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## *Linguistic Normalization and the Extension of Use of Catalan (1975-1995)*

**Francesc Vallverdú**

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LINGUISTIC NORMALIZATION  
AND THE EXTENSION OF USE OF CATALAN  
(1975-1995)

FRANCESC VALLVERDÚ

INTRODUCTION

In Vallverdú (1984) I summarized the sociolinguistic history of Catalan. With the advantage of hindsight, however, it is easy to see that my analysis of the post-1975 period did not fully take into account sociolinguistic changes that have taken place in Catalonia. Certain lacunae, in particular, are due largely to the fact that analysis was completed in 1982. I would like to qualify some of the statements in that article and consider in more detail the process of linguistic normalization in the last twenty years.

A bird's eye view of the situation of the Catalan language in 1975, when the end of the Franco regime ushered in a transition to democracy under King Juan Carlos, a strong supporter of the new constitutional system, should give the reader an idea of the magnitude of the changes that followed.

In 1975 Spanish was the only official language in Catalonia and the public use of Catalan was virtually nonexistent. Only a few schools taught it (as a non-credit subject outside the regular class schedule) and even fewer managed to use it surreptitiously as a teaching medium. In the press, Catalan was tolerated in regular features or occasional articles in a few dailies, but there was no daily paper entirely in Catalan, even though a few magazines in Catalan had just begun to be published. The Franco regime had shown a modicum of tolerance for the publication of books in Catalan, the number of which had jumped from 170 titles in 1962 to 611 in 1975. Although no radio or television stations broadcast exclusively in Catalan, there were a few radio programs and about seventeen hours of television in Catalan per month. In religious services, Catalan had a strong presence as a consequence of the Catholic Church being far more liberal in Catalonia than in the rest of Spain.

Even so, such a state of things (which obtained primarily in Catalonia, since in the Community of Valencia and the Balearic Islands the public situation of the language had traditionally been more precarious) represented an improvement in comparison to the regime's harshest period in the forties, when the persecution of the

language amounted to cultural genocide. Table I illustrates the increase in the number of Catalan speakers in Spain from 1930 to 1995. Although in 1930 the number of speakers reached 75% of the population in Catalonia and the Community of Valencia, and 90% in the Balearic Islands, in 1975 that proportion had gone down to 60% in Catalonia, to 55% in the Community of Valencia and to 75% in the Balearic Islands.

The demographic cause of that decrease was that, during the years of economic growth, a large number of Spanish-speaking immigrants moved into Catalonia, mostly from Southern Spain. But the main cause of the reduction of Catalan to the status of a minority language was the destruction wrought by the regime upon the institutions and social mechanisms that once had fostered the integration of those immigrants into Catalan society since the nineteenth century. Thus, when the Franco regime ended, the situation of Catalan, while much better than in the aftermath of the Civil War, was still precarious. In fact, its replacement by Spanish seemed inevitable.

#### CATALAN AS "CATALONIA'S OWN AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE"

Although it took two more years for Catalonia to recover home rule under the provisional Generalitat, the new atmosphere of freedom was felt at once. Meaningful gains achieved in 1976 included the publication of the newspaper *Avui* in April and the creation of *Ràdio 4* in December—the first daily paper and the first radio station entirely in Catalan since 1939. Meanwhile, Catalan began to penetrate the public domain, including official areas such as municipal administration and the schools, some of which no longer hid the fact that they offered classes in Catalan.

Although legislation making Catalan official was quickly passed, its actual application has been rather slow. An early effort was made in 1977 when the Civil Registry was authorized to record names in their Catalan form (a similar initiative was put forth for Basque and Galician names). Right after the creation of the provisional *Generalitat* in September 1977, its president, Josep Tarradellas, signed a decree making both Catalan and Spanish official for the autonomous administration. The new Spanish Constitution voted by Parliament in December 1978, while representing an improvement over the Republican Constitution abrogated by Franco, has turned out not to be sufficiently explicit as regards the "national languages" other than Spanish. Nevertheless, as a constitutional framework it has made possible a measure of linguistic regulation through the Autonomy

Statutes that define home rule and establish Catalan and Spanish as co-official languages in Catalonia, in the Community of Valencia, and in the Balearic Islands.

