The standardizations of Catalan: Latin to present day[*]

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In this study, using Haugen's (1972) model of language standardization, we argue that the standardization of Catalan is best understood to be two distinct processes of standardization following a common trajectory, with the second process being informed, though not determined, by the first. While much ink has been spilt discussing the nineteenth-century "re-birth" of Catalan and the linguistic normalization following the death of Franco, comparatively little work has been done on the early development of Catalan as the standard language of the medieval Kingdom of Aragon and less still examining both of these processes.

1. Introduction

The standardization of Catalan presents some interesting and unique features that distinguish it from the processes of standardization that other Romance varieties underwent. Due to the imposition of Castilian as the official language in much of the Catalan-speaking territory in the fifteenth century, the standardization process was interrupted and, lacking the centralizing force of a state-sponsored language, Catalan varieties began to

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diverge from one another. It was not until almost half a millennium later, in the mid-nineteenth century that there was any cohesive movement towards the reunification and standardization of Catalan varieties. In this paper, we argue that the standardization of Catalan is best understood to be two distinct processes of standardization following a common trajectory, with the second process being informed, though not determined, by the first process. While much ink has been spilt discussing the nineteenth century "re-birth" of Catalan and the process of linguistic normalization following the fall of Franco, comparatively little work has been done on the early development of Catalan as a standard language and less still examining both of these processes. This paper aims to fill this gap by discussing the standardization of Catalan beginning with its differentiation from Latin and continuing to the modern day. By looking at the standardization of Catalan from its earliest formation until now, we can better understand a number of concepts relevant to linguistic research, among them: the variety of standardization processes which languages may undergo, the ideologically-defined nature of language, the development of pluricentric languages, and diglossia.

Catalan is a language spoken by some 9 million people largely based along the coastal zone of the northwestern corner of the Mediterranean and the eastern Pyrenees (Pradilla Cardona 2011). The *Països Catalans*, the geo-historical regions where Catalan is spoken, are broken up into a number of polities comprising four states and, in Spain, four sub-state administrative units. The majority of Catalan speakers live along the eastern coast of Spain, largely in the Autonomous Communities of Catalonia, the Valencian Community, and the Balearic Islands, with smaller communities residing along the border of the adjacent Autonomous Communities of Aragon and Murcia. Outside of Spain, Catalan is spoken in North Catalonia, corresponding to much of the French department of Pyrénées-Orientales, the Principality of Andorra - the only political entity where Catalan is the sole official language, and the Italian city of l'Alguer in Sardinia (Fabra, Costa Carreras, & Yates 2009). The many political borders dividing the *Països Catalans* both at the state and local levels has had a strong impact on the development of standard varieties as we will see most clearly in the section on the second process of standardization. This has led to the creation of multiple standards, each corresponding to a political entity. Despite the geographic spread of its

speakers, mutual intelligibility is rather high between the speakers of the different Catalan varieties (Hualde 1991).

2. Methodology

This paper will employ Haugen's (1972) model of language standardization as a tool for understanding and organizing the various processes and goals involved in the formation of a standard language and their interaction with socio-political forces. Haugen isolates four aspects involved in the standardization process: selection of a norm, codification of form, elaboration of function, and acceptance by the community. *Selection* of a norm: choosing, among a given number of varieties understood as belonging to the same language, one variety to form the basis of the standard. *Codification*: the development of the language, in particular, the development of orthographic standards as well as various syntactic and morphological constructions. *Elaboration* of function looks at the extension of a language to different domains. *Acceptance* by the community focuses on the response of the community to this standard and their eventual, overt and covert, acknowledgement of the standard variety as the 'base form' of the language.

It must be stressed that these aspects not be seen as discrete categories as they are simultaneously occurring and as each is, to some extent, dependent upon the others. Additionally, so long as a variety continues to exist ideologically as a discrete linguistic system, the standardization process can be argued to be ongoing. Both Lodge (1993) and Haugen emphasize the continuing nature of language standardization. Given changes external of a language, that language as a standard must respond and morph itself to them. In terms of the Catalan case, we can understand the second process of standardization as continuing to the present day.

