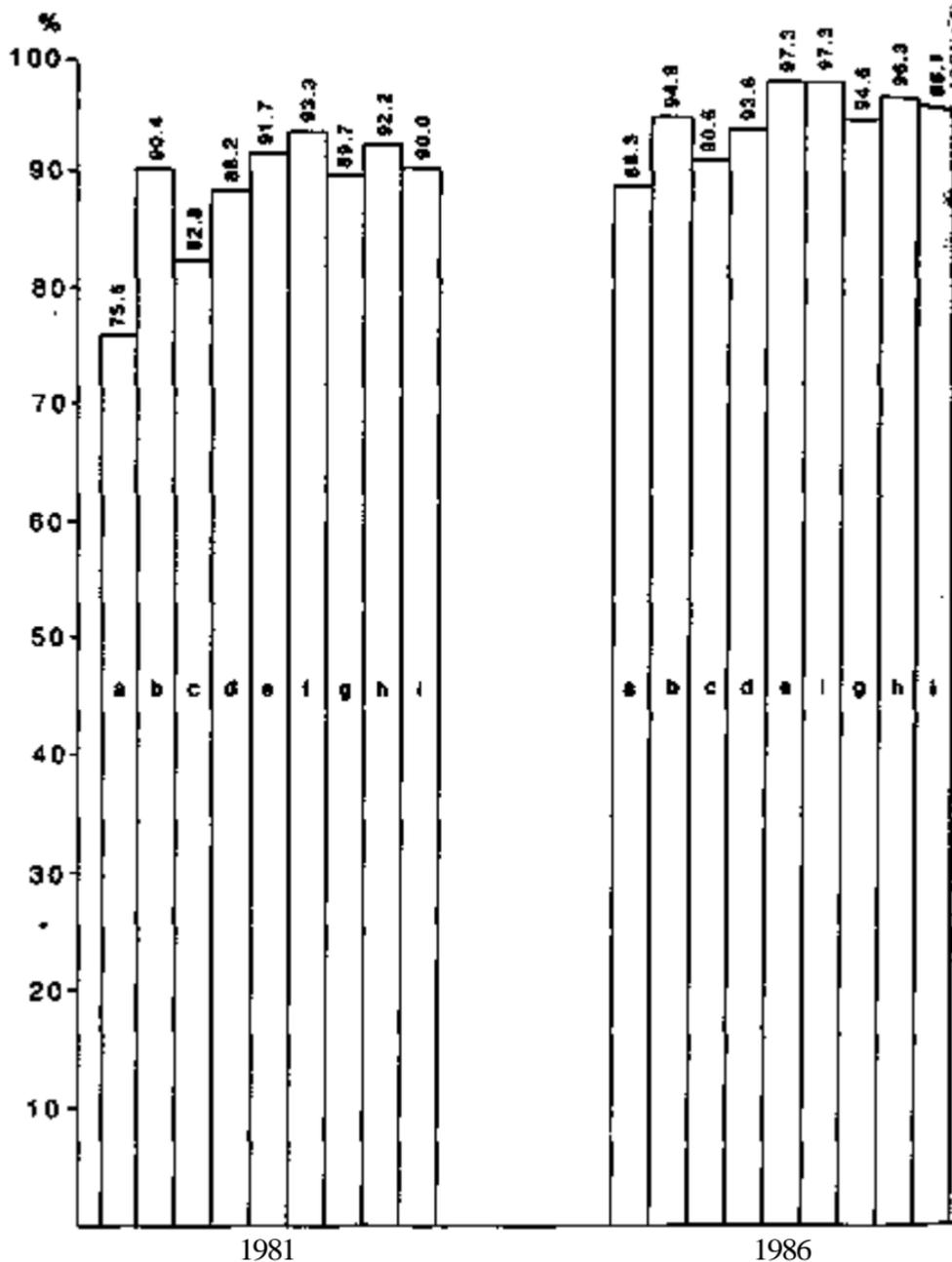
1b) Comparisons between linguistic data from 1975, 1981 and 1986.