By defining Catalan as "Catalonia's own language" ("la llengua pròpia de Catalunya,") the Autonomy Statute (1979) made it possible for the Catalan Parliament to pass the crucial Law of Linguistic Normalization (1983), inspired in Québec's well-known *Law 101*. Similar laws were passed in the Community of Valencia in 1983 and in the Balearic Islands three years later. Those laws have been the target of lawsuits on grounds of unconstitutionality. For example, the Constitutional Tribunal struck down legal language approved by the Parliament of Catalonia, which gave the Catalan version of a law precedence over the Spanish version. It also struck down the requirement of a knowledge of Catalan for teachers in adult education or in specialized education. On the other hand, some laws granting the Generalitat exclusive authority in educational matters have been fully confirmed by the same Constitutional Tribunal (December 23, 1994).

Nearly two decades later, however, such laws now appear insufficient, and many call for their rewriting or expansion to cover existing legal lacunae. An explicit point of reference for this is the *General Plan of Linguistic Normalization* approved by the Generalitat (March 7, 1995) following a proposal from the Social Council for the Catalan Language (*Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana*). The main goals of the *General Plan* are "(1) to ensure that Catalonia's own language be used habitually by public and private institutions in all areas of public use, so as to constitute the vehicle for all forms of communication, in a non-subordinate role" in relation to Spanish, and "(2) to ensure that the linguistic rights of every citizen of Catalonia be respected in all public, professional, cultural, social or leisure activities, in the awareness that government authorities protect and support the exercise of those rights, without harm for the collective right of the Catalan community to the language of its territory."

Regarding the application of the official status of both Catalan and Spanish, progress is more noticeable in Catalonia and, to a lesser degree, in the Balearic Islands, and much less so in the Community of Valencia. In Catalonia, the Generalitat and municipal administrations have resolutely promoted Catalanization, both in-house and in public services. In the last few years there has also been noticeable improvement in some agencies of the central administration located in Catalonia, even though those agencies are not legally mandated to obey Catalonia's linguistic legislation. Enforcement of a policy of full respect for citizens' linguistic rights is more problematic at courts of

law, because a number of magistrates and officials are unable to understand Catalan, let alone use it. While there has been scant progress in the military as regards the use of Catalan, the opposite is the case in law enforcement: the Generalitat's public safety agency (*Mossos d'Esquadra*) has acquired more regular police powers and Catalanization of municipal police departments has intensified. Furthermore, a growing number of members of the National Police and the Civil Guard are able to use Catalan.

Among public institutions, the Catholic Church, despite having lost the powerful social influence it once enjoyed, continues to play a remarkable role in Catalan society. Its Catalanization, already noticeable in the Franco period, has continued in the last few years. Its press is mostly in Catalan, and recently the Church in Catalonia set up a radio station to counteract the influence of COPE, the Church's national radio network, which broadcasts some rather polemical programs with clearly anti-Catalan viewpoints.

In education, the first important step toward normalization (even though it reached only three per cent of all schools) was the Royal Decree of June 1978. That decree, issued before the autonomy statutes of Catalonia, the Community of Valencia, and the Balearic Islands were passed, introduced Catalan in Catalonia's educational system and made it possible to give official status to the teaching in Catalan at some schools. Catalanization of primary education increased in Catalonia after the passing of the above-mentioned 1983 law, and by 1990, 90% of the students in Catalonia were being educated in Catalan or in a bilingual system in which Catalan predominated (see Table III). This so-called "immersion" system, used even in schools where most pupils came from a Spanish-speaking background, was the object of a lawsuit by some Spanish-speaking parents. On December 23, 1994, the Constitutional Tribunal decided that the 1983 law, and specifically those articles questioned in the lawsuit, were constitutional.