Haugen's model is useful for understanding language standardization due to its success in teasing apart and categorizing the processes involved. Additionally, as Haugen's model has been implemented by researchers working on the Germanic languages (Deumert & Vandenbussche 2006), French (Lodge 1993), Spanish (Penny 2000), and Basque (Hualde & Zuazo 2007), among others, insightful comparisons can be made between

the standardizations of these languages and the standardizations of Catalan and larger conclusions can be drawn with respect to the trajectory of language standardization in Europe.

3. From Latin to Catalan

The origins of the Catalan language are in the mountainous region that straddles the border of Spain and France where various vernacular forms of Latin, often - though not without criticism - referred to as *Vulgar Latin*, developed following the collapse of the Roman Empire. This region was politically organized as the Marca Hispanica, a series of independent lordships within the Carolingian Empire created by Charlemagne as a buffer between the Frankish Kingdom to the North and the Ummayad controlled Al-Andalus to the South (Vallverdú 1981). At this time in the ninth century, centers within the Carolingian Empire, including Catalonia, acknowledged a distinction between Church Latin pronunciation and commonplace Romance vernacular (Wright 2002).

Catalonian Romance at this point in its development was largely undifferentiated from other 'Vulgar Latin' varieties spoken to the North, in present-day France, which presently make up Occitan languages (Moran 2004). Until the eleventh or twelfth century, Latin functioned as the language of writing and culture, while Romance functioned as the everyday language of the largely illiterate populace (Vallverdú 1981). Indeed, this was the situation seen in all areas where a Romance variety was spoken at this time. Despite the clear structural differences that had developed by this point, speakers understood their spoken varieties to be merely corrupted forms of Latin that differed geographically (Wright 2002) in a way which is reminiscent of the modern-day situation of Modern Standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic varieties in the Arab world. The spoken Romance variety was often known merely as *Romance* and these spoken varieties were not regarded as separate linguistic systems, but rather spoken variants of Latin. As Wright states:

> The term 'Romance' never suffered such referential impoverishment. That is why it is and was a useful term. Because of its vagueness, rather than in spite of it, it was used to refer to the

common language in use before the conceptual fragmentation of Romance into separate Romance languages – that is, it was in use once coherent texts first began to be written intentionally in a new way, before such geographical labels such as 'French' or 'Castilian'. (Wright 2002:39)

These Romance varieties existed in a large language continuum spanning from Romania to Portugal latitudinally and from Sicily to Belgium longitudinally without any clear bundling of isoglosses as we might see today (Wright 2002; Ferrando & Nicolás 2005). This can be attributed to the lack of centralized states, which were instrumental in the creation of separate and distinct national and linguistic identities. Indeed, despite the centralization of languages that we see, a weaker form of the Romance continuum exists to the modern day. As Lodge (1993:19) states with regards to Occitan and Catalan, among other languages, "[t]hese varieties merge imperceptibly the one into the other, but despite a high degree of mutual intelligibility, the communities which speak them frequently insist that they speak 'separate languages'… Languages serve as more than vehicles for communication of information – they commonly act as symbols of identity". Hence, these linguistic divisions had and have less to do with how internally different the varieties had become and more with their ideologically constructed statuses as unique linguistic systems separate from the other varieties. We see now that the idea of a standard language is an ideologically-defined idealization which imposes political or cultural boundaries and mistakes them for linguistic ones. Following from this, we may say that a language, as such, only exists insofar as the ideological construction of that language exists.

4. The first process of standardization

4.1 Selection

Haugen defines the selection process as one which strives for "minimal variation in form" (1972:107). This requires that either an existing variety be chosen as the form on which the standard would be created, as in the case of Parisian being adopted in France (Lodge 1993) or that a *koiné* be

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created, adopting elements of various varieties and combining them into one form which did not previously exist, as in the case of Standard Basque (Hualde & Zuazo 2007).

Use of the vernacular in writing emerged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Catalonia. Most notable amongst the extant early documents written in Catalan are the *Homelies d'Organyà*, a series of sermons written in the second half of the twelfth century in a Western Catalan variety showing the influence of Occitan (Tavani 1994:45-46; Vallverdú 1981:42). The influence of Occitan on the language can be explained by the older literary tradition of Occitan and the political, economic, cultural, and linguistic ties between the two languages.

