



You are accessing the Digital Archive of the Catalan Review Journal.

By accessing and/or using this Digital Archive, you accept and agree to abide by the Terms and Conditions of Use available at http://www.nacs-catalanstudies.org/catalan_review.html

Catalan Review is the premier international scholarly journal devoted to all aspects of Catalan culture. By Catalan culture is understood all manifestations of intellectual and artistic life produced in the Catalan language or in the geographical areas where Catalan is spoken. Catalan Review has been in publication since 1986.

Esteu accedint a l'Arxiu Digital del Catalan Review

A l' accedir i / o utilitzar aquest Arxiu Digital, vostè accepta i es compromet a complir els termes i condicions d'ús disponibles a http://www.nacs-catalanstudies.org/catalan_review.html

Catalan Review és la primera revista internacional dedicada a tots els aspectes de la cultura catalana. Per la cultura catalana s'entén totes les manifestacions de la vida intel·lectual i artística produïda en llengua catalana o en les zones geogràfiques on es parla català. Catalan Review es publica des de 1986.

Changing Forms of Codeswitching in Catalan Comedy **Kathryn A. Woolard**

Catalan Review, Vol. IX, number 2, (1995), p. 223-252

CHANGING FORMS OF CODESWITCHING IN CATALAN COMEDY

KATHRYN A. WOOLARD

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CODESWITCHING AND COMEDY

Codeswitching, the use of two (or more) language varieties by a speaker within the same speech exchange, is not practiced by all bilingual populations. While some communities may allow intimate mixing of languages, even within clauses, others require a strict compartmentalization of codes (Gal 1987:639). In the last decade, sociolinguists have argued that the varying permissibility and patterning of codeswitching across different communities or in one community in different historical periods have considerable sociological significance (Hill 1985, Gal 1987, Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994, McClure and Mir 1995).¹

In contrast to popular views of language mixing as unsystematic, indicative of incomplete control of the language(s), or triggered by lexical lacunae or memory slips, sociolinguists have long argued that codeswitching can be an orderly, grammar-governed, and strategic deployment of the bilingual repertoire as a rhetorical resource (e.g., Blom and Gumperz 1972, Poplack 1982, Gumperz 1982, Auer 1984, Heller 1988, Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1993b). Microsociological analytic approaches moved the discussion of codeswitching out of the arena of strictly intra-individual cognitive and psychological forces, to cast it as a decidedly social phenomenon that creates socially meaningful messages.

Beyond this longstanding insistence on systematicity and meaning, sociolinguists now posit that linguistic behavior such as codeswitching can serve as a "window on consciousness" in particular

¹ *Acknowledgments.* Field research on which this report is based took place in 1987 and 1988, funded by the Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano, the Fulbright Program, the Spencer Foundation, Wenner-Gren Foundation, the University of Wisconsin Research Foundation and the Nave Foundation. I am grateful to all of these institutions, which are not responsible for the opinions expressed here. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the University of Chicago and UCLA Departments of Anthropology, and at meetings of the American Anthropological Association, International Pragmatics Association, and the Center for Psychosocial Studies; discussion in all of these settings was invaluable. Many thanks to Núria Benet, Dory Lightfoot, Amparo Tusón, Margarida Genius, Montse Viladrich, Neus Escandell, Pompeu Casanovas, Dan Wohlfeiler, Lluís Brau, Jordi Cais, and Milton Azevedo for help with data, analysis and editing, and to Susan Gal, Michael Silverstein, and Judy Irvine for comments on earlier versions.

political-economic contexts (Hill 1985, Gal 1987). The existence and patterning of conversational codeswitching is viewed as revealing speech communities' diverse responses to their social positioning and particularly to symbolic domination. Such analyses draw on an understanding of speech as what Vološhinov calls "behavioral ideology" – "unsystematized and unfixed inner and outer speech which endows our every instance of behavior and action and our every 'conscious' state with meaning" (1973:91).

Conversational codeswitching has not been absent in Catalonia. But it has traditionally been a limited and highly marked conversational resource, except as an adaptation to interlocutor linguistic identity, in which form it is very frequently encountered (Calsamiglia and Tuson 1984, Woolard 1987, 1989, Nussbaum 1990, Tusón 1990, Boix, 1990, 1993, Bierbach 1991, Pujolar Cos 1991, Vila i Moreno n.d.). At the same time that rhetorical codeswitching has been fairly constrained in everyday life, however, there have been significant public celebrations of codeswitching in mass mediated, explicitly comic performances in Barcelona.²

Political autonomy for Catalonia in 1980 created a new frame for community understandings of ethnolinguistic identity and sociolinguistic practices. Moreover, the Catalan government has attempted, particularly since 1983, to institutionalize new Catalan-medium discursive practices through new linguistic policies. If the political changes that have taken place are significant to the community, they well may be reflected in changes in the conversational deployment of the linguistic repertoire. Changes in the significance of language choices may in turn surface in popular cultural forms in the mass-mediated public arena. Indeed, there are striking differences in forms of codeswitching that have been well-received in professional comedy at different moments in recent Barcelona history, and this paper examines some of those forms.³

I build here on an earlier analysis of the linguistic strategies of the comedian Eugenio, who experienced phenomenal success and considerable fame for his language mixing in Barcelona at the time of the autonomy campaign in 1979-80 (Woolard 1987). In this paper I analyze the performances of another codeswitching humorist, Pere Bernal, and his partners in a radio show popular seven years later.

² See Azevedo 1993 for a discussion of literary uses of codeswitching.

³ Many Catalan comedians have used linguistic characterizations as important resources for humor. This analysis does not encompass veteran humorists such as Mary Santpere, nor follow comic codeswitching into the present period of the 1990's. Both research strategies would be necessary to establish a clearer picture of trends in public codeswitching.

Although Pere had not achieved the success of Eugenio, and the linguistic data are not strictly comparable, it is appropriate to analyze the former's performances with an eye to the latter, since Catalan consultants spontaneously noted that the style of speaking used by Pere was initiated by Eugenio.⁴

I have taken several approaches in analyzing the data. Switch-points and switched constituents have been considered in terms of both syntactic and discourse structure (Poplack 1982, Auer 1984). To interpret the discourse and interactional functions of switches, I draw on Goffman's (1981) view of codeswitching as one of many discursive devices for signalling changes in "footing," or the speaker's orientation toward his words and his audience. I also consider the applicability of Gumperz's (Blom and Gumperz 1972, Gumperz 1982) concept of metaphorical codeswitching, where a change in code is seen to invoke the regular association of a language with a specific set of social relations, with the effect of rhetorically signaling, e.g., authority, distance or intimacy. Finally, I argue that it is most useful to adopt an interpretive frame illustrated in Jane Hill's (1985) analysis of Mexicano-Spanish codeswitching, based in Bakhtin's (1981, 1984) theory of the "voice" and the social language as a fusion of linguistic form and semantic position or ideological worldview. From all of these standpoints, I find that Pere's codeswitching strategies differed from Eugenio's in extent, frequency, linguistic form, discourse functions, and symbolic value.

Professional performances can be of interest in themselves and as purveyors of cultural models that might be influential. However, such performances, where verbal virtuosity is actually the point, don't reflect popular linguistic practices, but more often refract them in complex ways. As Catalans I consulted spontaneously commented, Pere and his partner speak both Catalan and Castilian much more poorly than any ordinary people do. In looking at comedians' uses of codeswitching, we are not seeing typical speech strategies, but rather a caricature, and a kind of metapragmatic commentary (Silverstein 1979) on contemporary linguistic practices and policies. Changes in the bilingual practices that people laugh at publicly are one index of changes in the alignments of languages in contact.

Writing of the different "strata" of behavioral ideology, Vološhinov says that it is most difficult to detect the sociological

⁴ Eugenio's performances are prepared monologues and set jokes, while the 1987 radio show consists of "fresh talk", spontaneous dialogues between two comedians. Many of the linguistic differences between the performers may well be traceable to these differences in genre, but that does not reduce the sociolinguistic significance of these very different public displays of linguistic possibilities.

regulatedness of the "ideological scraps" that constitute the lower stratum of everyday life, the fleeting thoughts and utterances which lack logic and unity. But the upper strata of behavioral ideology, such as literature and other mass media, are more directly linked with ideological systems and more interpretable:

"Newly emerging social forces find ideological expression and take shape first in these upper strata of behavioral ideology before they can succeed in dominating the arena of some organized, official ideology" (1973:92).