2. Breakdown of linguistic data from 1966: Linguistic ability by provinces.

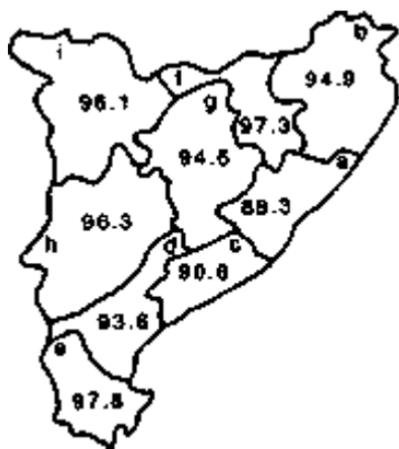


3. Linguistic ability and its distribution by regions: 'comprehension'

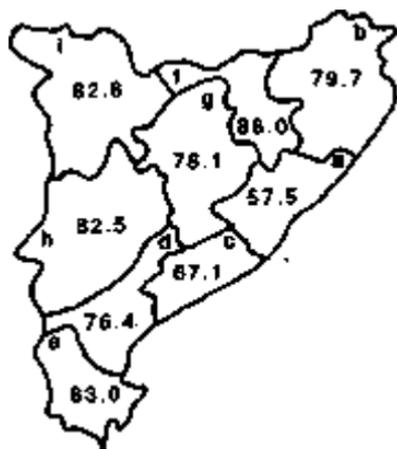


- a. Baix Llobregat, Barcelonès, Maresme, Vallès Occidental, Vallès Oriental
 b. Alt Empordà, Baix Empordà, Garrotxa, Gironès, Selva
 c. Alt Camp, Alt Penedès, Baix Penedès, Garraf, Tarragonès
 d. Baix Camp, Conca de Barberà, Priorat, Ribera d'Ebre
 e. Baix Ebre, Montsià, Terra Alta
 f. Cerdanya, Osona, Ripollès
 g. Anoia, Bages, Berguedà, Solsonès
 h. Garrigues, Noguera, Segarra, Segrià, Urgell
 i. Alt Urgell, Pallars Jussà, Pallars Sobirà, VaN d'Aran

4. Linguistic ability and its distribution by regions (1986).

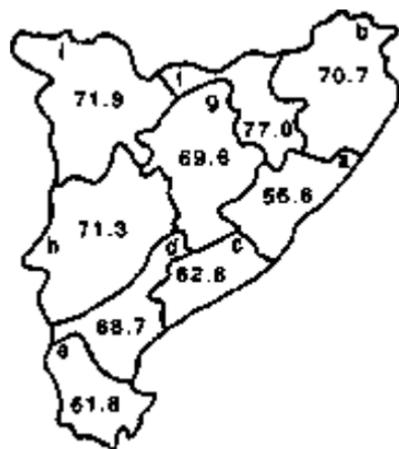


understands

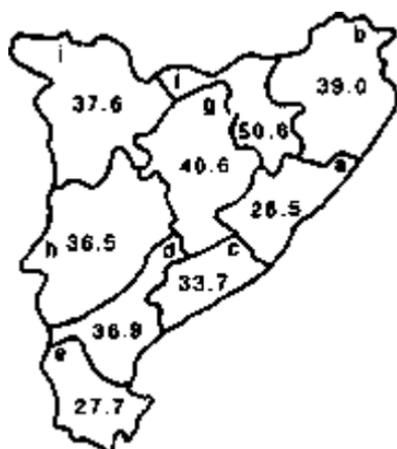


speaks

- a. Baix Llobregat, Barcelonès, Maresme, Vallès Occidental, Vallès Oriental
 b. Alt Empordà, Baix Empordà, Garrotxa, Gironès, Selva
 c. Alt Camp, Alt Penedès, Baix Penedès, Garraf, Tarragonès
 d. Baix Camp, Conca de Barberà, Priorat, Ribera d'Ebre
 e. Baix Ebre, Montsià, Terra Alta
 l. Cerdanya, Osona, Ripollès
 g. Anoia, Bages, Berguedà, Solsonès
 h. Garrigues, Noguera, Segarra, Segrià, Urgell
 i. Alt Urgell, Pallars Jussà, Pallars Sobirà, Vall d'Aran



reads



writes

6. INSTITUTE OF CATALAN STUDIES**'ON THE PRESENT STATE OF LINGUISTIC NORMALISATION'****Barcelona 1990**

The Institute of Catalan Studies, meeting in extraordinary Plenary session to discuss the present situation of the Catalan language and its normalisation process in particular, agrees the following points:

1. In accordance with article 2 paragraph a) of its Statutes, one of the aims of the Institute is to 'take charge of the study of the language, to establish a set of standards and to examine how to extend a coherent normalisation process beyond its geographical territory'.

