

PLANNING CHANGE IN CODE-SWITCHING: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL
INFERENCES FROM THE CATALAN CASE

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1. Introduction to the problem.

The linguistic normalization processes presently being developed in the Iberian Peninsula are important sociolinguistic experiences of a great scientific interest, both from the applied and theoretical focus angles. The conductive bodies of all processes demand clear and accurate theoretical foundations in order to follow a course of action. The discipline of sociolinguistics as such - that is, as a scientific discipline-, demands constant analysis and reflection concerning the different situations existing, so as to make headway in the deep and encompassing knowledge regarding this area of reality. Theory and practice prove in this case, as in many others, that they are very closely related to one another, to the point of mutual dependance.

The present sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia offers many theoretical and practical potential contributions. Within this interesting range we selected the problem of planned modification of inter-personal linguistic behaviours of the

ethnic-linguistic autochthonous group regarding their usual relationship with the numerous individuals of non-Catalan origin who live at present in Catalonia. This is an issue of great importance today in our country, and, very possibly, not sufficiently studied at an international level.

Owing to the great importance that the communication norm established between both human groups may have concerning the linguistic evolution of inter-communal meeting situations in one same territory, this phenomenon has been considered an issue of interest on behalf of the linguistic policy bodies of Catalonia. These institutions have attempted to intervene in order to modify this present phenomenon, as, owing to its current majority character, it is clearly unfavourable to the language of the autochthonous society. This conscious attempt of intervention on behalf of the governmental bodies regarding inter-personal linguistic behaviour, and - as it seems - the poor results obtained by means of such governmental actions, have led us to focus on this as yet not sufficiently explained phenomenon of the change and persistence of linguistic behaviours. Thus, our standpoint will focus on these two seemingly opposite aspects which must probably be approached as an integral and simultaneous pair owing to their very close connection and mutual dependence (Nisbet, 1982). Two issues - according to Watzlawick et al. (1975) - can be raised simultaneously in this type of problematic: 1. In what way does the unwanted situation persist?, and 2. What must be done in order to change such a situation?

2. The present situation and its historical causes.

The present linguistic normalization process undertaken in Catalonia following the end of the previous authoritarian political situation (see Bastardas, 1986, 1987 and 1989) has meant a number of important steps forward for Catalan in the field of *institutionalized* communication - such as the educational system, the local and autonomous public administration, radio and television communications, etc. -, but progress in the field of oral inter-personal one-to-one communications has been much less. The core of the problematic is to be found especially in the relationships that the autochthonous individuals with Catalan as their first language develop with those individuals with Spanish as their first language - coming chiefly from the migratory movements of other regions of Spain - who do not usually use the Catalan language for their inter-group communications. The situation has evolved in such a way that, seemingly, in these cases the use of Spanish on behalf of both speakers is still the most frequent and common behaviour.

With the exception of a sociolinguistically aware and militant minority of people who probably maintain in Catalonia the exclusive use of Catalan in all or practically all situations regardless of the interlocutor, the most usual behaviour of the autochthonous population in the totality of their social framework seems to be, then, that of speaking Spanish in general to any person *perceived and considered* as a non-Catalan speaker

(Boix, 1989 and 1990; Fuson, 1985 and 1990). This norm includes both those unknown individuals who are addressed to in Catalan and answer in Spanish, as those other individuals already known who, now able to speak the code spoken by the autochthonous inhabitants, did not use it in the event of the initial meetings which later on evolved into a more frequent relationship. Thus, we nowadays find in Catalonia many individuals with Spanish as their first language who, according to their linguistic evolution at the time of the first meeting, are addressed to by some Catalan persons in Catalan and by others in Spanish. This fact probably depends on the language that the former - that is, the allochthonous individuals - used upon answering the latter - the autochthonous - during the initial meetings in which the usage norm later followed by both individuals was established. This inter-group linguistic usage norm also includes - especially in the case of Barcelona and its metropolitan area - those instances of professional or social roles perceived as usually belonging to individuals who do not speak in Catalan, as is the case of waiters, taxi drivers, policemen, the children of immigrant parents categorized as non-Catalan speakers, and even those strangers one meets in the street, etc. These individuals are addressed to, on behalf of the autochthonous inhabitants, initially in the Spanish language. In this type of situation, at times conversations in Spanish can develop amongst the members of the Catalan language autochthonous group themselves - although, sometimes, these conversations can be re-directed to Catalan in the event that one or both speakers stop *considering* the other individual as a non-Catalan speaker (owing to his/her

accent speaking Spanish, or to the person's quoting some Catalan expression, etc.).