What is involved in the upper strata are:

"words, intonations...that have undergone the experience of outward expression on a more or less ample social scale and have acquired, as it were, a high social polish and lustre by the effect of reactions and responses, resistance or support, on the part of the social audience" (ibid.)

The professional, mass-mediated uses of language I am examining here are the product of a collaboration among speakers, management, commercial sponsors, and the many people who constitute the audience. The words produced by an Eugenio or Pere Bernal are "polished" by all these forces. Bernal himself said as much when the show changed to a Catalan-medium station, Cadena Nova, in 1990: "We know that our Catalan won't be that of a copyeditor; if we suddenly changed the way we talk, nobody would listen to us." (*Diari de Barcelona*, September 1990). Vološhinov point out that it is difficult to know what to make of codeswitching in the quotidian speech of an individual. But when that individual is a successful professional performer, it is more plausible that such codeswitching bears social significance. Analysts from Freud on tell us this is even more true when the performance is perceived as humorous. As the anthropologist Mary Douglas has put it, jokes point out "jokes" or contradictions in the social structure (1975:100).

CODESWITCHING AND COMEDY IN 1980

In 1980, the greatest part of the conversational codeswitching heard among the general population of Barcelona was triggered by the participants' ethnolinguistic identities, rather than functional principles like domain, situation, topic, or intent.⁵ Other rhetorical

⁵ But cf. Bierbach 1991 for a more complex view, in which speaker identity is variably relevant in different contexts or to different topics.

possibilities of a bilingual repertoire were not often exploited in bilingual Catalans' talk in the ways that have been documented for, e.g., Spanish-speakers in the U.S. I posited two reasons for this absence. First, the high social prestige of Catalans and Catalan reduced the motivation to resort to Castilian to invoke power and authority, the metaphorical function so frequently found in codeswitching (Blom and Gumperz 1972, Myers-Scotton 1993b).

Second, the predominant interlocutor cue for code choice inhibited other conversational codeswitching strategies. Most Catalan speakers automatically changed to Castilian when they detected a native Castilian-speaking interlocutor. To introduce Castilian extensively into an ingroup conversation, then, might too easily be taken as indicating doubt about the Catalan identity or Catalan loyalty of an interlocutor.

In spite of –or I argued, because of– this restriction on codeswitching in everyday conversation, it did appear as a significant public phenomenon in 1980, in Eugenio's very popular live performances and commercial tapes. Public comment repeatedly showed that the most memorable and attractive feature of Eugenio's performance was the mixing of Catalan and Castilian. In spite of the public perception, however, I found that the base and dominant language of Eugenio's popular first tape was Castilian. Only about 20% of the performance was in Catalan. Moreover, most of Eugenio's switches into Catalan were drawn from a very small set of strategies, usually the most syntactically simple forms such as sentence tags. The categorical assignment of one salient discourse function to Catalan accounted for nearly 70% of the points where Eugenio switched into Catalan. In framing his narrative, Eugenio always signaled the onset of reported speech with a switch to Catalan: "Diu, diu," as in Example 1:⁶

1. Dice que era San Pedro que estaba en el cielo, y en un momento dado llaman a la puerta. *Pum-pum. Diu, "Quién es?" Diu, "San Miguel." Diu, "Déjeme dos cajas."*

Says, Saint Peter was in heaven, and at one point someone knocks on the door. Knock-knock. He says, "Who is it?" He says, "San Miguel." He says, "Leave me two cases [of San Miguel beer]."

Eugenio *did* codeswitch much more than ordinary speakers. But

⁶ In the examples, Castilian is represented in regular typeface and Catalan in bold. Words and phrases that may belong to either (or neither) system and lexical "barbarisms" are represented in italics. Parentheses () in the examples indicate an inaudible segment. Brackets [] indicate overlap between two speakers in the original and my own commentary for clarification in the translations.

compared to speakers in other communities, his codeswitching strategies were syntactically and functionally rudimentary. Rather than using codeswitching metaphorically to add significant nuances, Eugenio tended to use Catalan in positions where it carried a low information load; he virtually never used it in the punchline. This judicious distribution of Catalan across the narrative structure explicitly overrode and even symbolically denied ethnolinguistic boundaries in Barcelona, allowing the widest possible audience to participate.

CODESWITCHING AND COMEDY IN 1987

By 1987, there had been at least a moderately successful public realignment of the two languages, and Catalan had become a significant presence in the mass media and public and official arenas. There appear to have been far fewer changes in linguistic allocations in everyday private life, pointing us toward contradictions in the social structure that humor might play on. Conversational codeswitching remained largely indexed to the ethnolinguistic identity of interlocutors, and extensive codeswitching among Catalanophone bilinguals did not appear any more common.⁷

Although still performing, Eugenio was not the focus of public attention that he had been.⁸ But codeswitching was a salient feature of a successful radio talk show, two and a half hours, six mornings a week, on a predominantly Castilian-language station, "Radio Minuto." It consisted entirely of humorous conversation between Pere Bernal and a partner who went by the name of Ricki Romero. At times they spoke with listeners by phone or guests in the studio. Much of this conversation was structured around publicity for various products from lunchmeat to condominiums, in an improvisational parody of advertising talk.⁹

⁷ The area in which more conversational codeswitching may have emerged is among speakers of Catalan as a second language. Anecdotal evidence on codeswitching among non-native speakers suggests that their dominant Castilian breaks through more often, and serves more rhetorical functions, than among native Catalans. This would accord with sociolinguistic understandings of codeswitching as a way of claiming more than one valued identity simultaneously.

⁸ Eugenio had appeared in his own series on Catalan TV over the summer, but it was not a hit; he was barely visible publicly during the seven months I spent in Barcelona in 1987.

⁹ The aggressive bantering style is reminiscent of American morning shows on F.M. radio of the "Morning Zoo" format, where a pair of wacky disc jockeys joke, trade barbs, imitate and invoke a spectrum of public voices and rhetorics, run phone-in contests and converse with callers. A pretense of playing music is retained on some of the American shows, but is not part of the Catalan version.

The talk on this program was replete with the full range of what Lüdi calls "transcodic markers," linguistic traces of contact between two systems. The fundamentally Catalan speech of the performers was marked not only by numerous lexical, morphological and syntactic "Castilianisms," but also by frequent outright switching to Castilian. The personae of the speakers, ostensibly their natural selves, were identified by Catalan consultants as stereotypes of the urban Catalan petty-bourgeoisie.¹⁰ They associated these stereotypes with specific neighborhoods of central Barcelona, particularly the Eixample.¹¹

The consultants agreed that the incidence of Castilianisms (lexical and syntactic interference) was greatly exaggerated compared to ordinary speech, as were actual switches to Castilian. They volunteered that this sounded like the talk heard in mixed workplaces, where Catalans switch languages constantly to address Castilian and Catalan coworkers. On the other hand, listeners heard exaggeratedly Catalan accents in the stretches of Castilian speech. In spite of the atypical presence of codeswitching to Castilian, the speakers were judged to be native urban Catalans whose first language is Catalan; their accent in Catalan was considered very good.

The team was not the public phenomenon that Eugenio had been in 1980, but there are reasons to see it as more than idiosyncratic, and as particularly noteworthy within the political frame of the moment. The show was in its sixth year, having moved to the present station two years before, when there was considerable reshuffling among failing and emerging radio stations. The junior partner told me that while there had been doubt in the first year and a half about whether the show would continue on the new station, it had been deemed a great success in the last year. Other radio stations were adopting the format with similar teams of talkers, but few codeswitched with the agility and frequency of Pere and Ricki.¹²

¹⁰ Consultants were three Catalan graduate students in non-linguistic fields at UCSD, who listened to and commented on the tapes. Two were natives of Barcelona and the third had lived in that city for about eight years. All three were female, around 30 years old, and native speakers of Catalan. Many of their comments echoed those of several of my friends and colleagues in Barcelona who made informal remarks about the radio show.

¹¹ These consultants did not specify further when they mentioned the Eixample. Other natives of Barcelona hold that unmodified, "Eixample" refers to the left side of the Eixample (*esquerra de l'Eixample*), south of the *Passeig de Gràcia*, and this is almost certainly what was intended. The left side of this now central 19th-century addition to Barcelona is generally stereotyped as more petty-bourgeois (formerly mixed with working class) and progressive than the right side of the Eixample, which is known as expensive, upper-class, and conservative.

¹² Unfortunately, there is no way to know if the team's codeswitching patterns had changed over the years, because neither the performers nor the radio stations kept tapes.

