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Language Contact and Variation in the Spanish of Catalonia

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ABSTRACT

When taking into consideration the language situation of Spain, it is important to realize that the presence of different languages varies with each region of the country and that the knowledge and status of these languages impact the use of Castilian. Catalonia is one such region in which it is important to understand and be able to recognize the differences in the Spanish language production of bilingual Castilian/Catalan speakers as opposed to monolingual Spanish speakers. The subject matter of this study is the variation in the use of Spanish language in Catalonia.

Catalan has been spoken in the history of the region for centuries, recognizable since the eleventh century and found in text by the twelfth century (Woolard 1989: 14). Though Castilian was institutionalized as the language of Spain by the oppressive government of Franco, Catalan regained its status and has been recognized as a co-official language of the Catalonian area. Both Catalan and Castilian are spoken presently but the issue of the language ideology of this region and the way it is connected to the culture of the Catalan people plays a role in how the Castilian of Catalonia is spoken.

The goal of this project is to note any common patterns of Spanish language production in Catalan bilinguals. This study aims to distinguish if Castilian presents Catalan loanwords and if code-switching is common. For this study, interviews and conversation with seventeen individuals of various backgrounds served as a basis for observation. Interviews were based on a questionnaire. Conversations in groups or ones that were longer were recorded for playback. The basic questionnaire involved questions of background and origin and asked for a brief assessment of an individual's knowledge of each language. Then, open ended questions were asked based on the respondent's experience living in the region and observations of those around

him/her. Finally, analysis was based on a compilation of information which was mainly collected from personal interactions with residents of Barcelona and readings published by authors on the subject matter.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Contact between different languages in the same region can produce change. Some words and expressions in several languages come from similar or even very different languages. Arabic is a common example of a language which loans phrases and expressions to a vast variety of other languages such as Turkish, Albanian, or Spanish. In Spain, there exist different regions where other languages are spoken. Castilian, or what is commonly known as Spanish, is used with an official status throughout Spain, but there are other languages which have co-official status in certain territories and some which are not recognized but used amongst groups of people. Languages such as Basque, Galician, Aragonese, and more are recognized and unique to their regions. Catalan is one of the most widely recognized and spoken languages aside from Castilian in Spain, used in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and Valencia. Castilian/Catalan bilingualism creates a situation of language contact that contributes in making the Spanish spoken in Catalonia different.

This paper intends to analyze the most prominent of these distinctions and the scope of how much they affect the Castilian spoken in the area. Catalonia is located in northeastern Spain and has a population of around 10 million located in 32,091 square kilometers. About seven million of the people living in Catalonia's four separate provinces of Girona, Lleida, Barcelona and Tarragona speak Catalan, making it the widest known and spoken non-Castilian language in Spain. Castilian and Catalan are co-official languages of Catalonia, with Castilian more commonly used in urban areas (Woolard 1989). Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, is a very

central area when it comes to the Catalan identity, but it is also affected by immigration and foreigners who mainly rely on Castilian more than Catalan (Newman 2011: 41). Catalan is the language of the locals – notable in all public signs and businesses, dominantly taught in schools from a young age, and standard in the reading and writing skills of students– but even with the growing acceptance and availability of Catalan, the use of Castilian remains strong (Esteva i Fabregat 1984: 46). Within the last century, the transition of status of Catalan, from a language prohibited in public to a language taught in school several times a week, highly influenced change.

The introduction of Catalan to Spanish schools first began during the Spanish Republic in between 1931 and 1936 but then just as the language had a chance to flourish, the use of Catalan was threatened and consequently abolished from 1936 to 1975 under the rule of Franco. Small protests started to take place against restrictions in the 60's and by 1975, after Franco's death, Catalonia worked its way back to autonomy (Woolard 1989: 29). In 1979, the Catalan Statute of Autonomy institutionalized Catalan in formal and informal settings. Despite the institutional power and prestige of Castilian in Spain, Catalan is not a low-prestige language in people's eyes and ears (Stanford 2009: 179). Today, the residents of Barcelona and other parts of Catalonia, both those with Catalan roots or with parents from other regions of Spain, consider themselves to be Catalan when asked. The ways of picking up this identity are varied but contact with the Catalan language and comfort when using it have much to do with a person describing himself as a Catalan. Other than in school, immigrant or native Castilians begin contact with Catalan in recreational groups that are predominantly Catalan such as fellow recreational groups, language classes, or through co-workers. Literacy in reference to Catalan has grown over the past years and more people have written abilities and overall knowledge of the language. Yet, as a result of

the Franco regime's policies there is still a struggle present between the use of Catalan and the use of Castilian and this struggle is deeply rooted in social and economic differences as well as linguistic differences (Woolard 1989: 12). Ultimately, knowledge of Catalan has had an influence on Spanish.

1.2 BACKGROUND ON LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE OF CATALAN ON SPANISH

Certain Catalan dialects phonetically resemble Castilian more than others. Eastern dialects, like that of Barcelona, are more prestigious. Lleida, a Catalonian province west of Barcelona, has a shorter fricative element in initial and post-consonantal positions, which is more similar to Spanish than the Catalan of Barcelona (Carrera-Sabaté 2007: 93). Dialects of eastern Catalonian regions also have fewer affricates, which according to Carrera-Sabaté are pronounced less in Catalan when reading anyway. Knowledge of written Catalan fosters the fricative pronunciation somewhat, especially in speakers who have received more instruction and in those who are currently in school. There is a greater probability of uttering affricates when there is no knowledge of written Catalan (Carrera-Sabaté 2007).

In more modern society, success as a student of Catalan does not only depend on oral skill and family knowledge of the language. Catalan is considered a high-status language in society but those who have authority over the language are not only those who are natives. In fact, as Susan Frekko suggests in her research on a Catalan class for speakers of other languages, social class is more important than first language in determining who excels in Catalan classes and social environments. In several interviews with individuals and observations of Catalan language classes, Frekko found that a student with no language background but with socio-

economic status and stability could excel in a class better than another with Catalan background or familiarity. This suggests that it is a misconception that the native speaker has a higher status than a non-native or semi-speaker – the middle class is important in determining who has higher authority in the language (Frekko 2009: 229).

As far as bilingualism is concerned in Catalonia, there are certain factors that determine the rules used in language accommodation. It is always the case that Catalan speakers are Spanish bilinguals so when faced with a Spanish monolingual or in any case of an ethnically mixed group, Catalans instantaneously resort to code-switching. It is proper to speak Catalan only to those who are known to be Catalan or clearly display Catalan identity (Woolard 1989). A Catalan shift to Castilian results from any feelings that the person being addressed did not understand any part of the Catalan statement. Bilingual conversations are avoided according to norms but do happen. Catalans and Castilians are not only culturally and linguistically different but there are also economic and social differences between the two. However, the act of speaking Catalan can convert a person to a Catalan and Castilians can easily learn to understand Catalan. Catalans welcome outsiders learning their language and they encourage its use.