This situation is an evident result of the historical contexts in which these successive meetings amongst autochthonous and allochthonous inhabitants have been taking place. Such historical contexts are generally characterized by an absence of Catalan in the institutionalized areas, in which Catalan was substituted by the use of Spanish, especially in the schooling system, in the mass media, and in the administration offices. This fact gave rise to a more or less severe bilinguization of the Catalan inhabitants and, on the rebound, it maintained monolingualization - which also varied according to the individuals themselves and their backgrounds - amongst the immigrant population with Spanish as their first language. Throughout these historical contexts, intergenerational substitution gradually favoured the progress of bilinguization amongst Catalan inhabitants towards the use of Spanish, instead of favouring that of the immigrants towards the use of Catalan. This latter effect acted at the same time retroactively once again on the usage of Spanish on behalf of the autochthonous inhabitants, and made their colloquialization even deeper. The result of such a progress has been that of a situation defined by the existence of many more autochthonous individuals who speak Spanish regularly and naturally addressing the allochthonous individuals, than persons of an immigrant origin who speak Catalan to the native Catalan inhabitants. As time went by, the norm of the usage of Spanish - posing few competence and fluidity problems

to the new autochthonous generations -, when addressing all individuals categorized as non-Catalan speakers became a totally interiorized and automatized norm, seen as completely *natural* and relevant. Thus, the initial behaviour which had been carried out in order to make communication possible with individuals recently arrived speaking a different language, gradually transformed - despite the gradual rise in the knowledge of Catalan, at least at a listening comprehension level, on behalf of the allochthonous individuals - into a widespread social expectation sanctioned by habit, encompassing all the consequences that this fact meant for the changing of such behaviour patterns.

The importance that this so considerable use of the allochthonous code on behalf of the Catalan inhabitants in oral rapports carried out in their own territory could have regarding the comprehensive evolution of the normalization process, was seen by the bodies responsible of the implementation of the linguistic policy in Catalonia. These have tried to make the population aware of this issue - by means of diverse public campaigns -, and they have put forward a proposal for the practice of the so-called *bilingual conversation* (each person speaks in his or her first language) in order to reduce the usage degree of Spanish on behalf of the autochthonous individuals, also fomenting the immigrants' contact with the Catalan code. Nevertheless, despite the different actions carried out, and despite the continuous statements on behalf of the persons in charge of the linguistic policy in Catalonia in favour of this linguistic usage alternative, no generalized change seems to have

taken place in the inter-group usage norm followed by the autochthonous population group - despite the existence of a strong support of the national recuperation process and the absolute power of the Catalan government on behalf of the political parties favourable to this cultural rebuilding process.

3. Interventions towards change and the phenomenon of persistence.

Besides the general provisions for the change of linguistic usage within the educational system and the autonomous administration, favourable to the Catalan language, and also besides the creation of mass media services using this language, and other actions carried out within the local administration and specific sectors regarding cultural and economic activities, the Catalan government implemented a number of campaigns in order to change the oral behaviours of the population. Such campaigns centered around messages of the type: "it depends on you that Catalan be spoken here" or "in Catalan you show respect for yourself and others". Although the degree of change achieved by means of these interventions is still unknown, it does seem possible to affirm - on the basis of the few reports available and according to our personal views - that, in any case, this change is slow in nature, and certainly not general. The number of individuals carrying out *bilingual conversations* is not very high yet, although the quite automatic adaptation to Spanish on

behalf of the speaker - even in those cases in which he/she understands Catalan easily - in one-to-one interactions is still a very common attitude. Why does this persistent attitude of speaking Spanish to non-Catalan individuals who can now understand Catalan perfectly well still occur? Why is the change so slow? Thus, these issues coincide with those put forward by Bourhis (1984) regarding the French/English case in Quebec. Bourhis also perceived that French-speaking individuals followed the norm of adapting linguistically to the English-speaking individuals despite the great governmental efforts in order to improve the status of the French language in Quebec.