Even more significant, and startling to me and to consultants, was a role given to the program in the municipal elections of 1987. The elections were viewed as a confrontation of the Socialist party, (PSOE-PSC) that governed Spain as well as municipal Barcelona, and the more conservative, Catalan nationalist party (Convergència i Unió) that had governed Catalonia since autonomy.

The mayoral candidates of both these parties made appearances on Pere's program during the campaign, but the nationalist *Convergència* candidate, Josep Maria Culler, reappeared nearly every day for a week. In the interactions with the political candidates, there was almost no codeswitching to Castilian at all, which verifies the strategic, deliberate nature of the codeswitching that did occur in the comic portions. In addition to clarifying the linguistic abilities and tactics of the performers, the appearance of the politicians signals hidden power in this apparently frivolous bit of popular culture, and directs our attention to a closer analysis of its form and content.

The discussion presented here is based on syntactic and discourse analysis of three 20 minute samples taped on three different days over the course of a month.¹³ The week that I began to tape, Pere's regular partner Ricki suffered a detached retina and could not return to the studio for some six weeks. The first day taped was the third morning for his substitute, a professional radio announcer named Santi Cardús. This unfortunate event is possibly fortunate for the analysis because as a newcomer, Santi was not skilled in the speech style of the show, in improvisation, and especially in codeswitching. Early in the month, Santi's nearly monolingual Catalan is more representative both of standard radio talk and of "normal" Barcelona conversational patterns (depending on the kind of speech activity the speakers were performing), and sharply highlights the distinctive features which made the old pro Pere's talk popular. Some of Santi's early responses to Pere's codeswitching illustrate the interactional pitfalls of the style, as will be discussed below. By the end of the month Santi's style had

¹³ April 22, April 23, and May 22, 1987. Thirty to sixty minutes were taped from midstream in each show, but only the first twenty minutes of each tape were analyzed for this paper. Additionally I listened to many more hours of the show and taped a fourth day in mid-month. The following year, I visited the studio and taped a session which I also observed, allowing me to identify non-audible, visual triggers to some codeswitching (particularly a Castilian-speaking engineer on the other side of a glass partition, showing that the interlocutor cue to code choice was sometimes still in effect). At that time I briefly interviewed Ricki and Pere about their style and the history of the program, and I discussed audience and market with the station manager, who insisted the station had no surveys or other data on this topic. Finally, I attempted to obtain tapes of shows from earlier years, to see if the codeswitching strategy had evolved over time, but there were none.

evolved some, and additionally, Ricki was participating in the program by telephone.

A fourth sample, taken from the third day taped, was also analyzed, but is discussed separately and only briefly here. This ten minute segment is a different, more serious speech event, featuring a visit from the mayoral candidate Cullell, and shows strikingly different patterns of language choice.

Although the two languages are indeed more mixed in this program and a base language is not as overwhelmingly clearcut as it was in the case of Eugenio, Catalan is consistently the dominant language on all days.¹⁴ Pere used Catalan in 76%, 77%, and 97% of his linguistically identifiable turns.¹⁵ The first numbers correctly suggest that he also used a considerable amount of Castilian, with up to 24% of his turns monolingually Castilian, but that is only part of Pere's macaronic delivery. More significantly, internal codeswitching between the two languages appeared in 31%, 40%, and 48% of Pere's turns in the three segments. In the total 60 minutes of comic talk analyzed, Pere switched languages within a turn 255 times (in addition to his numerous switches between turns). Of the 199 switched chunks brought into the base language of the turn, only 14% of the constituents were discrete noun phrases (often considered the easiest form of switching, available to most speakers).¹⁶ Fifty-six percent occurred at a

¹⁴ In this report, the turn at talk is the unit of analysis, and all percentages are based on a count of turns. Attempted interruptions are counted as turns for these purposes.

¹⁵ There is a good deal of debate over how to define codeswitching, and many researchers agree that the construct reifies distinctions among switching, borrowing, interference, etc. (see Siegel 1995 for a review). The theoretical categories are very difficult to apply empirically, making the umbrella term "transcodic markers" proposed by Lüdi (1987) appealing. It is especially difficult to make these distinctions for closely related languages like Catalan and Castilian. In many turns in this data, there are stretches of speech which could belong to either system. Some shorter turns are made up entirely of such ambiguously-affiliated utterances, e.g., "Si" or "No." Such ambiguous phrases constituted 9-12% of Pere's turns at talk, and 5-11% of Santi's. Rates given in the body of the paper are percentages not of total turns, but of the net turns in which at least some segment could be unambiguously identified as belonging to one language. Ambiguous sequences within a turn were not counted as codeswitches unless they formed part of a larger chunk that contained an unambiguous switch.

Lexical items that are common community borrowings integrated into the receiving system (e.g., "bueno," pronounced "buenu," with partly catalanizing phonology) were not counted as codeswitches, nor were other forms that might best be considered calques (e.g., "té que" instead of "ha de" in Catalan, based on Castilian "tiene que.") Proper names of, e.g., TV programs, were counted as codeswitches, since these could be and sometimes are translated by speakers, but proper names of individuals were not.

¹⁶ The number of switches (switchpoints) and switched chunks (constituents) are not identical and do not stand in obvious relation to one another, because the first number counts both the point at which a second language is introduced into a turn, and

sentence or independent clause boundary. Fully 30% were syntactically complex intrasentential switches, often cutting across major constituent boundaries.

Code choices were very different in the approximately ten minute segment with the candidate, Cullell. Here, out of a total 215 turns of talk, Castilian appeared in only three of Pere's turns, five of his partner's (Ricki, in this case), and seven of the candidate's turns.¹⁷

Santi, the stand-in who was inexperienced in the improvisational linguistic strategies of the show, generally used considerably less Castilian than Pere, with 8%, 94%, and 98% of his turns containing Catalan. Moreover, Santi shows very little ability to codeswitch within a turn, and almost no intrasentential switching. In the three samples, Santi codeswitched within only 4%, 5%, and 9% of his turns, and most of the high of 9% occurred when he read from a Castilian newspaper.¹⁸

PERE'S CODESWITCHING STRATEGIES

This analysis concentrates on the codeswitching strategies of Pere, the principal personality of the program, but I will note some contrasts to

the point, should it occur, at which there is a return to the first language. Constituents, on the other hand, are counted only once. The first number is not simply double the second because in many cases, the speaker does not switch back to the first language within a turn, but rather starts in one and ends in another.

¹⁷ Pere, in talking with the candidate, once used a Castilian formulaic phrase, after some hesitation and disfluency. The second time he used Castilian was to affirm an epigram the candidate quoted in Castilian. And the third was in what Bakhtin calls a "character zone," in this case a satirizing sketch of the Spanish minister of finance, Carlos Solchaga.

The candidate's uses of Castilian were what Clyne (1967) and Auer (1984) have called transfers rather than codeswitching. That is, finite chunks are imported into a Catalan utterance, and they never for a moment threaten Catalan as the medium of conversation, to which the discourse will return once the transferred unit is completed. They exemplify Bakhtin's category of the "objectivized word," where a voice is typified and assigned to a particular kind of speaker. So, Cullell quotes a Catalan Socialist opponent, Obiols, in Castilian. When speaking of Alfonso Guerra, he uses the Castilian pronunciation of Guerra's title. Cullell also uses the Castilian epigram while describing Guerra's foibles, and directly comments on that Castilian voice, objectivizing it:

"un clima molt recollit, molt fosc, eh? *Allo que diuen* 'clima de marear la perdiz.' *Que diuen a Madrid, diu,* 'Como está hoy?' *'Pues hoy tiene la clima de marear la perdiz.'*"

In Cullell's representation, the voice of the Socialists, even those in Barcelona, is Castilian, the voice of Madrid.

¹⁸ Because Ricki appeared in only a small portion of the segments analyzed, his style is not discussed here. But in the analyzed portion it involved more Castilian than Santi's and Pere's (63% of his turns) and less intrasentential, more between-turn codeswitching than Pere's.

the speech styles of other participants as well as to Eugenio.¹⁹ From the figures given above, we can see some significant differences between the style of Pere and the earlier codeswitching humor of Eugenio. Where Eugenio's most frequent language was Castilian, Pere's unmarked base language is Catalan, from which he ventures into Castilian for numerous interactional, referential, or rhetorical purposes. More importantly, where Eugenio placed a low information load on Catalan, Pere's audience must understand the Catalan language in order to appreciate his humor. This is noteworthy given the Castilian-language environment of this radio station; the news segments that alternate with the show are given in Castilian, and many listeners who call in do so in Castilian.²⁰

In comparison to Eugenio, Pere's conversational style represents not just increased frequency of Catalan –itself a signal of changes in the sociolinguistic context of Barcelona– but importantly different principles for allocating and exploiting the resources of the bilingual repertoire. There is a full range of types of switching in Pere's comedy, unlike Eugenio's performances, from apparent vocabulary lapses through markers of discourse structure and interactional moves to metaphorical messages that invoke associations of the languages with different social worlds. Taken together, these switches build a persona that basically speaks Catalan but cannot fully maintain it, drawing on Castilian as a resource to fulfill a variety of referential and social functions.