Although Catalanization has advanced less in secondary education, in 1993 Catalan predominated in about 53% of the high schools (*Bachillerat Unificat Polivalent*) but in about only 27% of the secondary-level trade schools (*Centres de Formació Professional*). The fact that 90% of university students understand Catalan makes it possible to offer many higher education courses in this language. Furthermore, in 1992 over 77% of the students at the University of Barcelona—which enrolls most students in the *Països Catalans*—declared to be able to write in Catalan, a circumstance that contributes to the increase of reading and writing in this language.

In the Community of Valencia and the Balearic Islands, where

Catalan had never been taught at school, its inclusion in the curriculum has been crucially important. A negative element have been the secessionist attempts against linguistic unity, promoted by a minority party (*Unió Valenciana*), which nonetheless yields considerable influence on account of its coalition with the People's Party (*Partido Popular*) that currently governs the Community of Valencia. Oddly enough, in the Balearic Islands, where it is also in power, this party follows policies clearly favorable to Catalan linguistic unity.

In the media, the situation of Catalan varies enormously. *Ràdio 4*, the first station to broadcast entirely in Catalan since 1939, began operating in December, 1976. Another station, *Catalunya Ràdio* was created in 1983, and in subsequent years the Generalitat's *Corporació Catalana de RTV* became the first public network entirely in Catalan, with high audience levels. The stations of the state-run Spanish National Radio and a few private stations have also increased their programming in Catalan, and the municipal stations broadcast primarily in Catalan. In the Community of Valencia, the creation of Channel 9 in 1989 made it possible to expand the use of Catalan on the radio. In the Balearic Islands the situation is less stable, although transmitters make it possible to listen to programs from Barcelona or Valencia.

The main dates in the Catalanization process of television include the period between 1977 and 1983, when the Spanish Television Center in Sant Cugat, outside Barcelona, increased its Catalan programming from sixteen to twenty-five hours per week. It currently offers about sixty hours, possibly encouraged by competition from the Catalan channel, TV3. The creation of TV3 in 1983 and of Channel 33 in 1989 was decisive for the expansion of Catalan, despite competition from private television channels broadcasting in Spanish since 1990. Even so, Catalan television amounts to about 25% of broadcasting time, and often the programs of TV3 get the highest viewing ratings. In the Community of Valencia the autonomous government has sponsored a television channel since 1989, while also broadcasting in Spanish.

Milestones in the Catalanization process in the press include the creation, in April 1976 –significantly enough, five months after Franco's death–, of *Avui*, the first daily paper in Catalan since 1939. Among others that have since come into existence or switched to Catalan we find *Regió 7* (1978), *Punt Diari* (1979), *Diari de Barcelona* (1987), *Diari de Lleida* (1989), *Diari de Girona* (1990), and *Nou Diari* (1990). Again, such publications have not always been able to compete with the Spanish-language press, which enjoys a much broader

readership. Other important events include the development of the county (*comarques*) press, exemplified by the expansion of the newspapers *El Punt*, *Regió 7* or *El 9 Nou*, and the creation in Valencia of a weekly magazine, *El Temps*, intended for all the *Països Catalans*.

Book publishing has grown significantly, from 611 titles in 1975 (fewer than in 1936), to over a thousand in 1977, three thousand in 1984 and five thousand in 1992. In 1984 5,638 titles were published, 3,738 of them brand-new and 1,900 new editions. Barcelona continues to be the main publishing center for Spanish world area (a position of leadership for which Madrid has recently become a serious competitor). Of the 15,000 titles released yearly by Barcelona publishing houses, about 30% are in Catalan, contrasting significantly with 7% in 1975.

#### THE EXTENSION OF THE USE OF CATALAN

A decisive watershed in the institutional establishment of Catalan in the period 1975-1995 was the year 1983, when the laws of linguistic normalization were passed in Catalonia and in the Community of Valencia, and TV3 started broadcasting. Let us consider some details of this process.