How do Catalans determine who else is Catalan without trying to speak first? The part of town two speakers are in or a Catalan accent can be indicators of a Catalan person. If someone speaks Castilian, no matter if he understands or knows Catalan, it is a signal that the conversation should continue in Castilian. Catalan speakers can sometimes be recognized by the almost retroflex /s/ used in Catalonia. The maintenance of these standards also maintains the ethnic boundaries between Castilians and Catalans. Kathryn Woolard suggests that Catalan speakers may even apologize for speaking to another in Catalan if they are not a Catalan speaker. If a

Catalan speaker does not accommodate a Castilian speaker, it may be perceived as rude (Woolard 1989).

In situations where both speakers are bilinguals, the identity of a speaker settles the norm and it is not impolite to speak to the other in one's own language. The bilingual situation may become stressful in instances where both speakers use their own languages. In her research, Woolard indicates that an extended bilingual situation that flows easily without change or without code switching is not common because language choice and preference as related to one's identity is important in the bilingual community. In young people, much more than in older generations, there may be instances of interethnic conversations particularly in the case of University students (Woolard 1989). An important part of the bilingual relationship between Catalans and Castilians is what switching one's use of language implies. A switch from Catalan to Castilian is not just in consideration of another with lesser language proficiency but in a way it is a bow down to the "language of the empire". Catalans who do not switch to Castilian may be doing it to impose national and territorial rights and may be putting a Castilian speaker in a position of powerlessness (Woolard 1989).

1.3 MAP OF CATALONIA AND CATALAN-SPEAKING REGIONS



1.4 BACKGROUND ON CONTACT BETWEEN CATALAN AND SPANISH

Spanish use in Catalonia stands out from other parts of Spain for several reasons. Robert Vann writes about how Bourdieusian thought can illuminate our understanding of the ideologies related to Catalan ways of speaking Spanish in Barcelona. Bourdieusian thought, a concept centered on the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, focuses on the role of economic and social positioning and uses the variables of habitus or field (location) to reveal the dynamics of

power relations in social life and this plays into the modern study of language (Grenfell 2011: 2) According to Robert Vann, Bourdieusian analysis attempts a “joint explanation of the language ideologies associated with Catalan ways of speaking Spanish and the language ideologies reproduced in metalinguistic analysis” (Vann 2011: 97). Catalan ideology may be expressed through how someone speaks Spanish and their choice to speak Catalan. In the past, the linguistic practice of Spanish in Catalonia was seen as the product of linguistic interference and language acquisition errors; there was even the question of Catalan being considered a dialect of Spanish or a broken form of Spanish. Vann sees the ideologies associated with ways of speaking Spanish in Catalonia and the ideologies associated with linguistic descriptions of Spanish in Catalonia as a product of *habitus*/market interaction. The ideas of *habitus* can be seen in the finding that individuals of Catalonia who use Catalan regularly and become comfortable with it through school and friendships regardless of their language background will relate better to the language than those who were exposed mainly to Spanish during their youth and education (Vann 2011: 115).

Linguistic *habitus* helps relate Catalanist ideology and Spanish diexis. Catalanian Spanish in some linguistic markets expresses a certain symbolic capital and contributes to the development of linguistic norms concerning social contexts of language use. The practice of certain linguistic habits intersects an individual’s exposure to Spanish Catalan and his use of diexis on the linguistic market (Vann 2011: 107). There is a personal variation in ideology depending on whether there is more exposure to Catalan or Spanish, indicating the effects of *habitus* (Vann 2011). Because Spanish was seen as the legitimate language in the time of Franco, it led to the symbolic domination of people in Catalonia and Catalan as a language was seen as inferior. (Vann 2011: 103). Robert Vann maintains that in order to be properly documented, the

Spanish of Catalonia must be recognized as a product and reproducer of the existing power relations of the region.

The linguistic habitus of Spanish in Catalonia can be seen in the use of motion verbs, locative adverbs, and demonstrative adjectives, which shows a different pattern than that of monolingual Spanish speakers. Catalan Spanish expands deictic centers – in the Spanish of Catalonia, the addressee as well as the speaker is taking into consideration (Vann 2011: 107). For example in relation to going to answer the door, outside of Catalonia, a Spanish speaker would say “¡Ya voy!” (I’m going) whereas in Catalonia they would say “¡Ya vengo!” (I’m coming). Here there is a difference in movement but in the Spanish outside of Catalonia, only the speaker’s orientation matters (Vann 2011). “Ir” signifies movement away from a speaker and “venir” signifies movement towards a speaker but this is not the case for Catalan Spanish because, as mentioned before, it expands deictic centers.

Another example can be seen with the verbs *llevar/traer*. “Si quieres, te llevo el document,” is a Peninsular Spanish way of saying “If you want, I will take the document to you.” In Catalan Spanish this sentiment would be expressed, “Si quieres, te traigo el document,” signifying an innovative use of the verb “to carry” or “to bring” which is not common outside of the contact zone of Catalonia (Vann 2011: 108). Usually movement is signified in any direction other than that of the speaker toward someone or something else by using the word *llevar*, but in contact regions with Catalan, *traer* can signify motion towards the addressee as well (Vann 2011).

Outside of Catalonia there is a contrast between *este* (this) and *ese* (that). Because of expanded deictic centers however, in the Spanish of Barcelona and other parts of Catalonia, *este* is used in both cases (Vann 2011: 109). In terms of locative adverbs, there is usually a difference

between “allí” (there) and “aquí” (here). If you are living in Barcelona or a part of Catalonia and were talking to a friend in Madrid, asking how they were, in Peninsular Spanish you would ask “que tal allí en Madrid?” and in Catalan Spanish, “que tal aquí en Madrid?” Here the scope of “aquí” is expanded to include the addressee. Spanish out of the Catalonian region also makes use of the locative words *allá/ahí* while these are not necessary in Catalonia. While proximity makes a difference in Peninsular Spanish, in Barcelona where Catalan and Castilian are both used, an item may be proximal to the speaker or addressee and this will change the phrase. In Peninsular Spanish, “No me gusta este aquí, ni este aquí,” would only be used in a context where both items are close to the speaker (Vann 2011).

(1)

Peninsular Spanish: Aquí en Barcelona bien, ¿que tal *allí/allá/ahí* en Madrid?

All is well here in Barcelona, how are things there in Madrid?

Catalan Spanish: Aquí en Barcelona bien, ¿que tal *aquí* en Madrid?

All is well here in Barcelona, how are things here in Madrid?

(2)

Peninsular Spanish: No me gusta *este aquí*, ni *ese allí* – I don’t like this here or that over there.

Catalan Spanish: No me gusta *este aquí*, ni *este aquí* – I don’t like this here or this here.