Example 2 shows a vocabulary lapse, indicated by hesitations and disfluency, filled by a transfer (Clyne 1967, Auer 1984) from Castilian. Example 3 contains an apparent production error that is corrected. In Example 4, we see a change in the base language that is probably triggered (Clyne 1967) by a Castilian proper name. And in 5, translation is used for message clarification, an often-reported function of codeswitching.

2. Tornar-li al Buquet el que li dic, el que li dec de de de adelantamientos de estos que dona el Buquet.

Pay back to Buquet what I say what I owe him of of of those advances that Buquet gives.

¹⁹ Pere is the principal personality not only because of Ricki's absence, but because Ricki started as a technician on Pere's show. He told me that he began by responding to Pere when he addressed Ricki occasionally. Little by little, Ricki talked more on the air over the years, until they had worked up a conversational routine, which they then took to the new radio station.

²⁰ According to the manager, this is the only portion of daily broadcasting on this station that is not pre-programmed or pre-recorded. The rest is music, sports and news in Castilian.

3. S: I cent mil pessetones per

P: de bolsa de viatge, de bossa de viatge...

S: And a hundred thousand big pesetas for

P: for travel bag, for travel bag

4. Abans, senyores i senyors, hem parlat de "Lavado Suavijana," perdona que vaya al tajo. Está en Toledo pero...

Earlier, ladies and gentlemen, we spoke about "Soft Wash," excuse me if I get on with the job. It's on Toledo [Street] but...

5. A les dinou hores, a las siete de la tarde, es una buena hora

At nineteen hours, at seven p.m., it's a good time

Beyond these simple errors, transferences and triggering, three major kinds of codeswitching phenomena appear repeatedly in this data, all making it significantly different from Eugenio's style. I will discuss these three phenomena in turn, using Goffman's concept of footing, Gumperz's metaphorical codeswitching, and finally Bakhtin's ideas of the voice and of hybrid and double-voiced utterances.

First, Pere uses alternation between the two languages to mark changes in footing or orientation toward the hearer or toward his own words. Eugenio used codeswitching to signal a change in footing, as well; most notably the move to reported speech. But Pere's use is far more frequent and complex syntactically, and he exploits language choice to index many more discourse functions than did Eugenio. Pere codeswitches to mark topic change (Ex. 6), topic as distinguished from comment or fresh talk as distinct from read or reported discourse (Ex. 7), and addressee change (Ex. 8).

6. Creo que con las crónicas taurinas lo hará mucho mejor, digo yo, vamos, porque si no; *Bueno!* Allavòrens moltíssimes gràcies a tota la gent maca...

I think he'll do much better with the bullfight reports, that's what I say, anyway, because if not, *Well!* So then, many thanks to all the beautiful people...

7. (Reading aloud from newspaper)

"Sólo el tres por ciento de los tratados experimentó una mejoría similar con la administración de" *no sé què, posa aquí, "placebos," no sé què és això. "Otros estudios," no sé què, no sé quants, "han probado con sesenta parejas," bueno, es veu que quan proben això, el seixanta per cent de la gent que ho prova aproximadament...*

"Only 3% of those treated experienced a similar improvement with the administration of" *I don't know what, it says here, "placebos," I don't know what that is.* "Other studies," *I don't know what, don't know how many,* "have tested sixty couples," *well, it seems that when they tested this, about 60% of those who tried it...*

8. *Perquè ahir m'ho va contar, aquest tio té torre, eh. Ai! Me explico yo por qué ligas tú tanto, eh!*

Because yesterday he told me, this guy has a house, eh? Hey! I understand how you pick up so many [women], eh!

In these uses, codeswitching signals the organization of discourse, in the conversation-analytic sense stressed by Auer, just as intonation, volume, or pitch changes might function. It does not signal meaning metaphorically, in Gumperz's sense, by invoking associations of a particular language with a larger social world of ethnic divisions and political context of action. Pere often uses codeswitching to emphasize a message purely through contrast, regardless of the language switched from or to. The same function that is served at one point by a switch from Castilian into Catalan can be served at another by a switch from Catalan into Castilian. So, in one interchange (Example 9) Pere inserts a Castilian "never" (*nunca*) into a Catalan sentence for emphasis, and seconds later inserts a Catalan "never" (*mai*) into a Castilian sentence, to the same effect:

9. *Sí però el Santi, n- nunca, no sé que passa que nunca porta un duro.*

Yes, but Santi, n-never, I don't know what's wrong but he never has a nickel.

.....

Tanto que sale y tanto que habla, y no habia estado en el Pilufa mai.

As much as he goes out and as much as he talks, and he'd never been to the Pilufa.

The addressee change in Example 8 is especially noteworthy in this respect. There Pere changes footing from telling the radio audience about Santi ("aquest tio") to addressing Santi directly, and he marks that footwork by switching from Catalan to Castilian, even though the audience is linguistically mixed while Santi's persona is clearly ethnolinguistically Catalan. This violates the tradition of recipient design or addressee specification as usually practiced in Barcelona, where interlocutor ethnolinguistic identity is the principal determinant of codeswitching.

The discussion thus far of individual switches does not adequately convey the complexity of Pere's codeswitching. Pere uses the two languages to mark numerous subtle changes of footing in elastic and dynamic ways. The extended passage in Example 10 illustrates.

EXAMPLE 10:

1 P: Ara, em va sapiguer greu, porque la verdad eh, *i ara t'ho dic una altra*
 2 *vegada, Toni*: Hay que ver, Toni, cómo te has envejecido, eh? Hay que
 3 ver, Toni, la cantidad de canas que te han salido y además, macho, has
 4 echado barriga, eh? Antes no estabas así, eh?

5 S: Ara caldria escoltar la versió del Toni.

6 P: Cómo te ha pasado el tiempo, *Toni*. Quina barbaritat! T'enrecordes
 7 cuando hacíamos el cuerpo a tierra a la primera? Ara cualquiera lo vuelve
 8 a hacer ésto. Curioso, eh? *Estaba allà el capità amb el pito* [pitu] *i vinga!*
 9 *Va...va...pip!* Tocava el pito, tothom a terra! *Pip!* P'arriba tothom! *Pip!*
 10 P'abajo! *Pip!* Ho passava molt bé amb el Toni. Ens anàvem, ens
 11 anàvem, ens anàvem allà al campament de Sant *Climient* [sic] de
 12 Sesebes, nos, nos escaqueàbams a un agujero de *bomba*, *i ens tiràvem*
 13 *la meitat, la meitat de la màñana tirats allà dintre l'agujero de bomba,*
 14 *deia el capitán, "Vamos a hacer guerrillas!" "A sus órdenes!"*

15 S: I vosaltres clapant.

16 P: *No! Yo*, nosaltres, no, perdona! Nosaltres ens fotiem allà a dintre per
 17 veure si venien els dolents. No veus que, quan hacían aquello de los
 18 ejercicios de guerrillas posaven, uns que anaven amb una coseta
 19 blanca *aquí*, que eran los buenos, y otros amb una coseta vermella
 20 *aquí*, que eran los malos...

1 P: Now, I felt bad, because the truth is, eh, *and now I'm going to tell you*
 2 *again, Ton*. You ought to see, Tony, how old you've gotten, eh? You
 3 ought to see, Tony, the number of gray hairs you've got, and what's
 4 more, man, you've gotten a belly, eh? You weren't like that before.