By the twelfth century, writing in Catalan had become a much more common occurrence. Early Catalan showed a quick movement towards a unified form as it was used for official purposes by the Crown. This standard was based on the varieties spoken in cities of northeastern Catalonia, particularly Barcelona (Penny 2000:199), which, at the time, was the center of Catalan politics, culture, and economics. The promotion of this variety as the standard is due largely to the efforts of the Royal Chancery, which had developed by the thirteenth century during the reign of Jaume I and worked to produce a body of literature in the vernacular languages of the territories held by the Crown of Aragon (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós 2005:108-10). As a result of this standardization, we see writers forsaking their own varieties for that of the Chancery to such an extent that it can be difficult to tell the region from which the writer hails on purely linguistic evidence alone (111).

The choice of Barcelona's speech as the norm for Catalan is expected given the political, cultural, and economic preeminence of this city in the Crown of Aragon. As Haugen (1972:109) states, "[i]f a recognized elite already exists with a characteristic vernacular, its norm will almost inevitably prevail". The selection of *barcelonès* as the standard form closely mirrors what was seen in the standardization processes occurring with neighboring Romance languages. The status of Paris as the location of the French Court led to it being the basis for what was developed into standard French (Lodge 1992). Similarly standard Spanish was based on the varieties spoken in Toledo and later Madrid, while Portuguese

coalesced around the varieties spoken in Coimbra and later Lisbon (Penny 2000:198-9). The choice of the selected variety in these languages reflects the movement of cultural and political centers within these empires.

4.2 Codification

Codification is understood by Haugen (1972) to refer to the process by which a language is constrained by a set of guidelines that govern which forms are perceived to be correct as well as the language's orthographic representations. This involves the production of grammars, the creation of orthographic norms, and lexicography, among other things.

The previously-mentioned *Homelies d'Organyà* show a number of features which are Occitan in origin, one of which is orthography (Tavani:45-6). This suggests that the writer of the documents was already literate in Occitan and applied those principles to Catalan (Wright 1982:149). Given Occitan's earlier standardization, this might be expected, particularly given the close relationship between Catalan and Occitan which would allow for the principles of writing in Occitan to be applied to Catalan without significant changes. This continued for over a century; it was not until after Aragon lost its provinces in Provence following the Battle of Muret in 1213 that a new orthography developed (Wright 2002). In terms of internal development of the language, this largely followed the classical model as those writers first using Catalan had been previously trained in Latin. Increasingly complex syntactic and morphological developments, heretofore unnecessary in spoken Catalan, were developed to accommodate the literary language (Tavani:62-4).

The first fully developed dictionary of Catalan, the *Liber Elegantiarum*, was published in 1489 by Joan Esteve and was the first of its kind for a Romance language. It had been preceded in publication by a number of smaller lexical listings and a small Catalan-Latin glossary. It is around the same time that we see the earliest usage guides published (Tavani:136).

4.3 Elaboration

Haugen defines elaboration of function as referring to the development of a language for "maximal variation in function", that is, its development for use in different domains (107). With respect to Catalan, the most important trends in its elaboration are (a) its gradual displacement of Latin as the language of prose both in official documents as well as in literary and scientific endeavors and (b) its replacement of Occitan as the language of poetry.

Prior to the eleventh-century use of Catalan in documents, territories under the control of the Crown of Aragon were characterized by extreme diglossia, which is defined as:

> A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language... there is a very divergent, highly codified... superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson 1959:244-5)