2. The ICS shares with other institutions, notably the universities of the Catalan Countries, the objective of promoting scientific research into the Catalan language. Fruitful collaboration is to be hoped for in this field.

3. The establishment of a set of standards is a fundamental first step in the process of normalisation. The rules and structure of Catalan, which are composite in nature, i.e. they reflect all major dialects participating to form a common language, have been laid down by the ICS in the past and its Statutes grant it exclusive responsibility in this task which the Institute assumes entirely and unequivocally. Normalisation requires the participatory nature of Catalan's rules and structure to be taken into consideration, since they are essential to the continued unity of the language. The ICS, the only cultural body which, as confirmed by the Royal Decree of 26 November 1976 and as has traditionally been recognised by the language group as a whole, covers the entire Catalan speaking region in its scope of activity, is increasingly concerned with the participatory element of the rules and structure and insists that any attack on such participation endangers the unity of the language.

4. By implementing article 2a) of its Statutes, i.e. the investigation of how to achieve normalisation uniformly throughout the linguistic area, the ICS conveys its concern for the overall situation of the Catalan language and culture. Notwithstanding the lessons learned from the restoration of the autonomous institutions, and, especially, the approval of the laws of linguistic normalisation, the following still require consideration:

—The critical state of the language in key zones of the territory, such as Perpignan, Alicante and Elche, the city of Valencia or Alguer—where linguistic substitution seems about to take full hold, and the objective difficulties accompanying the process of recuperation in other places, such as the Barcelonès and the Baix Llobregat *comarques*, Castelló de la Plana or Palma de Mallorca.

—The gaps in the application of normalisation legislation which are even wider than the persistent lack of coordination and cooperation between the various autonomous governments on the subject of language policy.

—The technical impossibility of assessing the results of a linguistic plan with no explicit targets for general and specific goals.

These shortcomings cannot all be put down to central Administration intervention in the affairs of the autonomous communities, or to constitutional or statutory limitations, although these also have a negative effect on the process of normalisation.

5. Nevertheless, the ICS believes in the possibility of taking political and social action under the present circumstances, and with this in mind, it wishes to note that:

—It is important for Catalan speakers to become aware of direct consequences of being the protagonists and thus the people responsible for maintaining the linguistic community. They should also know and actively exercise their linguistic rights, especially the right to use the Catalan language and to share in the responsibility for oral or written relations in a whole range of organisations, both public and private. Indeed, it is important for them to know that the law protects them and that they draw attention to cases where these rights are not respected.

—Similarly, public authorities should guarantee the exercise and protection of these rights by passing measures which oblige public and private bodies to adapt to the use of Catalan in their relations with the public.

Thus the ICS ventures to suggest that the authorities concerned take the necessary steps to meet the following urgent needs:

—Exploiting the full potential of the ways opened by legislation now in force, so that there can be no doubts over the political willingness on the part of the autonomous governments in this respect.

—Developing to the full the concept of "own language" in terms of the only language of the region.

—Coordinating the language policies of the various autonomous governments and establishing solid and lasting cooperation in this field as a permanent, unified thrust towards a coherent normalisation process guaranteeing not only irrefutable linguistic unity but also the cohesion and indivisibility of the linguistic community.

—Obtaining a shared communications space for the entire Catalan-speaking region including all media, separate from the abovementioned cultural cooperation agreements.

—Regulating and promoting, by all possible administrative means, the social use of Catalan, especially in the socio-economic sector (labour, corporate, commercial, etc.) so that the Catalan language regains hold of an essential area of daily life and work which lies largely outside administrative life and work.

—Devising, planning and implementing all concrete steps towards achieving the goals mentioned above within the current legal framework, but without excluding the possibility of amendments arising either out of the legal framework, through amendments to normalisation legislation by drafting complementary laws, or if necessary, by modifying the constitutional and statutory framework. Keeping the legal framework intact cannot be considered as an aim in itself, especially when alterations to it might result in an improvement for the whole community.

Furthermore, it is fitting to remember that many of the resolutions from the II International Congress on the Catalan Language are still valid and still await the political will to put them into effect; the popular concern and support that was mobilised around those resolutions ought not to be let down by the bodies who attached their political colours to them.

In any event, the normalisation of Catalan has to be seen as part of a much broader, collective project taking in all aspects of cultural, economic and social life, since any aspirations as to the social dominance of Catalan are incompatible with acceptance of its political, economic and social subordination.