5 S: Now we should hear Toni's version.

6 P: What time has done to you, *Tony!* What a shame! Do you remember
 7 when we hit the ground, the first time? Now, neither one is going to do
 8 that again. Curious, eh? *There was the captain with his whistle and*
 9 *come on! Go, go, tweet!* He blew the *whistle*, everybody hit the
 10 ground! *Tweet!* Up, everybody! *Tweet!* Down! *Tweet!* I had a great
 11 time with Tony. We went, we went, we went there, to the camp at
 12 Sant *Climient* de Sesebes, we, we hid in a bomb crater *and we spent*
 13 *half, half the morning stretched out there in the bomb crater, the*
 14 *captain saying, "Let's do guerrilla practice!" "Yes, sir!"*

15 S: And you sound asleep.

16 P: *No! I, we, no, excuse me! We stuck ourselves in there to see if the bad*
 17 *guys were coming. Don't you see, when they did those war excercises,*
 18 *they put, some went with a little white thing here, they were they*
 19 *good guys, and the others with a little red thing here, they were they*
 20 *bad guys.*

The switches are so frequent in this passage that it might seem like what Scotton (1993b) calls codeswitching as an unmarked case. But it is not best understood as such, because for Scotton a community of speakers must share the norm of codeswitching as unmarked, or it becomes perforce marked. Moreover, a great proportion of the switches correlate to other linguistic indices of footing shift and thus respond to analysis as markers of footing.

In this account of a reunion with an old army buddy, Toni, the code changes along with changes in addressee, from the partner Santi, to the general radio audience, to the apostrophized Toni. It changes with deictic shifts in time frame or aspect, from the remembered past to the present and generic statements. It changes with multiple embedding of the speaker as animator, as remembered protagonist, as experiencer of emotions, and as commentator. The relations between the speaker and the apostrophized Toni are also multiply embedded: there is the Toni that Pere addresses, the Toni that Pere tells he's going to address, and Toni, protagonist of the narrative. All of these can be viewed as shifts in footing, and many are marked by codeswitches.

In line 1, Pere moves from reporting his feelings of the evening before in Catalan, to a generalizing comment in Castilian. He then switches immediately back to Catalan to signal a change to a different addressee, Toni. Pere then switches from Catalan to Castilian in line 2, as he shifts speech act, from announcing to Toni that he will tell him something, to the actual telling, all of which then takes place in Castilian.

In line 6, Pere returns to Catalan for a summary evaluative comment on the state of affairs he has just told Toni about. Another footing change in line 6, from this evaluative comment to a direct query to Toni, is not accompanied by a codeswitch, but Pere does switch to Castilian to mark the temporal change in line 7, from the "you," Toni of today to the "we" of the distant past. Back to Catalan with "ara" in line 7 for another evaluative comment in the present, although again there is not a complete codeswitch to accompany this footing. The predictable codeswitch does come in line 8 as Pere changes back from this evaluative meditation to a re-enactment of the army scene. While code choice is not entirely stable in this recounting, it remains predominantly in Catalan, until a shift of footing to reporting the speech of the captain is predictably marked by a codeswitch. In the final segment, codeswitching is again largely (though not entirely) accounted for by

footing shifts. A switch from directly addressing Santi – “*No veus que*” to explaining what happened in the past brings a (unstable) switch from Catalan to Castilian. Explanatory remarks – “*que eran los buenos/los malos*” are set off from the recounting by a codeswitch.

The switching in this passage rarely involves the metaphorical invocation of worlds associated with the language. Though we may suspect from the extended opening apostrophe that Toni is a Castilian-speaker, we would be reluctant to make this claim with certainty on the basis of code choices to address or speak about him throughout the passage. The world of army life, almost certainly a Castilian speaking world, is represented as much in Catalan as in Castilian. Instead of indexing social worlds and identities, contrasts in code index the complexly embedded structure of the discourse, and there is no one-to-one relation between a particular code and the discourse functions it serves (as was the case for Eugenio).

However, in addition to these ethnolinguistically neutral footing shifts, a second kind of codeswitching occurs in Pere’s talk that I did not find in Eugenio’s performances. Pere does also use the classical “metaphorical” switching described by Gumperz, and in fact for precisely the invocations of power it is most often found to create. My consultants, all young women, noted that the style of repartee was a very aggressive male style, which made them uncomfortable. For the two most characteristic activities of this aggressive style, showing off and insulting, Pere regularly switches to Castilian. Pere brags in Example 11, and he castigates Santi in Examples 12 and 13.

11. *De vegades dius, no t’ho creus, però veus tanta gent i dius, Pues, serà veritat que nos escucha mucha gente, ¿no?*

Sometimes you say, you don’t believe it, but you see so many people and you say, So, it must be true that a lot of people listen to us, no?²¹

12. *Ahir va – Clar! Es que, escolta, quien te ha dicho a ti que tienes que hablar. Tu cerrao! Que callao estás muchas veces más guapo!*

Yesterday was – Of course! It’s, listen, who told you to talk? You, shut up! You’re much better looking with your mouth closed.

²¹ There are two alternative interpretations of this example. First, that the relation of languages to functions is arbitrary, as in the analyses above, and that what is significant is the change of footing from introducing speech to actually reproducing it. The second is that it reveals the underlying linguistic identity of Pere’s persona, as one who thinks and feels in Castilian. Both are plausible and supported by other examples. But it will be seen later in the paper that professional fanfare is frequently carried out in Castilian.

13. **Tens el número?** Ai, como te has puesto hablar creía que tenías, leche!

Do you have the number? Ay, since you started to talk, I thought you had it, dammit!

Especially in his early appearances, Santi often missed the potential rhetorical force of Pere's uses of Castilian. He tended to treat Pere's scolding in Castilian as a switch in the base language of the conversation, and would simply follow Pere from language to language, as if there were no metaphorical message for him in the choices. In Example 14, when Santi ignores the implicit criticism and follows his codeswitch to Castilian, Pere as much as tells him that he had missed the point, then with a verbal shrug, changes the topic and the code. They are discussing arrangements for an afternoon public appearance on a day when Santi has arrived late for work:

14. **P: Eh! Avui, avui, eh?**

S: Avui agafaré l'helicòpter. L'helicòpter. Ho faré quan surt d'aquí.

P: Llegarás un poco más pronto que esta mañana, verdad?

S: Sí, lo intentaré, pero salgo a las seis del "Disco Ranking," eh?

P: Bueno, no, lo digo porque, eh, atenció, perquè aquesta tarda, molta atenció, público habitual...

P: Hey! Today, today, eh?

S: Today I'll take the helicopter. The helicopter. I'll do it when I leave here.

P: You'll get there a little earlier than this morning, right?

S: Yes, I'll try, but I get out of "Record Ranking" at six, eh?

P: Well, no, I say that because,uh, attention, because this afternoon, full attention, customary audience...

After a month of working together, however, Santi seems to have learned the metaphorical potential of Castilian for getting tough, and uses it himself:

15. **P: Sí, però el Santi, n - nunca, no sé que passa que nunca porta un duru. No?**

S: Mira, Pedro, quién pagó el último día en Masnou?

P: Yes, but Santi, n-never, I don't know what's wrong, but he never has a dime. You know?

S: Look, Peter, who paid the last time in Masnou?

In spite of these consistent associations, there are not just two social worlds invoked by the use of the two languages. Drawing on his Catalan and Castilian resources, Pere represents a number of different social positions or "voices" in Bakhtin's sense. Several features of the radio show are reminiscent of those discussed in Bakhtin's analysis of Rabelais (1984), and thus suggest the utility of a Bakhtinian approach.

Like the works that Bakhtin discusses, this performance is an intentional product, a form of art, albeit low art. It is also not only comedy, but parody, a genre explored in detail by Bakhtin, and polyglossic (macaronic, multilingual) parody at that. Finally, Pere's humor draws heavily on the language of the marketplace, particularly the hyperbolic kind of publicity adopted by Rabelais and considered in some detail by Bakhtin.

Hill (1985) shows that the interpretation of elements borrowed from a dominant linguistic system depends on both how these elements are integrated linguistically and how they are used socially. For Bakhtin it is intentions, not linguistic markers, that stratify language, i.e., create distinct voices. External linguistic markers are the deposits of that intentional process, and can only be understood by examining the specific conceptualization they have been given by an intention (1981: 292). Bakhtin classes all parody as "intentional dialogized hybrid," in which multiple languages and styles, or "voices," actively and mutually illuminate one another. In coming to terms with Pere's speech, we must recover from the linguistic traces not only the voice being parodied, but the parodying voice.

Pere primarily draws on a few, identifiable voices in Bakhtin's ideological sense; not all have equal status in his performances.²² The tracking of different voices is often easy in this case because Pere literally changes not just his language but also his vocal quality as he slips in and out of different personae or character zones.

Each ideological voice is identifiable not just by the language used, the accent, or style, but by a fusion of form and content. There seems to be little doubt that the personae most often projected by Pere, Ricki and Santi are Barcelona petty-bourgeoisie: the small shopkeepers ("botiguers") and their clients, the "people who go from grocery shop to grocery shop," in the words of one consultant, in their "little ties and neatly pressed pants," in the words of another.²³ The combination

²² Some I was able to recognize myself, largely because of their resemblance to other parodies I had heard earlier (rather than to the speech being parodied), such as the "pijo" radio character Tito B. Diagonal.