These two varieties are referred to as the H (high) language and the L (low) language, respectively (234). Under this system, the various spoken vernaculars (Catalan, Aragonese, and Occitan) occupied the position of the L language while Latin occupied the position of the H language. This diglossic situation was typical of Romance-speaking regions prior to the adoption and standardization of a vernacular form. From the eleventh century onwards we see a crumbling of diglossia in Catalonia, as the use of Latin slowly began to give way to the use of Catalan (as a vehicle for prose) and Occitan (as a vehicle for poetry), with Catalan as the primary written language of the State (Vallverdú 1981). Writers like Ramon Llull increased the prestige of the Catalan language by writing philosophical, literary, and scientific texts in the language. His efforts, along with those of his contemporaries, and the sponsorship of the Crown allowed Catalan to develop the prestige necessary for continued efforts in this language. As the prestige of Catalan increased, it gradually began to supplant Latin

as the H language of the Crown. Ferrando Francés and Nicolás Amorós (2005:113) argue that the development of Romance varieties as written forms is tied to the development of the bourgeoisie in these countries.

With respect to poetry, Occitan and the model of the troubadours lasted much longer than did Latin. As such, even those writers who wrote prose in Catalan, which was free of any marked influence of Occitan, like the aforementioned Llull, wrote verse in Occitan (de Riquer 1964). The shift from Occitan to Catalan was a gradual one beginning with Catalan-influenced Occitan being accepted. This gave way to Catalan which showed a marked Occitan influence (de Riquer 1964). This permeability of each language to the influence of the other underscores the strong connection between the two languages. It was not until the fifteenth century that a Catalan largely free of Occitan influence was used in poetry (Tavani:119). The use of an (arguably) different variety of Romance for poetry was not unusual at this time; between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Galician functioned as the language of poetry of the Kingdom of Castile, while Castilian and Latin were the primary languages of prose (Gutiérrez García 2011:3).

Castilian political domination in Catalan-speaking territories was initiated with the death of Martí l'Humà in 1410. The dynastic union of Castile and Aragon in 1469 solidified Castile's political control (Sastre 2000). The linguistic outcome of Castilian hegemony was a massive reduction in the domains to which Catalan was assigned (Tavani:131-5) and the imposition of another diglossia. From this point forward and until the mid-nineteenth century, Catalan largely remained an L language, while Castilian and Latin (though decreasingly) functioned as the H languages (Penny 2000). It was this loss of function, which, in effect, required that a second process of standardization be done during the nineteenth century *Renaixença*. As Catalan had lost its status as an H language, much work needed to be done in order to develop the language to account for the changes, both linguistic and social, which had occurred in the intervening 400 years.

4.4 Acceptance

Acceptance of a standard, according to Haugen (1972:109), is the process by which a "body of users" adopts the standard and puts it to use. With respect to the early standardization of Catalan, this development can be seen in the rather uniform use of the standards brought about by the Royal Chancery. The result of royal patronage for the creation of a body of literature in a normalized form of Catalan resulted in the creation of a literary model for other writers to learn and copy. The increase in the depth and variety of Catalan literature would then augment and reinforce the belief that such a style of writing was 'correct'.

Haugen (1972:110) argues that a language should be understood as, among other things, offering the symbolic significance of a national identity to its users. Lodge (1993:25) continues this line of thought by stating that a new standard language "becomes a symbol of [a] new 'national' identity, serving the twin purposes of internal cohesion and external distinction". This is important to consider because, given that the early writers in Catalan almost universally knew Latin, they had no instrumental need for a standard of the vernacular as they had already learned a standard with much wider currency. Instead, acceptance of a variety commonly understood to be a debased form of the language was connected with the building of a national identity on the part of the Crown of Aragon. We argue that the standardization of Catalan was then a part of the construction of an identity associated with the language (and its affiliate culture) and the correlate dissociation (Wright 2002:352) with those to whom it did not apply. Its adoption and the increase in its use over time suggest that this process was succeeding and reinforcing itself.

Acceptance within the first period of standardization would only have applied to those few members of society who had any need to gain literacy, among them: those involved in the commerce, the clergy, academics, clerks, and other members of the royal court. It was not until the fifteenth century, with the invention of the printing press and the growth of the bourgeoisie that we find significant increases in literacy rates (Vallverdú 1981:47). The vast majority of society functioned without the need for the written word and a standard form of language because their communication would generally be limited to those within a close

geographic proximity. Acceptance of the standard language by larger segments of the population becomes more relevant in the second period of standardization as the need to be literate and to communicate over larger geographical spans increases.