(a) During 1975-1983 political and institutional changes helped to remove legal and social barriers to the public use of Catalan. Agencies of the autonomous and municipal administrations adopted Catalan as their own language for in-house use as well as for communication with the public, and the names of streets and public signs were rewritten in Catalan. This process turned out to be rather uneven: in Catalonia, those agencies generally took the lead, whereas in the Community of Valencia and in the Balearic Islands recovery of the public use of the language was slower. The number of Catalan speakers, which according to 1975 estimates had dropped to 60% of the population in Catalonia, 50% in the Community of Valencia, and 70% in the Balearic Islands, remained practically stationary during 1975-1983 (see Table I). Thus, according to data from the 1981 census, the proportion of Catalan speakers in the Community of Valencia and in the Balearic Islands was 52% and 73% respectively, while only in Catalonia was there a small increase (62%). Such data confirm that the influence of political and institutional changes on social habits, far from being immediate, takes time to be noticed.

(b) In 1983-1995. After the laws of linguistic normalization were passed, there was an increase in measures favoring the use of Catalan,

particularly in education. Furthermore, the creation of TV<sub>3</sub> and Channel 9 contributed to the presence of Catalan in the audiovisual media, the cultural influence of which opened new perspectives for the use of the language. Census data from 1986 and 1991 are quite explicit about this (see Table I).

The most encouraging figures are doubtless those for Catalonia, where the percentage of Catalan speakers went from 62% in 1981 to 68,3% in 1991. In the Community of Valencia, however, there was a decrease from 52% in 1981 to 49% in 1986 and 50.6% in 1991. In the Balearic Islands, where the original percentages were much higher, there was an obvious decrease: 73% in 1981, 71% in 1986 and 66.4% in 1991, even though in absolute figures there was an increase of 25,000 Catalan speakers between 1986 and 1991. Regardless of possible technical flaws in these statistics, it is apparent that the process of replacement of Catalan by Spanish has continued in the Balearic Islands, instead of stopping, as in Catalonia, or decreasing, as in the Community of Valencia (at least in most of its territory).

Though census data give an idea about the knowledge of the language, for its actual use we had better seek information from more reliable surveys. Table II reproduces data from a survey carried out in 1993 by the *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (CIS) among respondents aged 18 and above all over Spain. (Table II includes data on Galician and Basque, commentary on which would be beyond the scope of this article.)

There is an enormous difference between Catalonia and the Community of Valencia as regards level of language comprehension. This is explained primarily by the fact that the Community of Valencia includes a few Spanish-speaking districts. In any case, the proportion of some 4% of adults in Catalonia who do not understand Catalan is significantly low.

There are also important contrasts in the number of persons who understand the local language but do not speak it. Whereas the percentages are practically the same for Catalonia and the Balearic Islands (respectively 22% and 23%), in the Community of Valencia the proportion reaches 35%. The discrepancy is smaller in the proportion of Spanish speakers who can speak Catalan: here the highest figure is found in Catalonia (23%) but the lowest figure does not correspond to the Community of Valencia, as one might expect from the previous data, but rather to the Balearic Islands (16%). The main topic of the survey, that is, those speakers who state that Catalan is their main language, represent 50% of the population of Catalonia and of the Balearic Islands, and 34% in the Community of Valencia. In turn, the percentages of those who claim both languages on an equal level are

few in Catalonia and in the Community of Valencia (1%), but reach 4% in the Balearic Islands.

The data from the CIS survey are higher than the census data as regards knowledge of Catalan. Indeed, the number of adults who can speak Catalan reaches 74% in Catalonia, 55% in the Community of Valencia and 70% in the Balearic Islands (these percentages result from adding categories *c*, *d*, and *e*). These figures surpass those in Table I, and to explain this difference, it has been hypothesized that there is a low proportion of Catalan speakers among minors (not included in the survey), because most of them belong to Spanish-speaking families. While this fact can account for part of the difference, we should also consider that the two years between the census and the survey were a period of intense activity in the Catalanization process at school, particularly in Catalonia. Thus it would not be strange for those 68.3% who knew Catalan in 1991 to have joined the 73% of the survey, thanks to the momentum of that school process.

Such data confirm that in the last few years Catalan has become more extensively used in society. Nevertheless, this development has not been enough to reverse the process of language shift that is still active, not only in cities on the periphery of the linguistic domain (such as Perpinyà or Alacant), where Catalan has been for many years a minority language, but also in more "central" cities, such as Valencia, where only 40% of the inhabitants can speak Valencian. Even this phenomenon, however, disquieting as it may be for the future of Catalan, may be affected by new sociocultural factors.