Although the situations existing in Quebec and Catalonia are different in many important aspects, both cases are in all probability an example of the general social perpetuation of a number of routines, habits and functions - a typical phenomenon of human everyday life conservatism (Nisbet, 1979). Within this framework, in the next section we explore a number of hypotheses on the possible factors which may explain these sociolinguistical evolutions.

3.1 Subconsciousness and functionality.

An important cause which could explain to a very good extent the phenomenon of the behaviours established within contexts subsequently modified is, very probably, the subconscious nature itself of many social conducts and especially that of linguistic behaviours (Bourdieu, 1982; Gumperz, 1985).

Once a social acting norm versus a specific problematic has been decided upon, the norm becomes part of routine and of the subconscious. It does so in such a way that it will receive no further attention till some *crisis* within the context requires such attention. Thus, habit will substitute conscious thought (Nisbet, 1982) *and the individual will only become aware of the deficient nature of the scope of his/her knowledge when a new experience does not adapt to what had been considered as the presupposed valid reference scheme up to that moment* (Schutz & Luckmann, 1977:29). Many individuals belonging to the autochthonous population with Catalan as their first language have probably not experienced any *crisis* in their practical context which severely questions their usual way of addressing individuals who do not speak Catalan. The social and communicative functionalism and efficiency of the present organization of the inter-personal linguistic usage amongst the autochthonous inhabitants and their counterparts of immigrant origin is, generally, complete. Other factors of a symbolical and ideological nature which might question the present norm do not seem to be sufficiently strong at present for the majority of the population.

Thus, attention is paid more to the content than it is to the form, although the form may be ideologically valued and highly appreciated. This could be, then, a typical situation of a population following behaviours which may cause future negative consequences for its very own language - but such behaviours are maintained because they work perfectly well within the customary

practice circumstance. The awareness campaigns carried out until now do not seem to have been powerful enough in order to make the autochthonous inhabitants aware of the need to change a number of customary everyday behaviours of enormous usefulness and efficiency regarding social interaction. Thus, the conflict of having to choose an intercommunication code addressed to non-Catalan speakers can be totally solved by means of a generalized norm functioning at full performance levels and with no generalized awareness as to the convenience of this practice being changed.

3.2 Conscious assessment.

There exists another part of the population, generally better informed and more prone to think about and assess personal behaviours, which can establish a link with the governmental messages, paying some attention to the issue. Nevertheless, these people, albeit in good faith, can judge that this behaviour change regarding those individuals who do not speak Catalan, should not be carried out, as it could be interpreted as a lack of respect and good manners towards such non-Catalan individuals. The very old practice of speaking Spanish to them is one of the reasons for which these persons would not tolerate or even conceive a situation in which they had to speak Catalan to non-Catalan individuals. Thus, they absolutely defend the continuity of their present linguistic behaviour regarding the non-bilinguized allochthonous population on an oral expression level. Their *habitus* automatically excludes any behaviours which may be

seen as anomalous (Bourdieu, 1980). These people either ignore or give no importance to the anomaly which their behaviour represents for the autochthonous linguistic community and the possible future results of the present majority behaviour.

There exists yet another group within the autochthonous ethnic and linguistic population which can accept the idea of another possible normality in which linguistic adaptation would be carried out by the individuals of immigrant origin and not by the autochthonous individuals. The attitude of this specific group is probably a result of a number of representations of realities different to those of the former group, together with a set of ideological predispositions which tend to see the present reality in a different way. These people, then, would consider the implementation of the *bilingual conversation* as reasonable. Those who are most convinced do try to put this principle into action, but they do not find it easy to do in real social life. They manage to do so quite easily in those relationships with totally unknown individuals, and in institutionalized situations rather than individual ones - situations in which the autochthonous individual is in a position of "non subordination" or "non absolute necessity" (a customer in a shop, a customer asking for some kind of service, etc.). Nevertheless, these people find it difficult to follow such a behaviour if the non-Catalan individuals whom they address have a social status rather superior to that of the autochthonous individual - a higher professional category, etc. - or if there exists a clear numerical disproportion regarding the background

in which the interactions take place, or, as well, in other situations in which the use of Catalan could be assessed - entailing certain consequences - negatively on behalf of the interlocutor/s of allochthonous origin.