5. The second standardization process

Following the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) industrialization in Catalonia began with the construction of the nation's first railway system in Barcelona, increases in textile and wine production, population expansion, and a heightened working class presence. As the epicenter of Spain's industry, the economic momentum surrounding Barcelona fueled the first movements of the *Renaixença* or the 'rebirth' of the Catalan language, a focal symbol of Catalan identity (Webber & Strubell i Trueta 1991). During the centuries preceding the mid to late 1800s, subordination and repression of the Catalan language restricted its domains of use to the domestic and the unofficial, but the *Renaixença* provided an outlet for Catalan writers and poets which was embodied in the 1859 revival of the *Jocs Florals* 'Floral Games', a medieval poetry contest re-established by Antoni de Bofarull and Victor Balaguer and supported by the Catalan intellectuals and bourgeoisie from Barcelona, a city of newborn modernism, industrialization, and culture (Casesnoves Ferrer, Sankoff & Turell 2006). This rebirth allowed Catalan to begin anew in paving its way to be used, once again, in formal and literary domains. The backing of the *Jocs Florals* by influential groups was crucial in awakening a new interest in the Catalan language. These linguistic advancements were accompanied by the diffusion of Catalan nationalism, an expansion of a Catalan-speaking middle class, and the emergence of urban pro-Catalan political actions, which all occurred while Spanish hegemony declined (Casesnoves Ferrer, Sankoff & Turell 2006). The most prominent symbol of identity and unification which acted as well as the foundation of Catalan ideology and nationalism was the Catalan language; its importance triggered the need for the reinitiation of the linguistic normalization process to support its modernization and extended use.

The laborious processes of the standardization of the Catalan language, which were guided by the *Noucentisme* and *Modernista* movements, were

discussed at the First International Conference on the Catalan Language in 1906 and then further developed by Catalan intellectuals with the leadership of the grammarian-lexicographer Pompeu Fabra (Sastre 2000). The process was not without its disputes, especially regarding spelling disagreements, eventually leading the first president of the *Mancomunitat Catalana* (1914-1925) and author of *La Nacionalitat Catalana* (1906), Enric Prat de la Riba, to found the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* in 1907 (Vallverdú 1981). The primary goal of this institute was to modernize the language, to develop new terminology and stylistic modes to be used for modern forms of discourse, and to construct a single written standard.

5.1 Selection

Since the cultural revival of Catalan was awakened in Barcelona, a prosperous and industrialized city with an ever-expanding Catalan-speaking middle class and serving as the hub of Catalan nationalism, Fabra selected the Catalan spoken in the province of Barcelona as the standard variety (Lamuela 1982). This decision was not made without disagreement, which was especially true for the contributors whose linguistic origins stemmed from areas outside of Barcelona. With consideration beyond the *Països Catalans*, some insisted on the inclusion of Occitan variants in the normalization of Catalan as supported by texts claiming that the Valencian language, that is, Catalan, and Occitan were one in the same, such as the 1854 *Diccionario etimológico de las Lenguas Románicas* by Frédéric Díez as well as the 1890 *Gramática de las Lenguas Románicas* authored by W. Meyer-Lübke (Puerto Ferre & Culla Hernandez 2007). The agreement of both Fabra and Loïs Alibèrt (1884-1959), an Occitan philologist, concluded that although the two languages were linguistically very similar, Occitan and Catalan should remain separate languages, but be recognized as branches of a common trunk, which was made official in the 1934 declaration "Deviations in the Concepts of Language and Homeland" signed by Fabra and other Catalan intellectuals (Fabra, Costa Carreras & Yates 2009).