Other than the examples shown above, there are several other ways that the Castilian used in Catalonia is different from the Castilian spoken in monolingual areas. The use of transcodic markers, especially in the form of interferences can be seen in phonetic, semantic,

lexical, or morphosyntactic material transferred from the Catalan language to the Castilian used in the region (Galindo Solé 2003: 18). A convergence between Catalan and Castilian that is most commonly noticed is the insertion of definite articles such as “*la*” or “*el*” before proper names. This is a widespread phenomenon in Catalan language and it is a distinctive feature of the Castilian spoken in Catalonia. Another feature of the Catalan language which may be seen in Castilian is the use and confusion of prepositions (Galindo Solé 2003: 21).

Some phrases that mirror Catalan expressions are also used in the Castilian of Catalonia. For example, Castilian speakers use the phrase “*por lo visto*” to mean “it seems (to be)” and Catalan speakers use “*es veu que*” (Galindo Solé 2003: 23). In the Spanish of Catalonia, Mireia Galindo Solé recorded instances in which speakers used “*se ve que*” and no instances of “*por lo visto*.” The Castilian spoken in Catalonia further varies from that outside the region because of the use of the verb “*hacer*” in a multitude of forms. Overall, lexical transcodic markers may be more common than morphosyntactic ones in the Castilian of Catalonia (Galindo Solé 2003). Very importantly, certain loanwords make their way from Catalan to the Castilian of the region and some examples of these are:

1.5 Table 1 – ADAPTED FROM MIREIA GALINDO SOLÉ 2003, pg 25

<i>Lexical Transcodic Marker</i>	<i>Catalan equivalent</i>	<i>Castilian Equivalent</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>
<i>Amagar</i>	<i>amagar</i>	<i>esconder</i>	<i>to hide</i>
<i>Ara</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>ahora</i>	<i>Now</i>
<i>Coca</i>	<i>coca</i>	<i>torta</i>	<i>Cake</i>
<i>Nen</i>	<i>nen</i>	<i>niño</i>	<i>Boy</i>
<i>Va</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>venga</i>	<i>come on</i>
<i>Tocho</i>	<i>totxo</i>	<i>ladrillo</i>	<i>Brick</i>
<i>Chafardero</i>	<i>xafarder</i>	<i>chismoso</i>	<i>gossiping</i>
<i>Pencar</i>	<i>pencar</i>	<i>currar</i>	<i>to work</i>
<i>Porqué</i>	<i>porquet</i>	<i>cerdito</i>	<i>little pig</i>

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

Most of this research project relied on using direct observation during my stay in Barcelona to survey and examine the language situation of the capital of Catalonia. After extensive reading on the background of the language situation in Catalonia and the semantic and structural differences in the Castilian of the region, I set out to make my own observations during a semester abroad in Barcelona. Language patterns are easy to observe when paying attention to interactions in convenience stores, local trains, phone calls of and with others, etc. My research was focused on what qualitative information I could extract from different individual's perception of their own linguistic behavior and that of others.

I conducted a series of interviews, mainly aided by a questionnaire¹, with a variety of informants who exhibited a range of language identities: speakers who prefer Catalan, speakers who prefer Castilian, speakers who feel proficient in both languages but mainly use Castilian, and speakers who claim to have no distinction between languages. After asking the basic questions on the preliminary questionnaire used to get an idea of the speaker's background and comfort with each language, the interviews provided me with an analysis of what features the person I was speaking to could distinguish in his own speech patterns as well as in those of other bilinguals around him. At times a questionnaire was not used and interviews were conducted more informally in a question/answer format where I would get to know a person and their background as well as inquire about their view on the Castilian spoken in Catalonia. Other times I would just sit back and listen to individuals tell me what they noticed on their own. These cases

¹ See appendix

were more of an observation on my part. The most challenging part of the research was that when asked, people either did not realize what stands out about their own use of the language or they assumed the wrong conclusions because they were so used to hearing and saying things a certain way.

The sample of individuals used for the questionnaires and during my personal observations ranged in age from their early twenties to their fifties. Unfortunately, it was harder for me to evaluate groups of children/adolescents or a more elderly population. However based on what I heard from others and what I would assume, younger individuals are better accustomed to the bilingual use of Catalan/Castilian because they exercise it in school and are comfortable with written Catalan. Before doing any research, I wondered if this could prospectively make them less proficient in Castilian but quantitatively I could not clarify this and after understanding the language setting of Catalonia better, this does not seem to be the case anyway. It suffices to say that a younger population would have more ease transitioning between languages given this more balanced competence. From research and general culture studies it seems that the older population, who was raised under the rule of Franco, during which they could not practice the written use of Catalan, has maintained the Catalan language although with limited literacy.

A great amount of information on the language situation of Catalonia came from those who did not identify as Catalan, like my Spanish instructor, Estela, who had only been living in Barcelona for about two years or my college roommate's aunt, Danielle, who moved to Barcelona from the U.S after marrying a Catalan man. For them, the features that are characteristic of the Spanish language spoken in Catalonia stand out and their impressions are based on their own experience adapting to the local language situation.

2.2 PARTICIPANT DISTRIBUTION

Of the seventeen cases used for this study, six were recorded only in questionnaire form, one was recorded in questionnaire form and in audio, a part of a conversation on the subject matter with six other individuals was recorded on a voice recorder, and four cases were simply based on informal conversation analysis. The first interview, which I recorded in audio and simultaneously filled out a questionnaire for, was one with my language instructor during my first week in Barcelona. My Castilian teacher Estela Toledo, 32, was born outside of Barcelona and lived most of her life outside Catalonia. The following week I conducted an interview with another of my Castilian instructors, Joan Rico Vidal, who was a native of Barcelona and who gave me insight into the way he used Catalan in place of or inserted into Castilian when talking with friends and family. Joan's father is Catalan and his mother Castilian but Catalan is his main language of choice. I also obtained a questionnaire and some information from a flat-mate, Iria, who was born to Castilian parents but who had lived in Barcelona all her life.

Three interviews recorded in questionnaire form came from my three co-workers in the office of the magazine *La Fotografía: Revista de Imagen*, which is published in Castilian. Isabel, chief editor of the magazine *La Fotografía*, was my closest supervisor and she was mostly comfortable speaking Castilian, and though she understood Catalan she did not use it. Because of this, most of the conversation in the office was conducted in Castilian. Germán identified himself as Catalan and used Castilian mainly out of requirement. Ruben worked with the structure of the magazine's website and he was from a family where he used Catalan with his father and Castilian with his mother. If the two Catalan speakers, Ruben and Germán, were to start a conversation or answer a phone call, they instinctively used Catalan. An interesting interview

recorded in questionnaire form came from another resident of Catalonia, optician Esteban Velasquez, 34, a dominantly Castilian speaker with many Catalan friends and clients.