²³ Although there was considerable initial agreement on "petty bourgeois," and on the neighborhood where this kind of Barcelonin is most typically found (the Eixample), some argument followed about the exact class and geographical location of the

of a saturated Catalan accent and "typically Catalan" turns of phrase with Castilianisms is the primary cue. The following phrase was viewed by consultants as characteristic:

16. *Bueno, total! El que deia, perquè yo anava per la qüestió, perquè tot això ve a cuentu de "A Toda Gas," eh?*

Ok, so! As I was saying, because I was heading toward the issue, because all this came up on account of "At Full Speed" [business name].

Three salient elements signal the hybrid. There is a stereotypically Catalan pronunciation and use of "total" as a discourse marker. It is combined here with a Castilian-origin discourse marker, "bueno" [bueno], which is in wide use in Barcelona Catalan (Vila i Moreno n.d.). Finally, an extreme example of Castilian interference or borrowing stands out, "cuentu" with only superficial phonological catalanization, instead of the Catalan "compte."²⁴

The topic and content of the talk itself, as well as the form of conversational exchange, reinforce the identification of the Catalan petty-bourgeois voice. After listening to only three minutes of tape, one listener dissolved in laughter at the formulaic, non-referential nature of the exchange - "they can talk and talk and never say anything" - and confidently categorized the personae.

Pere and Ricki parodically invoke other Catalan symbols. Tinny sardana music is played in one of their most frequent jingles. The topics they speak of and the points of view they express toward them often reinforce not only the Catalan but the bourgeois image. Pere speaks of his wife at home in the "torre" (the detached single-family dwelling unit coveted by the middle class), ironing his clothes, preparing his meals, and recounting episodes from "Los Colbys."

In all, this principal voice in the show is a very recognizable voice, one that has Castilian in its Catalan, and a Catalan accent in its Castilian. Bakhtin distinguishes two types of "hybrids," mixtures of two social languages within a single utterance (1981:358). The Latin-German hybrid of "obscure people" parodied in a 16th century satire is not an intentional hybrid: "they write in the only way they can" (1981: 81). The same might be said of this Pere persona; as represented,

stereotype. The discussion among my informants reminded me of the simultaneous consensus and confusion about stereotypes of the "middle class," or the "yuppie" in the U.S. Disparagement may be shared, but then considerable disagreement follows about who actually belongs in that category.

²⁴ One consultant called this the speech of the "gent del techu": people who say "techu" for ceiling, or phonologically catalanize Castilian lexical and morphological forms like "techo," rather than using the authentic Catalan term "sostre."

he speaks in the only way he can. Unintentional, unconscious hybridization is one of the most important modes in the evolution of languages, but in such situations, the "mixture remains mute and opaque, never making use of conscious contrasts and oppositions" - thus it remains "single-voiced." Bakhtin contrasts this with the intentional hybrid of artistic creation, which similarly mixes elements from two language and worldview systems, but organizes them to speak to each other dialogically. Parody exaggerates and highlights the unintentional hybrids of "obscure people" (1981: 81).

The mixing of Catalan and Castilian by the petty bourgeois character as portrayed by Pere is not in itself a conscious hybrid, but is simply an index that establishes the unconsciously hybridized voice being parodied. The double-voicing, or comment, comes not in the mix of Catalan and Castilian within this character representation, but in Pere Bernal's ironizing, the sense that there is a second, "normal" voice, not heard, behind this voice.

A second, related persona is also heard, though much less frequently, through Pere's speech. This is the "pijo," also a bourgeois figure, but a Castilian-speaking *nouveau-riche* (who lives in a different neighborhood) - a bourgeois less petty, more upper middle class, who leans toward Madrid and Castile in political and cultural matters. For Pere (as for the radio character Tito B. Diagonal before him), this is always a tense, nasal Castilian-language voice, with an exaggeratedly open /a/ and closed /e/, and a fondness for adjectives like "extraordinario":

17. "Bueno. Extraordinario, de verdad!"

There are two other Bakhtinian voices or languages that Pere relies on heavily, one Castilian, the other Catalan, both of them languages of the marketplace. Both appear in the improvisational publicity for a variety of products, with each representing a different vision of the commercial world. The Catalan publicity voice is down to earth, stressing value for money and traditional virtues (Example 18), while the Castilian voice (Example 19) tends more toward an inflated, hyperbolic language of technology, public relations, and bureaucracy:²⁵

18. Plademar és tranquil! Plademar, la veritat és que tots son famílies...honestes, decentes i com cal, amb fills, i n'hi ha tranquil·litat, n'hi ha calma...

²⁵ See Laitin and Rodríguez 1992 for a related phenomenon in Barcelona journalism.

Plademar is quiet! Plademar, the truth is that they're all families - honest, decent families, as it should be, with children, and there's quiet, there's calm...

19. *Molta atenció, públic habitual...eh eh, centenares de miles de personas que habitualmente nos siguen en todos nuestros desplazamientos.*"

Your full attention, customary audience...uh, uh, hundreds of thousands of people who habitually follow us in all our travels...

In the drawn-out, shaggy-dog advertising spots, these two voices may interrupt each other:

20. *...que es veu que utilizen un sistema totalment nou i desconegut, de ignorat parador, que ell el la cera és és tèbia. No està calenta. En segon lloc: sistema ultra-ràpid, sistema nou en Espanya con cera tibia. ...además la primera vegada que van les senyores allà, la primera de totes, que poden (a)nar de les nou de la dematí, le, en Cerine le obsequian con un servicio de lavar y secar en al peluquería estilista de Cerine.*

You can see that they use an absolutely new and unknown system, of unknown whereabouts, which is the the the wax is is lukewarm. It's not hot. In second place, an ultrarapid, new system in Spain with lukewarm wax. ...and what's more, the first time the ladies go there, the very first time, and they can go from nine in the morning, she, in Cerine they bestow upon her a wash and dry treatment in the hairstyling salon of Cerine.

When these languages interpenetrate in this way, a struggle between them is sometimes given overt recognition through verbal play. In the following example, a Castilian voice of technology enters into a Catalan pitch that stresses good value. A Bakhtinian "translinguistic battle" ensues, waged over the term for "fiberboard." The Catalan voice begins to take over by phonologically recasting the Castilian technical term "aglomerado" as a partially catalanized barbarism, "aglomerado," until finally switching over to a morphologically Catalan "aglomerat":

21. P: *Moblefort. Mobles fets a mida, veu? De aglomerado de primera calidad y con molduras de haya!*

S: *L'aglomerat, d'on t'era? Un aglomerat especial, per això, no era un aglomerat corrent, oi?*

P: *De primera classe, del millor, vull dir, () es el mejor aglomerado, vull dir, es un aglomerado aglomerado. Que hay aglomerados y aglomerados. Hay aglomerados que fots un tornell dintre de l'aglomerat i cuando sacas el tornell dos vegades, ya ya ya...*²⁶

²⁶ The rather unusual catalanization of "tornillo" as *tornell* here is more evidence of the ongoing translinguistic battle.

- P: Moblefort. Furniture made to order, you see? Of prime quality fiberboard with beechwood moldings!
- S: The fiberboard, where was it from, by the way? It wasn't an ordinary fiberboard, right?
- P: First class, the best, I mean, it's the best *fiberboard*, I mean, it's a *fiberboard fiberboard*. There are *fiberboards* and *fiberboards*. There are *fiberboards* that you stick a *screw in the fiberboard* and when you take out the *screw* two times, already, already, already...

Interwoven with these basic voices are many others, all "double-voiced," that is, ironized by the performer's presentation, but there are differences in the form and degree of control of one voice over another. They may be the voices of absent interlocutors whose speech is projected, or simply contextual figures into whose character zones the conversation strays. So, in a discussion of the foibles of Alfonso Guerra, then the Vice-Secretary General of the Spanish Socialist party, a Madrileño (not an Andaluz) voice is exploited:

22. R: ara escolta, es veu que el tio té un èxit amb les dones [incredible]

P: [Això diuen] això diuen, això diuen

R: Però escolta, però escolta, se ve que se pasa, se pasaaa el día, *enu*

P: Sí, sí, sí, practicamente

R: Això m'entens, no?