This part of the population will also tend, very probably, to not apply the *bilingual conversation* when speaking with non-Catalan individuals in informal and friendly situations, in which mutual empathy is highly valued. There might be some cases however in which, if there exists a solid friendly relationship and the linguistic norm is adopted explicitly, and it obtains the positive acceptance on behalf of the interlocutor who does not speak Catalan, the autochthonous individual who decided on such a course of action will be able to follow quite naturally the bilingual conversation norm. Nevertheless, it will be difficult to introduce such norm amongst individuals with whom a previous continuous Spanish relationship has developed during a more or less long period of time. The consolidated habit of speaking Spanish to *someone in special* will become a very powerful constriction regarding the change of the linguistic behaviour.

In all of these conscious assessments of the change in the linguistic behaviour, the social significance of the very change of the norm plays a fundamental role. The fact of subconscious behaviour does not mean that habitual actions lose in fact their significant character regarding the individual (Berger & Luckmann, 1983), because, as G.H. Mead said: *awareness or consciousness is not necessary to the presence of meaning in the*

process of social experience (1934:77). The breaching of generally accepted and followed social expectations is not, then, a neutral phenomenon. It is an issue receiving attention on behalf of the other individual interacting (obviously), and also of those other persons who might be present during the communication: all of them will try to discover the intention and the reasons behind the changing of the norm, and they will assess the fact accordingly. The conscience of such facts and also of the repercussions of the assessments carried out by the other individuals on behalf of the social actor is probably a highly decisive normative control factor as to the maintenance and the persistence of all social behaviours, because the individual concerned, values - and depends on to a high degree - the esteem and the positive considerations of the other human beings with whom he or she is in contact (Berger, 1963; Davis, 1984; Milroy, 1987). It is probably this type of element which is to be found in the basis of the *speech-convergence* observations which have been described by Giles and his collaborators. In the situation analyzed above, it is very possible that there exists a great degree of awareness on behalf of the individuals belonging to the autochthonous group as regards their change in behaviour concerning the non-Catalan speaking group - they are aware that their new behaviour could be interpreted negatively, and this acts as an intimidating element as far as the change is concerned, because of the history of the relationship amongst both groups in contact. In fact, such history could easily result in the existence of a hidden symbolical violence (Bourdieu, 1982).

Amongst those individuals who may have decided on the adoption of the new norm it can frequently occur that, in an interaction which they have decided to develop in the Catalan language, the autochthonous person ends up speaking Spanish because of the high degree of behaviour automatization - that is, the person answers in Spanish upon hearing a message in this code. This automatization may result in the fact of the person changing over to this language whenever he/she stops paying a great deal of attention to this issue, especially in the initial period when he/she wants to apply the new behaviour decided upon. This is a phenomenon frequently observed in many debate programmes on television in which the group consists of individuals belonging to both linguistic groups: even the 'consellers' of the very Catalan government switch over to Spanish - in a programme or channel which is identified as Catalan - upon answering an interlocutor speaking Spanish. This occurs especially when the debate becomes heated and the possibility for conscious control of the linguistic behaviour diminishes.

The persistence of the old behaviour and, consequently, the resistance to change, seems to be mainly a pattern responding either to the functional and subconscious nature of the current linguistic behaviour of the autochthonous individuals, who do not find a context which makes the activation of attention in order to carry out a revision necessary; or to the fear of a negative assessment of this change on behalf of the non-Catalan speakers, as this is not a widely generalized social norm and past

experience - valid or not, at present - exists amongst the autochthonous group causing them to expect and fear possible negative reactions on behalf of some individuals of the immigrant origin group.

4. Foundations for the change.

The analysis of the persistence shows that, as is the case in the majority of socio-cultural problematics, we are not facing a situation which is easily transformed, but rather a complex situation entailing a difficult intervention with immediate results (Nisbet, 1982). Obtaining the attention of the autochthonous population, and providing reasons in order for these people to decide to change the linguistic usage norm concerning those non-Catalan speaking individuals with whom they live socially every day; and also finally overcoming the automatization aspects which are so common at present amongst the majority of people does not seem an easy and rapid task but rather a slow and very difficult one, especially within one same generation. The present inter-group linguistic usage norms are rooted in everyday life of the Catalan people, and they operate with full efficiency and coverage. Thus, it is much easier to achieve continuity rather than change. The process of changing a series of totally assumed behaviours on behalf of the population - behaviours which have been daily useful and non-conflictive in the immediate context -, may prove a task bordering on the impossible. And also, the population itself had followed for many years a linguistic behaviour which did not

deviate or oppose to that followed by the individuals not speaking the autochthonous language. The fact of changing such status quo, although now the political context is more favourable, seems to be an equally difficult task.