A good portion of the data I obtained came in the form of a group conversation I had over dinner in a Catalan household with six Catalan/Castilian bilinguals. I was invited by Danielle, a woman in her thirties from America, who introduced me to her Catalan husband Tono and his Catalan friends Santi, David, and Guille. Santi's girlfriend Belen, a native of Argentina, learned Catalan in Barcelona. The rest were natives of both languages and considered their Catalan a heritage from their family backgrounds. Danielle, having lived in Barcelona for eight years, knew both Catalan and Castilian very well.

Open-ended conversation was used with four individuals and not recorded in questionnaire form. In the Catalonian region of Girona, I spoke with Catalan native Carles, a PhD student of Philosophy in his late twenties, who gave me insight on his view of the language situation and how easy/difficult it was for bilinguals to show language variation in both languages of Catalonia. He told me that, unlike many other Catalan speakers, it was important to him to not undermine either of the languages he used while speaking and to verbalize everything properly. In Girona, I also spoke with a woman in her early fifties, Gabi, whose main language was Castilian. She explained to me how she used Catalan with her boyfriend in Girona and Castilian with her two sons that lived in Madrid. She described the process of learning Catalan and did not note a difficult distinction in adapting to both languages.

2.3 Table 2 – DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY

Gender	Age	Region	Main Language	Method
M	27	Girona	Catalan	Conversation
F	52	Girona	Castilian	Conversation
M	32	Barcelona	Catalan	Conversation
F	36	Barcelona	Castilian	Conversation
F	25	Barcelona	Both	Questionnaire
M	34	Granada	Castilian	Questionnaire
M	30	Barcelona	Both	Questionnaire
M	28	Barcelona	Both	Questionnaire
F	31	Malaga	Castilian	Questionnaire
M	48	Barcelona	Catalan	Questionnaire
F	32	Granada	Castilian	Questionnaire and Recording
M	29	Barcelona	Catalan	Conversation and Recording
F	27	Argentina	Castilian	Conversation and Recording
F	34	Barcelona	Castilian	Conversation and Recording
M	45	Barcelona	Catalan	Conversation and Recording
M	42	Barcelona	Catalan	Conversation and Recording
M	31	Barcelona	Catalan	Conversation and Recording

- Though there were a good number of questionnaires and interviews obtained for this research showing a variety of language preferences and origins, the sample size remained in a specific range as I did not get access to younger kids or older individuals.

Chapter 3: Findings

Of the results noted by others who have researched the topic of Catalan influences in the Castilian of Catalonia, many were noticeable in my interactions with residents of Barcelona. In doing interviews or just bringing up the topic of “Catalanismos” to Catalan-Castilian bilinguals, I received the general consensus that, yes there is an interesting influence of the two languages on each other, although I received different outlooks as to *how* Catalan influences Castilian. Some sources were extremely helpful and some analysis on my part was more insightful than others. Through my time in Barcelona I have heard a great deal of spoken Catalan and have actively listened for structural and lexical differences of the language in reference to Castilian.

Many times I found the Spanish spoken by locals to be similar to standard Spanish but at times it was easy to note that I was speaking to someone who primarily uses Catalan. The amount of foreigners living in Barcelona provided an interesting contrast to strictly Catalan natives. Whereas in other Catalonian cities, Catalan may be dominantly used, there appeared to be more contact with Castilian in Barcelona. Other than the Spanish speaking tourists of Barcelona, another big influence on the Castilian of Catalonia which confounds with the influence of Catalan is that there are many residents here from other parts of Spain, who do not have the Catalan features. Nevertheless, by the end of my time in Barcelona, it was possible to distinguish whose Spanish was reasonably influenced by Catalan when having a conversation.

3.1 LEXICAL FEATURES

Through my direct observation and research, the use and attitude of the residents of Catalonia varies through the different areas of the region. Catalan is a language that has a variable influence on the culture and mentality of the people depending on their area of residence. It is safe to summarize that Catalan is a prestigious language that is expected to be even more widely used throughout the area, but still it is reserved for an “in-group”. From my experience Castilian is widely used because of the accessibility of the language and because I have found it more common to meet people of a non-Catalan family who reserve the language only for other Catalan natives. It is extremely easy for speakers to use Castilian but not so easy to initiate conversations in Catalan. Of course foreigners mainly rely on Castilian (and there is a plentitude in Barcelona where I was centered) and so Castilian is also more frequently heard on the metro, in shops, or between friends. Catalan is used in intimate encounters, like when two familiar women run into each other on a train and talk about the week, or when a Catalan speaker at work interacts with a Catalan client. It is easy to say that the bilingual situation in Catalonia is such a standard for the people living here that using both languages in different ways, sometimes even simultaneously, is a norm.

The most prominent finding that I noticed in Barcelona was the use of the Catalan loanwords, predominantly *ara* in the role of *ahora*. I heard *ara* used while people were speaking in either Catalan or Castilian and though monolinguals more commonly used *ahora*, those who used Castilian primarily were influenced by Catalan and used “*ara*” as part of their discourse in Spanish. On many occasions, I passed by people on the phone or friends on the train using this word in place of *ahora* and it was something that was always affirmed in my interviews. Other

commonly heard loanwords among Catalan/Castilian bilinguals were “bona nit” for goodnight and “adéu” for goodbye in the place of the Castilian words *buenas noches* or *adiós*.

I met many people who were not entirely Catalan in origin but who considered themselves Catalan because they felt comfortable with the language and the environment. The majority of people I met in Barcelona would comfortably state that they are Catalan and that their proficiency in the language is exactly up to par with proficiency in Castilian, but their parents are from Granada or Alicante or Malaga and the main language at home is Castilian. I have noticed that Castilian is spoken in groups, especially in those of varying nationalities, and Catalan can be more intimate. For example, my flat mate in Barcelona, whose parents are from the South of Spain, would tell me she is Catalan but I frequently noticed her speaking Castilian with her friends, on the phone, and she used it at work. She switched only when approached by someone in Catalan first or to accommodate her Catalan boyfriend and his family as her way of showing respect and belonging. My Spanish teacher from Granada, who had been living in Barcelona for a year, had recently started to learn Catalan at an afternoon school to accommodate her Catalan husband, who speaks his language with his group of friends.

After all the aspects of convergence that can be studied, measured and noted, the main thing that can easily be stated regarding bilinguals in Catalonia is that Castilian and Catalan have a major influence on each other. Castilian influences spoken Catalan in a way most people say is more obvious, but speaking Catalan also affects the use of Castilian on different levels of phonology and in different ways on the semantic level. The scope of the bilingual situation in Catalonia is wide and the two languages are truly used in overlap. It is not rare to hear three friends on the train speaking Castilian after school where one of them inserts Catalan and gets answered by one in Catalan but by the other in Castilian.