Thus, Rafael Lluís Ninyoles believes that the current situation in the Community of Valencia is determined by three factors: (*a*) the spectacular increase in the command of oral and written Catalan, (*b*) a generally more favorable attitude among the population as regards the possibility of recovering the use of Valencian, and (*c*) the increasingly higher value of the autochthonous language in the labor market (Vallverdú 1990, 3a). Although Ninyoles's optimistic view, contrasting as it does with the increase in secessionist campaigns in the Community of Valencia, may need toning down, there is no doubt that, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the Community of Valencia has undergone some significant changes.

Though this discussion about the social extension of Catalan would be incomplete without a comment on immigration, due to space limitations I will mention only a few important sociolinguistic aspects, and focus on the situation of the Lower Llobregat district (*comarca del Baix Llobregat*) according to the data from the last census. The Lower Llobregat, with a population of 600,000, is the third most populous district in Catalonia, after the Barcelonès and the Western Vallès

(*Vallès Occidental*) districts, and the one with the highest immigration rates. According to data from the 1991 linguistic census, in the Lower Llobregat some 20% of inhabitants aged 60 to 64 do not understand Catalan; this percentage rises to 35% for those aged 85. On the other hand, in the several age brackets between 30 and 85, only between 35% and 49% can speak Catalan. The existence of such deficits enhances the contrast between the older groups and those under 30 years of age, who report levels of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Catalan that are more similar to the other regions in Catalonia.

Beginning with the census data referring to the Lower Llobregat (the district with most respondents who do not understand Catalan, 11% in average, and fewest respondents who can speak it, 53% in average), I have organized Table V, where I compare the differences among three generations, distributed in age groups about thirty years apart, a situation which theoretically allows me to label them as "children," "parents," and "grandparents." With all due precaution, and aware that the purported affiliation may not coincide with reality, a few tentative conclusions may be drawn.

First, we should underscore the amplitude and intensity of a linguistic shift: if intergenerational differences are very significant as regards language comprehension, they are radical as regards speech. Second, if we compare the differences between "parents" and "grandparents," we see clues that a process of decatalanization (in speech as well as in writing) was taking place between those two groups; this enhances the importance of the increase in the generation of the "children." Third, the data explain graphically the apparent paradox of the linguistic behavior of young people, which several authors have underscored. In fact, it is often said that, although youngsters can speak Catalan, they do not habitually do so. But descriptions of this phenomenon do not take into account the family origin of those youngsters; if they did, those reports would be different. In the case of the young people of the Lower Llobregat, most of whom come from Spanish-speaking families, even though they are able to use Catalan, is it not logical that they should use Spanish more frequently?

## CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, our overview of the evolution of the use of Catalan during the last twenty years reflects a continuing Catalanization process, which has allowed Joshua Fishman (1991) to include the case of Catalan among his "three success stories (more or less)." By applying

his ingenious *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* to evaluate different situations of language shift so as to determine the degree of sociolinguistic disruption of a given threatened language, Fishman concludes that the case of Catalan in Spain is comparable to that of Hebrew in Israel and that of French in Quebec, because a reversal of language shift has taken place (Fishman 1991, 287-336). Generally speaking, I agree with Fishman's analysis, as long as we do not forget that the situation of Catalan –and specifically in Catalonia– is nevertheless at level one in Fishman's scale, which means that "alterations" can still be perceived, and that the reversal of language shift has not been completed.

In fact, there are still important lacunae in the public use of Catalan. In the official domain, deficiencies and irregularities are noticeable both in the autonomous government and in the municipal administrations. There are also visible gaps in the courts, in government agencies such as the police and the military, as well as blatant irregularities in public agencies. As regards public use of the language in the private sector, one notices an irregular and contradictory situation in business, industry, the workplace, advertising, sports and leisure, and so on.

In the media, the situation is also rather irregular: only 14% of the copies of daily papers circulating in Catalonia are printed in Catalan, and despite the language's presence, there are gaps on radio and television, as well as in movies, videos, records, and so on. In particular, there is a serious delay in creating a communicative space in Catalan that might serve all the regions of its linguistic domain.