P: En el complejo, en el complejo

R: Now listen, it seems that the guy has incredible success with women

P: They say that, they say that, they say that

R: But listen, but listen, it seems that he spends the day, he spends the day, uhhh

P: Yeah, yeah, yeah, practically

R: You understand me, no?

P: In the [apartment] complex, in the [apartment] complex

In this exchange, both Ricki and Pere use Castilian in the character zone of Guerra when describing his illicit sexual activities, using a Madrileño term for an apartment, which is not used even by Castilian speakers in Barcelona, according to my consultants.

Discussing a car trip, Pere tries to stop Santi from saying how fast he was actually driving:

23. S: Sí, íbamos haciendo equilibrios de velocidad, eh?

P: Home! No, no, no, un moment! Un moment!

S: No, però, escolta'm

P: Íbamos a la velocidad que se puede ir en la autovía de Castelldefels. Porque en la autovía, en la autovía es ciento diez.

S: És clar, per 'xò, que de cop i volta anàvem a cent vint i quan portaves trenta segons a cent-vint, puaaa, un altre cop a vuitanta, eh? Y després un altre cop a cent vint, un altre cop a vuitanta.

P: *Sst!* Cent deu! Porque en autovía, en autovía es ciento diez.

S: Bueno, cent deu es la única que

P: No, no no! Que estan escoltant els del tràfic, i no, no

S: Yeah, we were doing speed acrobatics, eh?

P: Man! No, no, no, [wait] a moment, a moment!

S: No, but listen,

P: We were going at the speed at which you can go on the Castelldefels highway. Because on the highway, on the highway, it's 110.

S: Sure, for that, suddenly we went 120, and when you've been going 120 for thirty seconds, puaaa, another time at 80, eh? And then another time at 120, another time at 80.

P: *Ssh!* 110! Because on the highway, on the highway it's 110.

S: Well, 110 is the only one that

P: No, no, no! The guys from traffic are listening, and no, no

As a consultant nicely put it, here Pere uses "the language of the person from whom you would expect to hear these words," an imagined audience of traffic controllers who might be listening. "La autovía de Castelldefels," she claimed, sounds like an official way of referring to the highway, used by the Guardia Civil. As a police force of the central Spanish government, the Guardia Civil uses Castilian (although individual members may well speak Catalan). By switching to the official voice of Castilian to make the patently false claim that they were observing the speed limit, Pere attempts to signal Santi with a kind of verbal wink. But once again, Santi seems not to recognize the intended meaning and the possible interactional function of a codeswitch.

Pere's use of the two languages is like a man riding a bucking bronco. Much of the time he exploits and dominates Castilian, as in

Example 22, but it can have such vivid life and force of its own, as in Example 23, that one fears he will be thrown at any moment. Of course, Pere is actually more like a man riding a mechanical bull at a cowboy bar; the Castilian bull's life of its own may be merely simulated. We know that the animator, Pere Bernal, behind the persona, Pere, is in considerable control of his linguistic production, since he doesn't codeswitch or show heavy Castilian interference in his encounters with the politicians.

LOOKING THROUGH A WINDOW ON CONSCIOUSNESS, DARKLY

What are the politics of this polyglossic comedy? Bakhtin might tell us that both the parodic and the polyglossic form open up possibilities of subversion of authoritative discourse (although he also notes (1981) that modern parody has lost the liberating and productive force he saw in earlier uses). But such subversion needs to be contextualized; we must look beyond the form to its use. And we can get a better idea of the limits of such subversion if we keep in mind the appearance of the political candidate on the show.

There are several turns to the interpretation of this hybrid, and the art—the comic art and the political art—of this performance is that it speaks on all these levels at once. First, these are Catalans, presenting themselves as Catalans, speaking primarily in Catalan and with a heavy Catalan accent when they don't. This is occurring in an environment where Castilian has long dominated, and importantly, where Castilian still dominates. This radio station is primarily a Castilian-medium station, and while no figures are available, it is likely that over all its programming it has a high proportion of Castilian speakers in its audience.²⁷ So, at a first level of meaning, this is an example of Catalan penetrating the Castilian-speaking world.

But the Catalan voices are of course subject to the double-voicing of parody. The humorous themes and the linguistic exaggeration tell us that this is an ironical performance, and a parody of the stereotyped speakers. At a second interpretive step, then, the power of this Catalan voice is undercut and controlled by a monologizing parody.

In a third interpretive moment, though, we can ask how to understand the hybrid message of homage and disapprobation in parody. Two particular points can be raised here: first, the parody of

²⁷ In 1988, I attempted to get marketing information about the show's audience from the radio station, but the manager insisted no such information existed. Those who called in to the show were often Castilian speakers.

the stereotyped Catalan is quite gentle. Secondly, as one consultant pointed out, Catalans are proud of their sense of irony and an ability to laugh at themselves (although not at Catalonia and Catalan) allegedly not found among Castilians, Madrileños especially. Thus, a Catalan parody of Catalans is in a perverse way a celebration of Catalanness.

Moreover, as Bakhtin also found, while in theory it is possible to identify the parodying voice, the unheard "normal language" in the background of a parody, in practice it is often very difficult (1981: 75). And that is the case here. Is it a Castilian or a Catalan voice and worldview that comment on these petty-bourgeois Catalans with their impure linguistic code? This is a double-edged satire, of both the speaker of bastardized Catalan and the pretensions of the Catalan language to hegemony; the ironizing voice is ambiguous.

Pere distances himself from both Catalan and Castilian authoritative, monologizing voices. The Pere persona is a bourgeois cynic, consistently skeptical about political process, whatever its stripe. His is the parodic position of the joker, which Bakhtin describes as shot through with a profound distrust of any unmediated human discourse (1981:401). So, in the following example, within a few minutes he establishes both a critical view of what he treats as senseless cultural Catalanism, and an anti-Madrid sentiment in relation to sports fans (whose allegiances resonate into political spheres beyond the sports arena).

In this exchange, Santi has said that he was shocked to see a film in Castilian on TV₃ (the Catalan-language channel) the night before; Pere responds that to him this seems normal:

12. *perquè ya el coneixes, i com que aquí la gent també ho entén pues em sembla molt normal el que han fet, molt normal, i estic totalment d'acord. Això, crec que demostra que les coses han de fer amb el cap i no amb el cul, que de vegades es fan amb el cul.*

"because you already know it [the actor's voice], and since people here understand it [Castilian] too, well, what they've done strikes me as very normal, very normal, and I agree completely. I think this shows that you have to do things with your head, not your ass, and sometimes they do them with their ass."

Here Pere asserts that Catalans can and should use Castilian as a resource that they already control, that to do less would be a stupid waste. This polemic is directed against the Catalan agenda for linguistic hegemony. But from here, he returns to reading the newspaper and immediately launches into a criticism of the Madrid football team and fans (ostensibly directed at the Castilian-speaking radio engineer, Lázaro).

13. *Bueno*, lamento decirles que el Madrid ha quedado eliminado deee [laugh] esto, lamento decirles que el Madrid ha quedado eliminado de-[reading] "El público tira objetos a los alemanes que montan su show." Es curiós, per això! El Madrid sempre té que acabar malament, eh? Son malos perdedores, aquesta gent, eh? Son malos perdedores. Dones compte, nen? Dones compte com és aquesta gent que no saben perdre? Lázaro? Madridista, més que Madridista! Et dones compte com sou vosaltres?

"Ok, I'm sorry to inform you that the Madrid team has been eliminated from [laugh] this, I'm sorry to inform you that Madrid has been eliminated from [reading] "The spectators threw objects at the Germans who were performing." It's strange, that way. Madrid always has to end up badly, you know? They're sore losers, these people, eh? They're sore losers. Do you realize that, young man? Do you realize that these people don't know how to lose? Lázaro? Madrid fan, worse than Madrid fan! Do you realize what you all are like?"

Expressed in these overt positions, the ironizing voice of the program is neither Catalanist nor Castilianist, in line with neither official Castilian or official Catalan ideology. It appears, rather, to be an anti-ideological voice, its humor the kind of anti-rite, questioning hierarchy *per se*, that Douglas and Bakhtin expect.

However, in a fourth interpretive turn, this apparently common-sense, anti-ideological voice must be heard in its context. That context is a Castilian-language radio station when Catalonia is attempting to catalanize the public sphere. The unmarked or unexpressed, thus perceived "non-ideological" position in this Castilian-language medium is certainly not Catalanist, and in fact is tinged with resistance to the Catalanist position. Moreover, the audience undoubtedly includes a large number –if not a majority– of Castilian speakers, for whom the "common-sense" position will not be that of Catalan nationalism.²⁸ Thus, the apparent anti-politicism and anti-authoritarianism implied in the parody might ultimately be targeted more at Catalanism, masking an acceptance of a continuing Castilian hegemony.