For my research I used the viewpoints of mostly Catalan speakers, mostly Castilian speakers, or people who fell in between. Different family styles and their influence also played into the individual use of Catalan/Castilian. My first interview was with my Castilian language teacher Estela. Estela, in her early 30's and originally from Andalusia, recently moved to Barcelona to work and married a man of Catalan origin. Estela was the first of many to point out the extremely popular use of the verb *plegar* with the sentiment of implying that one is about to finish a task, especially in reference to work. When Estela first came to Barcelona she would frequently hear the phrase "*plego a las ocho*" (I finish [work] at eight) and she understood the meaning of the word from the context but she explained to me that nowhere else had she heard this verb used with this meaning. The verb *plegar* refers to folding an object, like a napkin or a shirt, even though *doblar* can also be used as a synonym. Estela also emphasized that monolinguals who hear this phrase used all the time repeat it aside from the fact that they may not be Catalan or know the Catalan language. At the office for the magazine *La Fotografía*, where I worked intimately every day with my co-workers Germán, Ruben, and Isabel, I heard the verb *plegar* used in a phrase signifying the termination of a work shift frequently. As Estela pointed out, Germán (who is Catalan) was not the only one making use of it, but Ruben (whose mother is Castilian and father is Catalan) frequently said it and Isabel (who is not Catalan at all) would reply with the same word if one of the men mentioned it to her.

Estela also mentioned the use of the word *paleta* in Catalonia as something used to specify a profession. *Paleta* is used in Catalonia in a way that is meant to take the place of *albañil*, which is the standard word for a brick layer. If translated from Spanish to English, the word *paleta* signifies a small shovel or spade used by the brick layer (*albañil*). This object that the professional uses to work takes the form of describing the professional himself in Catalonia

but usually this does not happen in other parts of Spain. In other regions *paleta* is not used to refer to the person who works with this tool, just to the tool itself. Speaking with Estela reinforced my suspicion that many of the words I had come across in my background research are not all familiar. Estela confirmed that *amagar*, which is a word in Catalan and used in Castilian, is older and outdated, not commonly heard any more. Estela also confirmed the unique use of the word *coca* in Catalonia to refer to cake (instead of the commonly known word *tarta*).

I asked Estela about the extended usage of the word *aquí* to mean more than just “here.” She said that in Catalonia there is indeed not a big difference in the way *aquí* is used in correspondence to location (it can be *aquí*-here or *aquí*-there) but this extension of usage happens in other parts of Spain too. An important thing that Estela kept telling me was that a monolingual living here for 20 years will become accustomed to the way Castilian is spoken in Catalonia and adopt it. This is important because it means that this different features of Castilian used is not just something that happens because one speaks Catalan but because of the habits of the people in the surrounding environment. Estela was a useful person to talk to because in addition to Barcelona she has lived in Granada when young, worked in Soria, taught at a university in Caceres, and lived in Toledo.

A big help in my research came from an old roommate’s aunt, Danielle. Danielle moved from the U.S to Spain six years ago and invited me for a Catalan dinner at her house, where she lives with her Catalan husband Tono. She learned Catalan in Barcelona mainly from the interactions with her husband and his friends. Tono, a movie producer, is a Catalan native in his early forties who speaks Castilian with Danielle but Catalan with his daughter and family. A friend of Tono and Danielle’s, Santi, is a radio host in his forties who is native in Catalan but speaks a mix with his girlfriend Belén. Belén, from Argentina, speaks Catalan but her primary

language is Castilian. The two other guests I met at dinner that night were Guille and David, two Catalan natives. An emphasis was placed by each person in the group conversation on the fact that studying the two languages of Castilian and Catalan was closely related to the politics of the region. Belén graduated from a university in Barcelona and she pointed out that in Spain the study of the relationship between Castilian and Catalan is a popular topic because it is tied in deeply to the culture of the Catalan region. She connected to my topic of interest because an old professor of hers had studied the language relations before retiring and worked with students years ago to help with research and findings.

Since the individuals in the group conversation varied in their language preferences and proficiencies, the conversation that I was a part of that night was a mix of Spanish and Catalan, as Danielle told me it may be in many households of Catalonia. There is generally a free flow back and forth of whichever language is being used and even inter-sentential code-switching. All of the dinner guests agreed that the Spanish spoken here is definitely different from that used in the rest of Spain. People throw in what are called "catalanadas" into Spanish and "castellanadas" into Catalan. Danielle gave me several unique examples of how bilinguals of Castilian and Catalan use words differently or even make use of new words for that matter. The Spanish word for the lap of the legs as Danielle knows it is "*regazo*". In Catalan, "lap" translates to the word *falda*. Danielle said she had almost never heard a Catalan person say *regazo* in reference to "lap" when speaking Spanish but instead it is common for a Catalan bilingual to use *falda*. However, in standard Spanish, when the word "*falda*" is used it signifies "*skirt*," which may be confusing for a monolingual. Danielle shared that oftentimes when asking Tono if a word is a "catalanada", her husband did not always know whether it is or not because some of these words are so ingrained into the language that it is hard to tell. The Castilian word *fregadero* is used

when talking about the sink used to wash dishes in the kitchen but it is often replaced by the Catalan word *pica*. The Catalan word *tornavís* is used instead of *destornillador* to refer to a screwdriver. The Castilian word used to describe the action of gossiping is *cotillear*; the Catalan word *chafardear* is used many times instead.

Iria, my 25 year old flat mate who had lived in Barcelona her whole life, considered herself proficient in both languages. Iria's parents were born in regions outside of Catalonia (Galicia and Andalusia) but they adapted to the Catalan identity after moving to Barcelona years before Iria was born. Iria insisted that she had two dominant languages and that she used both Castilian and Catalan with friends though she used Castilian at home, at her internship, and preferred it when reading. On the topic of lexical features of the Castilian of Catalonia, she mentioned the overlapping use of the Catalan word *aldaruz* for the Castilian word *recado* (message) and the use of the Catalan word *regat* for the Castilian word *encargo* (errand). Germán, my Catalan coworker in the office of *La Fotografia*, confirmed the use of these words. He was eager to help with defining the language distinctions of Catalonian Spanish and the most important ways in which he helped was by identifying some more words that he recognized were not Castilian but still used when speaking the language. When a bilingual of Catalonia talks about turning something on like a motor or computer, instead of using the word *encender*, he uses the word *enchegar*. Another word Germán mentioned, which I had heard him use before, was *racholla*, in a way that was meant to signify a tile that one puts on the wall. In Castilian the familiar word is *azulejo* and in Catalan the word is *rajola*, so this derivative is more closely tied to the Catalan language.

Most of the distinctions of Castilian spoken in Barcelona noted by Isabel, who did not feel comfortable speaking or writing in Catalan and could only read it, were based on

grammatical or usage discrepancies. Isabel was born in Malaga and only moved to Barcelona 5 years ago. While others who were more accustomed to the context in which verbs and words are used in the region pointed out specific words that stood out, Isabel noticed differences which I had encountered in my reading. However, she also did mention the overlap in usage of the verbs *ir* and *venir* and noted a confusion between the usage of the prepositions *a*, *al* and *en*.