In education, despite evident gains, particularly in Catalonia –with the generalization of methods of linguistic immersion, so as to ensure a sound command of Catalan among Spanish-speaking students– there remain important lacunae, some of which can only be remedied as new graduating classes are fully educated in Catalan. Other problems require more energetic measures, particularly in the Community of Valencia and in the Balearic Islands, in order to attain the required goal of ensuring that children finish their primary education with full command of the two official languages.

If this is the situation of the public use of Catalan, the situation in private social sectors also evinces considerable deficiencies. Certain basic data should not be forgotten –and from now on I will refer only to Catalonia, which is precisely the region where social (re)Catalanization has advanced most. According to the 1991 language census, 94% of the population understands Catalan, but this otherwise positive datum should be compared to the situation of other linguistic abilities, which are as follows: 68.3% can speak Catalan, 67.6% can

read it, and 40% can write it. Despite the significant progress that such percentages represent, in comparison to 1975, the figures are eloquent when we consider that 93% of the population of Catalonia understands, speaks, reads, and writes Spanish. Such a remarkable difference between the two languages makes clear the degree of Catalan's weakness in relation to Spanish. Given this situation, discussing whether the real proportion of habitual Catalan users is 60% or 55% seems somewhat Byzantine, despite the fact that, according to several indicators, this percentage has been on the increase. Be that as it may, Catalan's weak situation forces the Catalan government to continue enforcing a linguistic policy intended to support use of the language, with a view to bridge all the existing gaps.

Do social conditions for such a policy exist? Certain obstacles exist today, the importance of which is not clearly understood. In Catalonia and in the Balearic Islands there have been reactions against a supposed "discrimination" towards Spanish speakers, particularly at school, which have been reported and exaggerated in the conservative press of Madrid, creating the semblance of a real "linguistic war" in Catalonia. This is not the place to discuss this regrettable accusation, despite all the negative effect it may have on social relations. In any case, to understand how small the protests in Catalonia are, one should recall that during the 1995-1996 school year, only .03% of the school population—exactly 89 cases—requested "individualized attention," that is, teaching in Spanish. All the others received a Catalan education both in language and in content, and often through immersion methods, the only ones which guarantee the full command of both official languages. In the case of the Community of Valencia, the most glaring difficulties come from the fact that the current administration (which belongs to the conservative party) accepts the secessionist views of their political allies—a small "*valencianista*" party which maintains that Valencian is a language different from Catalan—, thus preventing the institutional coordination between the Community of Valencia and the rest of the *Països Catalans*.

Nevertheless, if children and youngsters are in fact a country's hope for the future, they are all the more so in the case of Catalan, since we are currently witnessing certain social changes that can give a new impulse to linguistic normalization. In fact, beginning a few years ago, two parallel phenomena can be observed in Catalonia (and to a lesser extent in the Community of Valencia and in the Balearic Islands). The first is that Catalan-speaking children, who learn to speak, read, and write in Spanish at school as their ancestors did (at least since the compulsory education was established in Spain in 1857),

now also learn to read and write in Catalan. This circumstance never obtained before, except for the brief period between 1936 and 1938.

The second phenomenon is that Spanish-speaking children, who at some point in their education learn to read and write in Spanish, now also learn to speak, read, and write in Catalan. Again, this is a circumstance that only obtained previously during the period 1936-1938.

If this process develops normally and consolidates, it will open radically new perspectives in Catalan society. In fact, the establishment of compulsory education in Spain, allied with the growth of the press and other media in Spanish, which began at about the same time. After each successive wave of immigration into Catalonia, the sociolinguistic profile of Catalan society has become increasingly defined by a stronger and deeper presence of Spanish as the dominant language.

This evolution reached a peak in our time, as one can deduce from the data presented earlier in this study: whereas 93% of Catalonia's population is fully fluent in Spanish, only about 40% can fluently speak, read, and write Catalan. This enormous difference between the two official languages is so difficult to overcome that any measures that can theoretically be proposed appear utopian.