The role of the State in projecting an egalitarian concept of linguistic and cultural pluralism must not be overlooked: it must bring in concrete measures (political, administrative and financial policies) geared toward guaranteeing respect for the reciprocity between the languages, not only in

their respective territories but also within state bodies and in the way they are projected on state and international levels.

In conclusion, we should keep as a mental framework the process of European unification where we should push for a linguistic order enabling our community to develop equally and with the same status as the other official languages of Europe.

(Translation by J.W.)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

Table 1. Progress towards Normalisation

	GENERALITAT AND ADMINISTRATION	CAMPAIGNS AND SLOGANS
1970		
1973		<i>'El català a fescola el curs que vé', Cornellà</i>
1975		
1976		
1978	Spanish democratic Constitution Provisional <i>Generalitat</i> established	
1979	Autonomy Statute	<i>'Més que mai un sol poble'</i> <i>'És català tot hom qui viu i treballa a Catalunya'</i>
1980	Decree 115/1980, 23 June creates <i>Direcció General de Política Lingüística</i> Decree 220/1980, 3 October creates, within <i>DGPL</i> : (i) <i>Servei de Normalització de l'Ús</i> <i>Oficial de la Llengua Catalana</i> (ii) <i>Servei d'Assessorament</i> <i>Lingüístic</i> (Language Advisory Service) Decree 296/1980, 4 December creates <i>Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana</i>	

EDUCATION

MEDIA

- 1970 Article 1.3 of Spanish Education Act refers to 'incorporation of regional peculiarities' and 'cultivation of native languages'
- 1975 Decree 1433/1975, 30 May: voluntary incorporation into school curriculum of teaching of native languages
- 1976 *'Reciclatge'* programmes begin
- 1978 *Servei d'Ensenyament del Català (SEDEC)* created (22 May)
- Royal Decree 2092/1978, 23 June: teaching of Catalan made compulsory in nursery school, *EGB*, *BUP* and 1st level *FP*
- 1979-80 Extension of teaching of Catalan to *'BUP nocturn'*
- 1980 Decree 142/1980, 8 August: teaching of Catalan extended to 2nd level *FP*
- Decree 153/1980, 12 September: teaching of Catalan incorporated into *COU*
- Ministerial Order, 15 December: *Convocatòria Concurs de Trasllats en el Cos de Professors d'EGB*; certificate of Catalan competence required to teach nursery school or *EGB*. (1981 M.O. stipulates max. 4 academic years to achieve this standard)
- Avui*: first general information daily newspaper to be published entirely in Catalan post-Franco
- Punt Diari* publishing in Catalan, in Girona
- Statute of Radio and Television Broadcasting* (4 January) concedes operation of one specially created state-owned regional channel to each of autonomous regions

GENERALITAT AND ADMINISTRATION

CAMPAIGNS AND SLOGANS

- 1981 *Junta Permanent del Català* created; competence in Catalan tested and certificates awarded
- '*La Norma*' campaign
'*Català cosa de tots*'
- All state *EGB* schools receive childrens' magazines *Cavall Fort*, *Tretzevents*, *Rodamón*
- Annual *Jornades de Didàctica* begun
- Journal *Com Ensenyar Català als Adults* launched
- 1982
- '*La Premsa a l'Escola*' 81-82 collaboration between *Avui* and *Department d'Ensenyament*. Schools also receive *Butlletí de la DEC* and *El Correo de la UNESCO*
- Font Rosella* experiment begun in Sabadell (and continued)
- '*Català a l'Escola*': theatre and cinema shows visit 45% of state schools
- 1983 *Llei 7/1983 de Normalització Lingüística a Catalunya* unanimously approved (1 abstention)
- Decree 396/1983, 8 September, creates *Comissió per a la Normalització Lingüística*
- Decree 397/1983, assigns function of 'application', 'advice*' and 'promotion*' of normalisation to *DC PL*
- Centres de Foment de la Normalització Lingüística* replace existing *Serveis Municipals de Català*
- Campanya de Divulgació de la LNL*
- '*Anemaveurellibres*'