But what is the candidate of the Catalan nationalist party doing on such a show, if it has an anti-Catalan tinge? The petty-bourgeois Catalans being parodied are the prototypical supporters of the *Convergència* party. Politicians, of course, will go almost anywhere that they might find an audience. I would argue, however, that

²⁸ As Milton Azevedo points out (personal communication), there also may well be Catalans among the audience who do not take the Catalan nationalist position as common sense.

Cullell's Catalan presence exploits what Bakhtin calls a "side-long" glance at the macaronic speech that typifies the show. This allows Cullell to reach an audience whom he can't address directly in his own voice, for a nationalist candidate must always have a clear Catalan voice. Using Catalan with a glance or nod at the polyglossic discourse surrounding him on the program, the candidate can communicate that his is not just a party of Catalan nationalist ideologues.

As with *Eugenio*, the ambiguities of this show's strategies may well allow for the recruitment of a broad audience that takes conflicting meanings from the humor.²⁹ It is not only in Barcelona that the social meaning of parody and humor that plays on ethnicity is fraught with ambiguity. In the U.S., for example, there was considerable debate about the significance of Bill Cosby's apparently innocuous television comedy, raising the question of whether it was really for whites or blacks. Humor subsists on duality, and paradox is an essential dimension of the semiotics of play (Bateson 1972).

At the time of *Eugenio*'s success, at the brink of autonomy, Castilian was clearly the dominant language in mass media and public institutions. The languages were only beginning to share the same public space, and their incipient confrontation in the public repertoire was refracted in *Eugenio*'s rudimentary and semantically unchallenging codeswitching strategies. Seven years later, Catalan was making a strong counter-hegemonic bid for institutional dominance. The success of this bid created some contradictions of institutional legitimacy. Policy changes that made Catalan the official voice of the community also loosened the bonds of ethnic significance that had traditionally buttressed its integrity and survival. An increased security of the Catalan language allows the public display of breaches of its integrity. This is only a seeming paradox, since socially weaker

²⁹ To ascertain the effective social meaning of the parody, it would be necessary to know more about the audience (both intended and de facto). But as I noted above, I have been unable to find any data. The station manager and others I spoke with judged the audience to be taxi drivers, shop personnel, people driving to work, and housewives - people at liberty to listen to a mid-morning radio program. The young and middle-aged Catalan professionals I have spoken to are not usually familiar with the show, though some told me they have heard it in shops or taxis. Listeners sometimes called in, and those I heard invariably presented themselves as housewives. Several of them were Castilian speakers, one of whom consultants judged to be an immigrant from southern Spain.

The products advertised - no matter how parodically - can also be an index for judging the audience. While these ranged from condos to car washes and cured meats, Pompeu Casanovas (personal communication) notes that many are for products that require considerable income: expensive restaurants, jewelry and clothing stores. This would signal that the group parodied may also be the targeted audience. Contrary to the interpretation I have given above, the repeated appearance of the *Convergència* candidate on the show might be taken as further evidence that this is a case of the Catalan petty-bourgeoisie talking to and about itself.

languages are often the ones sanctified by displays of purism (Hill and Hill 1980). Through the slow but relatively successful efforts at normalization of Catalan in the public sphere, Catalan became not only more public but more secular, and therefore violable, and the ruptures of new forms of codeswitching in public media accompanied this change.

The interpenetration of voices in Pere's humor, unlike Eugenio's, comically models a situation in which there's no unambiguous status hierarchy for the two languages. The greater complexity of the later sociolinguistic humor is a refracted representation of the increased reality and complexity of the public relationship between Catalan and Castilian, a reality which inevitably demands a renegotiation of the symbolic value of the bilingual repertoire. In this humorous jousting between languages, each punctures and deflates the pretensions of the other. The significant development is that they meet here on a live battleground, and the winner is not foreordained.

KATHRYN A. WOOLARD

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

REFERENCES

- AUER, J. C. P. *Bilingual Conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1984.
- AZEVEDO, Milton "Code-switching in Catalan Literature." *Antipodas* V (1993): 223-32.
- BAKHTIN, M. M. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Tran. C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Ed. Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- BAKHTIN, M. M. *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- BATESON, Gregory. "A Theory of Play and Fantasy." *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1972. 177-93.
- BIERBACH, Christine. "Bilingual Communication and Code-switching in a Barcelona Neighbourhood." *Papers for the Symposium on Code-Switching in Bilingual Studies: Theories, Significance and Perspectives*. Network on Code-Switching and Language Contact. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation, 1991.
- BLOM, Jan-Peter and John J. Gumperz. "Social Meaning in Linguistic

- Structures: Codeswitching in Norway." *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. Ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972. 407-34.
- BOIX FUSTER, Emili. "Language Choice and Language Switching Among Young People in Barcelona: Concepts, Methods and Data." *Papers for the Workshop on Concepts Methodology and Data*. Network on Code-Switching and Language Contact. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation, 1990.
- BOIX FUSTER, Emili. *Triar No És Trair*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1993.
- CALSAMIGLIA, Helena and Amparo Tuson. "Use of Languages and Code Switching in Groups of Youths in a *Barri* of Barcelona." *IJSL* 47 (1984): 105-21.
- CLYNE, Michael. *Transference and Triggering*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967.
- DOUGLAS, Mary. *Implicit Meanings*. London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1975.
- GAL, Susan. "Codeswitching and Consciousness in the European Periphery." *American Ethnologist* 14 (1987): 637-53.
- GOFFMAN, Erving. *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.
- GUMPERZ, John J. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- HELLER, Monica, Ed. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988.
- HILL, Jane J. "The Grammar of Consciousness and the Consciousness of Grammar." *American Ethnologist* 12 (1985): 725-37.
- HILL, Jane J. and Kenneth C. Hill. "Mixed Grammar, Purist Grammar, and Language Attitudes in Modern Nahuatl." *Language in Society* 9 (1980): 321-48.
- LAITIN, David D. and Guadalupe Rodríguez Gómez. "Language, Ideology, and the Press in Catalonia." *American Anthropologist* 94 (1992): 9-30.
- LÜDI, Georges. "Les marques transcodiques: regards nouveaux sur le bilinguisme." *Devenir Bilingue-Parler Bilingue*. Ed. Georges Lüdi. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987. 1-21.
- MEEUWIS, Michael and Jan Blommaert. "The 'Markedness Model' and the Absence of Society: Remarks on Codeswitching." *Multilingua* 13 (1994): 387-423.
- MCCLURE, Erica and Montserrat Mir. "Spanish-English Codeswitching in the Mexican and Spanish Press." *J. Linguistic Anthropology* 5 (1995): 33-50.
- MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol. *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993a.

- MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol. *Social Motivations for Codeswitching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993b.
- NUSSBAUM, Luci. "Plurilingualism in Foreign Language Classroom in Catalonia." *Papers for the Workshop on Impact and Consequences: Broader Considerations*. Network on Code-Switching and Language Contact. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation, 1990. 141-65.
- POPLACK, Shana. "Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in Spanish y Termino en Español: Toward a Typology of Codeswitching." *Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic Aspects*. Ed. Jon Amastae and Lucía Elías-Olivares. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. 230-63.
- PUJOLAR COS, Joan. *Language Choice Patterns in Equal Encounters Among Bilingual University Students in Catalonia*. M.A. thesis, Lancaster University, 1991.
- SIEGEL, Jeff. "How to Get a Laugh in Fijian: Code-switching and Humor." *Language in Society* 24 (1995): 95-110.
- SILVERSTEIN, Michael. "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology." *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*. Eds. R. Clyne, W. Hanks, C. Hofbauer. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society, 1979. 193-247.
- TUSÓN, Amparo. "Catalan-Spanish Code-Switching in Interpersonal Communication." *Papers for the Workshop on Impact and Consequences: Broader Considerations*. Network on Code-Switching and Language Contact. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation, 1990. 167-87.
- VILA I MORENO, Xavier. "Transcodic Markers and Functional Distribution in Catalan." Unpublished ms., Dept. of Catalan Philology, University of Barcelona.
- VOLOŠINOV, V. N. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. New York: Seminar Press, 1973.
- WOOLARD, Kathryn A. "Codeswitching and Comedy in Catalonia." *Papers in Pragmatics* 1 (1987): 106-22.
- WOOLARD, Kathryn A. *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.