3.2 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

Germán, a 48 year old native of Catalonia with Catalan parents who had never lived outside of Barcelona, pointed out a difficulty with vowel change when using Castilian root-changing verbs. In my interactions with him I noticed that even in every day words he articulated his vowel sounds in a way different from that of other Castilian speakers who were not primarily Catalan speakers Isabel agreed that the patterns of vowel change were not as standard in Barcelona as elsewhere. Vowel change from *e* → *ie* or *o* → *ue*, which is very common when conjugating verbs in Castilian, may be overlooked by those that also speak Catalan. A change of the root word during conjugation is something noticeable even when first learning the Spanish language. In Catalonia however, changes such as *o* → *ue* or *e* → *ie* are sometimes mispronounced or completely disregarded. A word that Estela noticed was distinct in this way in the Catalan region was “*fregar*”. The verb *fregar*, meaning to clean or mop, changes root from *e* to *ie* (*friego*) but variations are noticeable many times on the vowel level. Estela noted specifically that for Catalan speakers the *ie* vowel diphthong is most difficult to pronounce so they bypass it and pronounce only the *e* (eh) sound. Iria also told me that Catalan speakers do not make the necessary changes in Castilian when it comes to vowel sounds. Iria also mentioned that the accent of the “*a*” sound in Catalan is different. In Catalan, the *a* vowel can be pronounced in

multiple ways, depending on whether it is stressed or unstressed because Catalan has two vowels more than Spanish does. According to the IPA vowel charts, Catalan vowels reach a lower level than do the Spanish vowels and Catalan also makes use of a distinct additional central vowel (The extra vowel sounds are /ə/, /ɛ/, and /ɔ/).² This adds a variety of the way vowel use may be extended into Castilian speech.

Accent is most noticeable in studying the convergence of the two languages and how the Castilian of Catalan speakers has several features that make it different from the Spanish of other regions. By far the most obvious is the deeper, more alveo-palatal sound of vowels and the distinct consonant “*l*” of Castilian-Catalan bilinguals which is used heavily Catalan. Germán discussed how Catalans talk with a very different accent and have trouble with a change in vowel sounds. He noted the difference between the sounds of “*r*” and “*l*” in Catalan bilinguals, saying that Catalan people emphasize these sounds very much and elongate them within words. Both Spanish and Catalan use a trilled /r/ sound but Catalan has an additional variant of the /r/ phoneme, so in Catalan the /r/ can be used more variably than in Spanish but it is not trilled as strongly as in Spanish. Catalan also makes use of the phonemes /ʎ/ and /ʎ/, where /ʎ/ can produce a deep sound like the last letter in “wool.” While Spanish uses a simpler /l/ consonant, like in “lion,” Catalan uses the velarized alveolar lateral approximant (or “dark l”) as an allophone of /l/. Whereas in Spanish, the palatal lateral phoneme /ʎ/ produces a sound like the /y/ in “you,” in Catalan the /ʎ/ stands for a double /l/ sound like in “will.”

The magazine *La Fotografia*, where I interned with Germán and Isabel, is edited and published by the company Artual and the distinctions in the way this word got pronounced by a predominantly Catalan versus Castilian speaker proved to be interesting. When listening to both

² See IPA charts in Appendix

Isabel and Germán talking on the phone with a colleague, it was interesting to note how they articulated “Artual”. Isabel, a Castilian native who predominantly used Castilian but understood Catalan sounded out the word by rolling the *r* and placing an accent on the second *a* – phonetically /æɾtuəl/. Germán, a Catalan native, placed the emphasis predominantly on the cluster of vowel sounds, dragging out the *u* and lengthening the *a* (æɾtu:ə:ɪ).

3.3 PHRASE AND STRUCTURAL FEATURES

In my interview with Joan, a language instructor at the school where I took Castilian classes, he explained to me what calques were – direct translations from Catalan to Castilian used commonly by bilinguals. In the case of the Castilian of Catalonia, knowledge of both Catalan and Castilian prevents much from being lost in translation. Catalan/Castilian bilinguals, for example, use the phrase “*no lo he sentido*” in place of the proper Castilian “*no lo he oído*” to mean “I did not hear it.” The verb “*sentir*” in Catalan means the same thing as “*oír*” in Castilian – to hear. But in Castilian, the verb “*sentir*” means to feel so this phrase may sound strange to someone who does not understand both languages. In his dissertation, Craig Stokes outlines some other useful calques such as “*per la tarda*” or “*per la nit*.” In Castilian these phrases are “*por la tarde*” and “*por la noche*” and in Catalan they are “*a la tarda*” and “*a la nit*” respectively (Stokes 2011: 120).

Prior to my arrival in Barcelona, I had read that a change in verb use can be distinguished when listening to the Castilian of this area and Estela made me aware of a discrepancy when conjugating the verb *haber*, which is used as an auxiliary to modify “there is/there are”. Though technically *haber* can be conjugated as *había* in the singular form or *habían* in the plural form, the use of “*habían*” is grammatically wrong. This pluralization of the verb *haber* is very

common in other dialects of Spanish and though Estela noted it, many others did not. Estela had lived in different parts of Spain before moving to Barcelona and she was confident that the use of “*habían*” in the existential form was not as common elsewhere. In the context used when saying “there is one chair” or “there are two chairs”, *hay* is used in both situations (*hay una silla, hay dos sillas*). The same goes for “there were” – *había dos sillas, había una silla*. To use *habían* generally shows a low level of education but maybe in the context of Catalonia it has just been adopted into the Castilian speech of the region, its ungrammatical features overlooked. When asked about the verb *haber*, Iria said “*Sí, habían es correcto – habían dos cosas en la mesa.*” This supports Estela’s observation of the use of *haber* in Catalonia. When I asked a group of Catalan natives about the usage of the verb *haber* while conjugating *había* into *habían*, it was believed that though this does happen often and is common among Catalan speakers, all the Spanish-speaking world uses these words in an overlapping context so it should not be labeled as a distinctive feature of Catalanian Spanish.

In reference to the topic of “*catalanismos*,” there are certain ways to recognize an individual with a Catalan identity while he or she is speaking in Spanish. According to Danielle, when speaking to a Catalan native informally, a clue to revealing their identity is their use of sound effects at the beginning of a sentence like “*ehh*” or “*mmm*.” Tono mentioned that when answering the phone it is common to hear a Catalan individual say “*Hola, qué está?*” as a way of asking how everything is going or “what’s new?” Participants then shared that in the Castilian of Catalonia, the word *y tanto* is used as a derivative of the Catalan word *itan*. The significance of *itan* is to present a way of undermining a concept or statement. It is a one-word way of saying “yea, of course.” *Y tanto* is mainly used in this context by a Castilian/Catalan bilingual as an expression reflective of how in English we say “obviously.”