EDUCATION

MEDIA

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 1981 | <p>Ministerial Order, 26 February: <i>Convocatòria Oposicions BUP, FP</i>; include testing of oral and written comprehension of Catalan</p> <p>Ministerial Order, 28 February: <i>Convocatòria Oposicions EGB</i>; include testing of specific knowledge of language and culture of Catalonia</p> <p>Order 11 May: curriculum for 1st cycle <i>EGB</i>: 4 hrs of Catalan</p> <p>Order 19 November regulates <i>reciclatge</i> courses</p> | <p><i>El Món</i> magazine publishing in Catalan</p> |
| 1982 | <p>Decree 270/1982, 5 August: obligation to use Catalan in one or more subjects in 2nd cycle <i>EGB</i> imposed</p> <p>Order 16 August regulates teaching of Catalan in middle cycle of <i>EGB</i></p> <p>Royal Decree 3937/1982, 29 December: Incorporation of Catalan language tests into university entrance examinations</p> | <p>El País (leader in circulation of Spanish daily press) publishes Catalan edition in Barcelona</p> <p>Decree 2455/1982, 30 July. Register of journalistic companies, journalists and subsidies for printing materials transferred to <i>Generalitat</i> for supervision</p> |
| 1983 | <p>Decree 362/1983, 30 August: (implemented by Order 8 September) application of <i>LNL</i> to non-university education</p> <p>Order 1 September: restructuring of <i>reciclatge</i></p> <p>Decree 576/1983, 6 December: Modifies 9th article of D/362. Obligation to teach minimum of one subject in Catalan</p> <p>Order 6 December: Modifies 8th and 9th Articles of Order 8 September, creating possibility of teaching other subjects in Catalan besides those previously permitted</p> | <p>Decree 497/1983, 21 November, regulates subsidies to periodical publications written all or partially in Catalan within the framework of the <i>LNL</i></p> <p>Autonomous Third Channel Act 26 December 1983. TV3 first transmitted 11 September 1983; regular programmes begun January 1984; Central Government authorizes TV3 December 1984</p> |

GENERALITAT AND ADMINISTRATION

CAMPAIGNS AND SLOGANS

1983

1984

1984-85 *Plans Intensius de Normalització Lingüística* in areas with low presence of Catalan

1984-85 secondary schools receive *Serra d'Or* magazine

'*Contes a caud"orella*' 1984-85 (and continued): student participation

1985

TERMCAT created 13 May to achieve normalisation in terminology in Catalan

'*El català depèn de vostè*'

1986

Decree 41/1986, 13 February creates *Comissió Assessora de Llenguatge Administratiu* and *Xarxa Tècnica*, auxiliary to *Comissió per a la NL*

II International Congress of the Catalan Language 1986-87 '*Micro obert a l'Escola*' April-May 1986

1987

Comissió Internacional de Difusió de la Cultura Catalana created

May: *5 Anys de Premsa a l'Escola*, conference

Llei 20/1987, 12 November: *Institució de les Lletres Catalanes* established to promote literary creation

'*Es nota prou que som a Catalunya?*' campaign

1988

Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística created 15 December

'*En Català per respecte a un mateix i als altres*'

Mil-lenari del Naixement Polític

EDUCATION

MEDIA

- 1983 Order 6 December *Convocatòria Oposicions BUP*: oral and written competence in Catalan tested
- 1984 Order 23 March: *Convocatòria Oposicions FP* include written and oral test of Catalan comprehension and expression
- 1984-85 *Formació Professional Institucional de Mestres* (FOPI) created
- 1985 Order 6 June: timetable for Catalan language and literature extended to 4hrs/wk for 1st and 2nd year *BUP*
- 1985-86: Evaluation of *Immersió* programmes
- 1986 Decree 18/1986, 30 January: all teachers contracted by public examination must demonstrate knowledge of Catalan language and culture
- Decree 87/1986, 3 April: administration of state non-university education to guarantee 'significant application of *LNA* within each school'
- 1987
- 1988
- Closure of *EDIG SA*. recording company which had been associated with *Nova Cançó*
- El Temps* published, written in Catalan
- 2 August Law regulating aid from Spanish state to publishing companies and news agents
- Decree 279/1985, 12 September and 16 January 1986: creates register of journalistic companies and news agencies in accordance with Royal Decree 1984
- Diari de Barcelona*: Catalan version begins
- Telecommunications Act: Autonomous government may grant FM licences
- April 1988: Private Television Act
- ABC* begins supplement for Catalonia