5.2 Codification

The process of codification began prior to the founding of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* when, Joaquim Casas i Carbó, in the first edition of *L'Avenç* (1890), the journal that he founded, asked the contributors to conform to a single orthographic standard formulated by him. Since Fabra was a regular contributor to the journal, when the time came for the orthography to be officially established by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* in 1913, the orthographic rules employed in *L'Avenç* were chosen. The guidelines used in the constitution of the orthography were determined by means of etymological comparisons, historical accounts, and phonetic patterns (Lamuela 1982). All of the orthographic regulations stipulated by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* were compiled in the book *Normes Ortogràfiques* in 1913 which was distributed to and adopted by the most prominent newspapers and journals and the rules were also implemented for administrative use in the government as ordered by the president Prat de la Riba ("Normes ortogràfiques" n.d.). This was followed by the *Orthographical Dictionary* in 1917, *Gramàtica Catalana* in 1918, and the *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* in 1932 (Rodà-Bencells 2009).

5.3 Elaboration

Although in the modern era Catalan was not widely implemented in the public sphere until 1931, a year marked by the commencement of the Second Spanish Republic, the efforts of many scholars from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries eased the incorporation of the Catalan language in culture, administration, communications, and education when political autonomy was finally granted to Catalonia from 1932 to 1938. In addition to the objective of giving the Catalan language the opportunity to reach the 'high' cultural ranks of its European counterparts, scholars at this time also intended to make the language accessible for use in all domains of life.

This progress came to a halt with the victory of General Franco who abolished the Statute of Autonomy following his occupation of Catalonia. This resulted in an end to governmental and official use of Catalan. Nevertheless, after nearly forty years of dictatorship, Franco's death in 1975 marked a new political era for Spain, known as 'the transition'

(Newman, Frenchs-Parera, & Ng 2008). This was followed by a restoration of the government to a parliamentary monarchy, codified in the 1978 Spanish Constitution (Carbo Soler 1987). The new government ratified laws, including the demarcation of quasi-federal Autonomous Communities within the Spanish nation and the recognition of rights for regional languages. This law established Castilian as the official language of the state, but granted local languages co-official status with Castilian within their respective Autonomous Community. Thus, from this point until present day, each Autonomous Community has "the exclusive authority to legislate the promotion of their culture and the teaching of their language (article 148.17 of the constitution)" (Sastre 2000:28). In 1979, Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy declares Catalan and Castilian as the two official languages of Catalonia, but defines Catalan as *the* language of Catalonia (Webber & Strubell i Trueta 1991). The purpose of the Language Normalization Act was "facilitating the knowledge, use and dissemination of the language proper to Catalonia in all spheres of life. In practice, it involves the preferential use of and requirements for Catalan in local government, its use as medium of instruction, and publicity campaigns" (Newman, Frenchs-Parera & Ng 2008:306).

Additionally, the *Direcció General de Política Linguística* was founded in 1980 to enforce the linguistic policies decided upon by the Catalan Parliament and to advance the use of Catalan in public and private institutions. This sector was also establish to to provide courses for Catalan language learners at every level, to aid in the subtitling and dubbing of foreign films, to promotes in various ways the Catalanization of government workers, to foster the diffusion of Catalan in publications, research and in the arts, and to guide in the creation of specialized lexical additions to Catalan (Carbo Soler 1987). In 1998, the *Generalitat* advanced its goals even further upon passing the *Llei de política lingüística* which included the linguistic targeting of seven major sectors: "official use and linguistic rights; education; research and youth; mass media and cultural industries; socioeconomic activities; health and social institutions; cultural and territorial relations; language standardization and sociolinguistic research" (Sastre 2000:40).

5.4 Acceptance

Since the very start of the *Renaixença* in the nineteenth century, resistance was voiced by many groups. One group, the Spanish-speaking bourgeoisie in Valencia was motivated by the historical and linguistic differences between what are now the Autonomous Communities of Valencia and Catalonia. Regardless of their efforts, they did not affect the Catalan of the public since, according to Casesnoves Ferrer, Sankoff, & Turell (2006:200), "despite all the prohibitions against Catalan that accumulated since the eighteenth century pertaining to official and public domains, and despite the increasing tendency of the Valencian elite and sectors of the Balearic upper class to speak Spanish, this had relatively little impact on the daily life of the citizens in general and the majority remained monolingual in Catalan until the first half of the twentieth century".