In the place of “*por lo visto*,” I was introduced to another phrase that is used to literally say “you know that...” and this is expressed by “*se conoce que*.” When talking about something that is so bad or so good, it is said that it has no name - “*no tiene nombre*” – which is also a Catalan expression. If for example, someone insulted another person in a completely offensive way it would be said that his actions had no name or the situation “*no tiene nombre*.” This again is a direct translation of a Catalan phrase but it is in fact also popular in Madrid and other regions where Catalan is not spoken. A unique observation that some of my sources made me aware of was that at times, instead of saying “*lo he hecho*,” a Catalan bilingual may say “*lo hay hecho*.”

My interview with Esteban gave me insight into something I had not read about or expected when thinking about the way that the Spanish used in Catalonia is distinct. Aside from affirming the difficulties that people outside of Catalonia may have with recognizing specific words, he introduced an idea that I had not taken into consideration – the concept of literal translation from Catalan into Castilian in reference to phrases and expressions. Every language has its own differences in phrases and means of expression apart from the lexical level and Catalan is a language that uses many expressions. When speaking Castilian to a person in Catalonia, the bilingual sometimes translates directly something he would say in Catalan even if it is not commonly used by a Castilian monolingual especially out of the region. These semantic calques were something that I learned even more about in my group conversation.

Esteban, a 34 year old optician originally from Granada, learned Catalan in Barcelona and though he was more comfortable with Castilian, he had been in Catalonia since childhood and was also fluent with his Catalan. Esteban used Castilian with his family and mainly Castilian with his Catalan friends but knew both languages very well and in his business he used either Castilian or Catalan depending on the client. When listening to him speaking Catalan it was

fluent but noticeably different from the way others who are more comfortable with the language spoke it. Esteban pointed out the frequent use of “*ahora vengo*” which emphasizes the overlap in use of the verbs *ir* and *venir*, mentioned earlier. He mentioned that instead of “*por lo visto*,” the residents of Catalonia make more use of “*se ve que*.”

His main input was on the unique use of *refranes*, or sayings, in the region of Catalonia because of the way they were translated to be used as part of the Castilian language. One expression that he said is distinct to the area is “*En el bote pequeño se encuentra la buena confitura*” –the essence of this being that the best things come in small packages. The popular Catalan phrase from which this originates is “*Al pont petit hi ha la bona confitura*”, which literally means in the small jar there is the good jam. This is a Catalan phrase because, as was explained to me, Catalan people are culturally not very tall – the proverb implies that though the Catalans may be short they are the best. Those living in Spain outside of Catalonia may not be familiar with this phrase but when it is translated literally from Catalan to Castilian it is understood by those of the region.

Another phrase that correlates to a Catalan saying is “*Salud y fuerza a cañuto*” – “*salut i força al canut*” in Catalan. This is based on a traditional Catalan proverb that older people use with *cañuto* referring to something that one puts money in. In Castilian, the word *cañuto* refers to a long tube or pipe that can be used differently. Esteban explained it as something kids can throw spit balls from but he also said that Castilian speakers confuse the connotation of the word *cañuto* to be something sexual. When they hear “*Salud y fuerza a cañuto*,” they question whether it refers to a male’s anatomy.

Some phrases that I heard in my group conversation also support what Esteban pointed out about *refranes*. During group conversation I heard a lot about the representation of Catalan as

the language of an “eschatological” culture. The alleged Catalan obsession with the word *merda* (*mierda* in Castilian) takes over many phrases used in the language and then is translated and used in Castilian. The figure of the *caganer* was brought up to support the use of many Catalan expressions related to defecation. The *caganer* is a rather unique part of what is used on holidays as part of the nativity scene and it portrays a squatting figure on the toilet. Many Catalan expressions, like this rather odd tradition, will not be understood by Spanish speakers outside of Catalonia. For example, when two things match very well or two people make a good pair it is said that “*son como culo y mierda.*” This stems from the Catalan expression “*cul i merda.*” “*¡A la merda!*” is a literal translation of a Catalan expression used in Castilian when one is very angry at another person and wants them to get lost (literally he is telling them to go and take a shit). When asked “*como ha sido*” (how did it go) a Catalan speaker may answer “*como kaka,*” which is not a common Spanish expression. Another expression used by Catalan speakers when speaking Castilian is “*leer en el váter,*” having to do with a toilet as well. When addressing something one sees and wants to have, an expression that may be used is “*culo veo culo quiero.*” These phrases may again be heard in the Castilian of Madrid, but they are very commonly used in the region of Catalonia.

A phrase that Estela singled out as being used in Barcelona was “*por eso*”. *Por eso* has a causal value in standard Castilian. For example, “I am tired *por eso* I will sleep”. In Barcelona people use the phrase *por eso* a lot but they do so without significance. Consider the phrase, “*Eso libro es muy dificil, por eso*” (This book is very difficult, so). If you have never heard of the peculiarities of Catalonian Spanish you would be waiting for something to follow the phrase *por eso* but in Catalonia this bit is used as a tag repeated too much when a person does not know

what to say. In Catalan it is used a lot at the end of an interrogatory remark and in bilinguals this is mirrored and “*por eso*” is added onto the end of a sentence or segment.

Additionally, there is a big difference in the way Catalan bilinguals use the future tense. In the Spanish language there are two future tenses. One is a morphological future conjugation where the full root verb word is ended in *é, á, ás*, etc. The second form is analytic, created by using “*voy + a + verb.*” So instead of “*iré*” (I will go), Estela would more commonly hear the simple future tense – “*voy a ir*” – which sounds strange compared to the first method of conjugation. Estela even confided that she thought it sounded bad at first. She would note it even when talking to a fellow teacher and she would hear “*voy a comer*” (I will go eat) instead of “*comeré.*” Even when questioning another person instead of saying, “*vas a comer?*” Estela would hear “*comerás?*” In other parts of Spain this way of using the synthetic vs. analytic method of the future tense is not as common.

Although the aforementioned phrases and structural features of Spanish are characteristic of Catalonia, and according to my sources they are tied closely to expressions in Catalan, it is also true that they are common elsewhere in Spain. In places which are not affected by Catalan one could still hear people using a variety of expressions that residents in Catalonia may consider unique to their region. For this reason, these phrases cannot be considered solely elements of Catalonia, and while I recognize them in my research as something that stood out to the residents of Barcelona, it is not the case that they will not be heard in other parts of the country. Still, these features do describe the region of Catalonia and are commonly used by the people, perhaps more than in some places in Spain even if not only by Catalan bilinguals.