The thrust for Catalanization of education –with the purpose of ensuring a fully effective bilingual education that can make children fully fluent in both official languages– opens up a sociolinguistic perspective that has not existed for at least a hundred and fifty years. In sum, our most hopeful conclusion can only be expressed in the following terms: the full linguistic normalization of Catalan will only be possible when the new generations currently in school become a majority in Catalan society.

FRANCESC VALLVERDÚ  
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*Translated by M.M.A*

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TABLE I. Evolution of the use of Catalan in Catalonia, in the Community of Valencia, and in the balearic islands, 1930-1991. (in millions of people and in percentages)

	Catalonia		Valencian Community		Balearic Islands		Spain (global)	
	Catalan-speaking pop.		Catalan-speaking popul.		Catalan-speaking popul.		Population	
							(C+V.C.+B.I.)	
1930	2,792	75%	1,962	75%	366	90%	23,564	16.5%
		2,094		1,471		330		3,895
1975	5,663	60%	3,411	55%	633	75%	36,012	15.9%
		3,398		1,876		475		5,749
1981	5,956	62%	3,647	52%	656	73%	37,681	16.1%
		3,693		1,896		478		6,067
1986	5,979	64%	3,733	49%	680	71%	38,473	16.1%
		3,748		1,802		470		6,020
1991	6,116	68.3%	3,924	50.6%	746	66.4%	39,500	16.8%
		4,177		1,985		495		6,657

SOURCE: Figures by the author, from Vallverdú (1990). The years 1981, 1986 and 1991 are based on the linguistic census.

**TABLE II. Primary language and linguistic abilities of the whole population (in percentages)**

	Cat.	Comm. of Val.	Bal. Is.	Gal.	Basque Country	Navarra
a) Does not understand the Community's language	4	10	6	1	54	82
b) Understands but does not speak the Community's language	22	35	23	10	15	8
c) Speaks the Community's language as a secondary language	23	20	16	29	9	4
d) Speaks the Community's language and considers it as self's main language	50	34	50	56	20	5
e) Speaks both language equally well	1	1	4	2	1	1
No reply	-	-	1	2	1	-
TOTAL (N)	100 (1.007)	100 (771)	100 (473)	100 (681)	100 (615)	100 (452)

SOURCE: *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (1994), p. 20.

**TABLE III. Distribution of primary school pupils in Catalonia**

<i>Distribution and comparison of schools</i>	1986-87		1989-90	
Catalan monolingual	697	24%	976	36%
Bilingual (evolutional)	1,124	39%	1,078	40%
Bilingual (static)	1,014	35%	645	24%
Spanish monolingual	60	2%	31	1%
<i>Distribution and comparison of pupils</i>				
Pupils in Catalan	401,565	42%	467,382	56%
Pupils in both languages	312,373	33%	278,542	34%
Pupils in Spanish	231,832	25%	82,050	10%

SOURCES: *Dades de la llengua a l'escola primària de Catalunya 1989-1990*, SEDEC, 1991.

**TABLE IV. Secondary education in Catalonia. School year 1992-93**

<i>Batxillerat (BUP)</i> <i>(Batxillerat Unificat Polivalent)</i>	Centres	Students
In Catalan	27%	46%
More Catalan than Spanish	26%	34%
More Spanish than Catalan	30%	17%
In Spanish	17%	3%
<i>Trade Schools</i> <i>(Formació Professional)</i>		
In Catalan	12%	31%
More Catalan than Spanish	15%	20%
More Spanish than Catalan	32%	47%
In Spanish	41%	2%

SOURCE: SEDEC, Departament d'Ensenyament.

**TABLE V. Knowledge of Catalan in three generations  
in the Lower Llobregat**

	Understanding	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Children (10-19 years)	98%	81%	85%	70%
Parents (40-49 years)	88%	39%	45%	15%
Grandparents (70-79 years)	68%	40%	36%	16%

Note: The Lower Llobregat (area: 486 km<sup>2</sup>; pop.: 610,192) is the Catalonia's district with the highest percentage of Spanish speakers.

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SOURCE: 1991 *Linguistic Census*, compiled by the author.