The opposition to Fabra was eventually settled in 1932 with the *Normes de Castelló* and the Valencians largely adopted this Catalan standard, which differed slightly from the standards for Catalonia. After the Franco dictatorship and the restoration of semi-autonomy in Catalonia, the next noteworthy attempt by the Valencians to distinguish themselves from Catalonia was the establishment of the regional governmental sector the *Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua* (AVL) in 1998 (Sastre 2000). Internal disputes within the academy have caused instability and led to ineffectiveness in the standardization process of the Valencian language since many prefer to remain a pan-Catalan unified force throughout all Catalan-speaking regions instead creating more divisions. Similar processes have affected the language of the Balearic Islands with the Mallorquí Catalan dialect, but not to the same extent as in Valencian, where some groups claim that Catalan is being imposed on them in the domains of both education and government (Webber & Strubell i Trueta 1991).

With regards to the outcome of the post-Franco normalization process of the Catalan language that began in 1978, much of its success has been attributed to its "undeniable prestige value" as it is associated with the middle and upper classes of the region while Castilian, although important for daily life, is related with the working classes and poor immigrants

(Casesnoves Ferrer, Sankoff, & Turell 1991:200). As Frekko (2009:83) puts it, "the historical association between the Catalan language and the industrial bourgeoisie accounts for the persistence of the language in the face of pressure from Castilian". With respect to the educational system of Catalonia, the case of Catalan as the mode of education is an "example of a success story, taking into account its successful reversing language shift efforts" (Rodà-Bencells 2009:65). According to the last official survey outlined from 2003 in Moreno (2008), it was found that 95 percent of 15-29-year-olds can speak Catalan and 94 percent can write it, while maintaining bilingualism, both orally and in literacy, in Castilian.

Nevertheless, not all aspects of Catalan society have been transformed entirely to fit the Catalan linguistic agenda. Frekko (2009:79) argues that "Catalan would be normal when doctor's prescriptions, washing-machine instructions and porn movies were in Catalan – in other words, when Catalan was suitable for uses outside a government-sanctioned standard register". Since nearly all Catalan speakers are also fluent in Spanish, there has been a lack of interest from the business industry to invest and generate products in Catalan because Spanish is a broader and more profitable market (Melero, et al. 2010:926). Therefore, although several decades have passed since the implementation of the Catalan language in the educational system of Catalonia, not all domains of public life can be said to be purely in Catalan.

6. Conclusion

The imposition of Castilian in the sixteenth century as the H language within Catalan-speaking territories has had a significant impact on the development of the Catalan language in the modern era, creating a pluricentric language. This can be contrasted with those Romance languages that have contiguous histories such as French, Castilian, and Portuguese which (at least in Europe) do not see the development of multiple regional standards in writing as does Catalan. As Castilian was used for all official purposes, the little writing that was done in Catalan was done regionally and thus following the respective rules of each variety. By cutting off these territories from one standard, we see significant fragmentation of the varieties, as there was no one standard to hold them

together. Following the reinvigoration of the Catalan language in the nineteenth century, multiple varieties emerged, each with their own wealthy economic centers, each attached to differentiated cultures, and each with their own standardizing movements. It could even be argued that, given the primacy with which each language variety holds to their respective regionalist movements in Valencia and the Balearic Islands, the death of the first Standard Catalan more than the death of the political unity between Catalan-speaking areas (though this was certainly also a factor) created the cultural fragmentation that we see today in the *Països Catalans*. This would explain why regionalist movements in the *Països Catalans* are stronger than those in Andalusia, Aragon, or Murcia, where the primacy of the Standard Castilian is not challenged the same way that Barcelona Catalan is challenged. That said, the economic and sociocultural force of Barcelona has led to the development of Central Catalan as being the 'standard of standards' amongst Catalan varieties. Just as in the past, what is spoken by the wealthy and powerful, who can fund the development of the language, forms the basis of the standard. Those few features which are not characteristic of Barcelona speech can be traced to the belief, even amongst Catalan Barcelona residents, that their speech has been influenced, and of course necessarily deleteriously, by the influx of Spanish speakers and the extent of their bilingualism. As such, Standard Catalan is now, one could say, what Barcelona wishes it spoke rather than what it does: an idealized, urbane, and *very Catalan* Catalan.

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