A prominent aspect of the Castilian used in Catalonia that Estela focused on and that I read about while doing research was the unconventional use of the verb *hacer*. The meaning of this verb is “to make” but it is not used with the intention of signifying that the person speaking will make something himself. For example, “*hacer la comida*” literally means “to make the food,” but the way it is used in Catalonia implies to go grab a bite to eat. When Estela first came to Barcelona, she would hear her friends speaking Castilian and they would say things like “*vamos a hacer una cerveza*” (let’s go make a beer) but it would mean that they wanted to go to a bar for a drink. The familiar way to express this sentiment would be “*vamos a tomar una cerveza*” but this is rarely used in Catalonia. . Estela shared experiences early on in Barcelona when people would ask her, “*vamos a hacer un café?*” (Shall we go make a coffee?) and she would answer confused “*No, no quiero hacerlo, solo tomarlo*” (No I don’t want to make a coffee I want to go drink one) not realizing that all they wanted was to drink the coffee too. Another way that *hacer* is used differently is in the place of words like *meter* or *marcar* in reference to shooting a goal. In Catalonia, when talking about a soccer player scoring a shot the phrase “*hacer un gol*” would be used.

Chapter 4: Conclusions

Reading about Catalan and Castilian convergence in the region of Catalonia gives a good idea of the specific ways in which contact between the two languages creates a unique environment for the Spanish language. The linguistic variety that has been analyzed in Catalonia is a marker of the culture of the region. Variation in words used or ways that phrases are expressed are not so much mistakes as they are reflections of the way an individual defines himself and what he feels most comfortable with. Though description in literature is accurate, there are distinctions in what can be experienced in person or overheard in everyday conversations.

Because of the clear differentiation between Catalan and Castilian identities, the use of different languages in different contexts is inevitable. A predominantly Catalan speaker at home may be in the position to use Castilian at school or in the work place and the same goes for an individual who predominantly uses Castilian with friends or family but Catalan in an educational, professional or even intimate setting. It is safe to assert that Catalan is mainly used with other Catalan speakers but Castilian is the most common language of choice in a bilingual setting with an individual who is more comfortable using Castilian.

One thing is certain – the Castilian of Catalonia is one distinguishable variety of the Spanish language used elsewhere because it is influenced by bilingualism. With Catalan and Castilian both official languages in the region, the use of both languages creates an environment for contact-induced change at lexical, phonological, and structural levels. The distinctiveness of Castilian used in Catalonia should not be overlooked because it is not limited nor can it simply be defined by errors; more importantly it signifies the mix of two cultures and represents the product of two language identities in one region.

Table 3 - LEXICAL VARIATION:

Word used in Catalonia	Castilian equivalent	Meaning
adéu (Cat. word)	adiós	goodbye
aldaruz (Cat. word)	recado	Message
amagar (Cat. Word)	esconder	hide
ara (Cat. Word)	ahora	now
bon nit	buenas noches	good night
charfadar (Cat. word)	cotillear	Gossip
coca (Cat. Word)	torta	Cake
enchegar (Catalan word)	encender	turn on
falda (Catalan word)	Regazo	Lap
y tanto (Cat. derivative of itan)	no equivalent	used to undermine something
paleta (Cat. derivative lit. shovel)	albañil	brick layer
pica (Cat. word)	fregadero	kitchen sink
racholla (cat. derivative of rajola)	azulejo	wall tile
regat (Cat. word)	encargo	Errand
tornavís (Cat. word)	destornillador	screwdriver

*Words in the table are either from the Catalan language (Cat. word) or derive from a Catalan word

VARIATION IN PHRASES:

- leer en el váter
- como culo y mierda
- culo veo culo quiero
- ¡a la mierda!
- se ve que
- se conoce que
- “qué está?
- salud y fuerza a cañuto
- por eso
- *lo hay hecho* instead of *lo he hecho*
- en el bote pequeño se encuentra la buena confitura
- *no lo he sentido* instead of *no lo he oído*

VARIATION IN VERB USE:

- overlap of *ir/venir*
- overlap of *traer/llevar*
- *hacer* – *hacer un café, hacer un gol*
- *haber* – distinction between *había* and *habían*
- *plegar* – to mean *acabar* or *terminar* instead of *doblar*

OTHER CASES OF VARIATION:

- Vowel change [fregar→friego ends up conjugated as frego]
 - Alternation of future tense [é, á, ás, amos, án and voy+a+*VERB*]
 - Confusion of prepositions *a, al,* and *en*
 - Articulation of sounds of /l/ and /r/
 - Articulation of vowels
 - Use of “el”, “la” before proper names
 - aquí/allí/alla
-

Appendix



Interview Format and Sample Questionnaire

Sample Questionnaire:

Nombre:

Edad:

Sexo:

Nivel de estudios que estás realizado:

Lugar de nacimiento:

Lugar de nacimiento del padre/madre:

¿Cuánto tiempo llevas en Barcelona?

¿Lengua que hablas en casa?

¿Lengua que hablas con los amigos?

¿Trabajas? ¿Qué tipo de trabajo?

¿Lengua que hablas en el trabajo?

Conocimientos de Catalán:

¿Lo entiendes?

¿Lo lees?

¿Lo hablas?

¿Lo escribes?

Conocimientos de Español:

¿Lo entiendes?

¿Lo lees?

¿Lo hablas?

¿Lo escribes?

¿Cuáles aspectos de catalán se utiliza cuando se habla español?

¿Palabras?

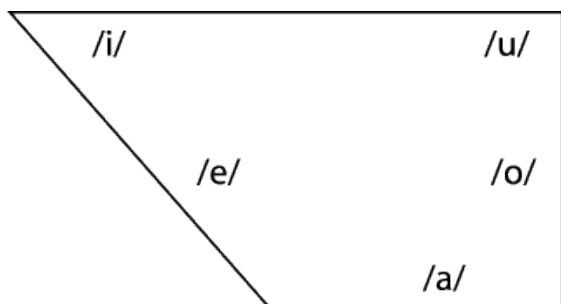
¿Cambio en vocales?

¿Frasas?

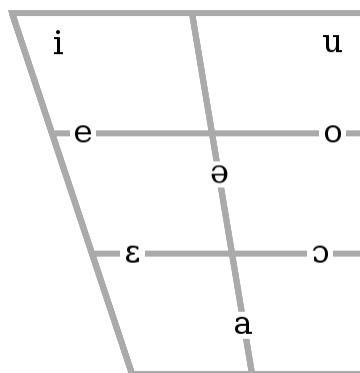
Spanish Consonant Chart

	Bila-bial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Dento-alveol.	Alveo-lar	Alveol.-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Ocl.	p b		t	t d				k g	
Fric.		f	θ ð	s z	s z			x	x
Afric.						tʃ	ʎ		
Aprox.	β		ð				j	ɣ	
Nasal.	m	ɱ	ɲ	ɲ	n	ɲ		ŋ	ɴ
Later.			l	l	l	ʎ			
Vibr. simp.					r				
Vibr. múlt.					r				

Spanish Vowel Chart:



Catalan Vowel Chart:



Catalan Consonant Chart:

CONSONANTS
(PULMONIC)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Refortlex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k g			
Nasal	m			n			ɲ	ŋ			
Trill				r							
Tap or Flap				r							
Fricative		f		s z	ʃ ʒ						
Affricate					tʃ dʒ						
Lateral fricative											
Approximant							j				
Lateral approximant				l			ʎ				

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

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