Table 2. Stages of Normalisation in other Catalan-Speaking areas

PAÍS VALENCIÀ

1971	<i>Secretariat de l'Ensenyament</i> created
1978	<i>Secretariat</i> becomes <i>Acció Cultural del País Valencià</i>
1978	<i>Campanyes Carles Salvador</i> , organised by <i>Acció Cultural</i> , begin to teach Valencian language ¹ and culture. <i>Conselleria de Cultura</i> also organises classes for adults, civil servants and 'summer schools' for teachers. Valencia University also offers courses for teachers, and for all university members and staff
19g2	Decree 19 July, 1982 and Order 28 July, 1982 incorporate teaching of Valencian into school curriculum
1983	<i>Llei d'Ensenyament del'Ús del Valencià</i>
1986-87	Obligation to teach two subjects in Valencian in middle cycle <i>EGB</i> ; by 1988, however, compulsory nature eliminated

VALL D'ARAN (Aranese)

1980	Commission to draw up <i>Normes Ortogràfiques</i> formed
1983	Decree 57/1983, 14 January: <i>Normes Ortogràfiques</i> approved
1983	Order 29 July, 1983 creates basic curriculum for <i>EGB</i> in Aranese
1983	September: <i>Comissió de suport i seguiment del Programa de l'Aranès a l'EGB</i>
1983-84	<i>Reciclatge</i> in Aranese
1984	First <i>Llibre de lectura</i> available for children in Aranese

1. 'Modalitat del català parlat al País Valencià'

- 1984-85 *Reciclatge* extended to civil servants and professions by agreement between *DGPL* and *Conselh Comarcau de Montanha dera Val d'Aran*
- 1986 Census indicates 10.1% increase in Catalan comprehension (1981: 80.5%—1986: 90.6%). *Centre de Normalisation Lingüística* opens in Vielha
- 1989 *Llei d'Aran* makes Aranese official in the valley, alongside Catalan and Castilian
- 1990 First Occitan Summer University

CATALUNYANORD

- 1960 *Grup Rossellonès d'Estudis Catalans (GREC)* formed to implement teaching of Catalan (made possible by 1951 *Loi Deixonne*)
- 1975 Voluntary teaching of Catalan; admitted as a second language by 1979 in some schools
- 1978 *Centre de Documentació i d'Animació de la Cultura Catalana* created in Perpignan
- 1979 Perpignan University offers *Diploma Universitari d'Estudis Catalans*
- 1980 *GREC* organizes *Universitat Catalana d'Estiu*
- 1981 *Ràdio Arrels* broadcasts in Catalan
- 1985 Optional Catalan hour eliminated at discretion of school council
- 1985-86 *Digui, digui. . .* broadcast
- 1987 *Punt Catalunya Nord* (weekly magazine in Catalan) launched

BALEARS

- 1984-85 Palma City Council creates *Servei Municipal de Català*
- \ 1985-86 Teaching of Catalan made compulsory in schools
- 1986 April. Linguistic Normalisation Act for Balearic Islands approved

ANDORRA

1981 Since 1981 Andorra has had own educational structure

L'ALGUER

About 12,000 speakers of Catalan; Radio Sigma broadcasts in Catalan political party *Sardenya i Llibertat* uses Catalan; Catalan library organized by *Obra Cultural*; contracts with Catalan TV; some, limited teaching of Catalan. Bill in Italian parliament would permit '*la tutela delle minoranze linguistiche*'

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

(This selective list contains only works published in English. It incorporates titles used in the preparation of our study and also a sample of materials that supply some up-dating of the situation. *USL* = *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*.)

- ARNAU, Joaquim & BOADA, Humbert: 'Languages and school in Catalonia', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol. 7 (1986), nos. 2 & 3, 107-122.
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- CALSAMIGLIA, Helena & TUSON, Amparo: 'Use of languages and code-switching in groups of youths in a barn of Barcelona: communicative norms in spontaneous speech', *USL*, Vol. 47 (1984), 105-121.
- CARULLA, Mireia: *The Catalan Language Today. Publicacions de l'Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana*, 1990, 46 pp.
- ESTEVA i FABREGAT, Claudi: 'Ethnocentricity and bilingualism in Catalonia: the state and bilingualism¹', *USL*, Vol. 47 (1984), 43-57.
- FERGUSON, C.A.: 'Diglòssia', *Word (Journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York)*, Vol. 15 (1959), 325-340.
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Information about current sociolinguistic research on Catalan can be obtained from the *Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana*. This office of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* issues a quarterly bulletin (*Noves SL*, with annual compendium number in English) and also supplies English-language versions of various official publications. Correspondence should be addressed to:

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