A new approach regarding the problem of code-switching and inter-group linguistic behaviours of the autochthonous individuals should take into account these fundamental theoretical starting points:

1. Any majority change regarding linguistic behaviours is slow in nature, and a *direct* intervention on behalf of the political institutions is difficult - especially in those instances in which the common usage up to that moment has perfectly fulfilled its communicative function, both regarding linguistic explicitness and social associated meanings. It is for this reason that Bourdieu can say that: *les 'moeurs linguistiques' ne se laissent pas modifier par décrets comme le croient souvent les partisans d'une politique volontariste de 'défense de la langue'* (1982:36). Social uses consecrate a series of specific actions, and these are maintained by means of the very social interaction, which tends to be founded on mutual norms and expectations generally considered as accepted - in such a way that they may lead to some kind of social sanction if they are not obeyed and followed (Davis, 1984). Any change in such expectations can be seen - from the point of view of both parties in contact - as an aggression or punishment, and this may result in a worsening of the interpersonal relationship when the change

is regarded as negative. In the case of the change being assessed as positive, the result would be quite the contrary: the personal relationship would not be altered at all or it would improve, and this fact would stimulate further cause for change.

2. Linguistic behaviours tend to become routine and subconscious behaviours - the only exception being that of a generalized conflict situation, and that is not the case in Catalonia -, and this causes individuals to stop paying attention and subsequently concentrating more on the specific meanings to be transmitted, rather than the way in which this is done.

3. Facing a situation of necessity or implementation of the change, the speaker will assess the opportunity available or not for such change, and then he/she will decide. If the change is regarded as adequate and legitimate and as entailing no inconvenient results, the speaker will adopt the new usage, trying to put it into practice. This will be done by surmounting the initial difficulties which the behaviour automatization of the speaker may pose in reality (Bandura, 1982).

On the basis of these general trends in human social and cultural behaviours, we can try to reflect on the new foundations which could actually inform all possible new procedures on behalf of the public administration regarding the oral inter-group relationship problematic. The central issues of the Catalan situation seem to exist around the problem of functional/subconscious/unaware routine of the majority of

individuals regarding linguistic behaviours and that of motivation/legitimation/interpretation of their code-switching and the absence of any inconvenience if such code-switching is put into practice. Supposing that a great deal of attention be attracted concerning inter-group linguistic behaviour by means of great mass media campaigns, thus reaching the majority of the population; and supposing also that - by means of a general positive and not conflictive consensus feeling - the fact of a real code-switching on behalf of the autochthonous population were achieved (justified/legitimated), and the majority of autochthonous individuals started speaking Catalan and not Spanish to the allochthonous individuals still not speaking Catalan; there remains, in practice, the fact of the absence of practical inconvenients in the following of a new behaviour - a key element as to the possible triumph of a new norm.

The fact of not speaking Spanish anymore to those people who do not yet speak Catalan nowadays, and changing to the use of Catalan, may still entail the following three consequences for the group of autochthonous individuals: a) They may encounter comprehension difficulties as to certain words or constructions of the messages communicated, and this will impair the efficiency of the communicative act itself - and also the desired results of such communication; 2) They may feel uncomfortable when the interlocutor insists in the maintenance of Spanish - as many people have never or hardly ever managed to express themselves in Catalan -, and this forces the autochthonous individual to turn to one only code in the conversation owing to an empathy obligation (the *speech-convergence* phenomenon); and c) There

always exists, deep underneath, a certain fear as to a possible negative reaction (a negative interpretation of the purpose) on behalf of the interlocutor. The autochthonous individual knows that the interlocutor is used to being spoken to in Spanish, not Catalan, although he/she may be speaking to a native person. All of these drawbacks, absolutely real at present, must be modified if the change of inter-group behaviours of the Catalan people is to be achieved on a medium-term basis, thus becoming a massive reality.

Both a) and b) clauses regarding the reception and transmission competence in Catalan on behalf of the allochthonous individuals require *time* in order to be solved. The achievement of a greater massive development of Catalan comprehension on behalf of the immigrants who live at present in Catalonia requires a number of adequate structural changes on a *macro* basis so that this population has a *context* in which it is sufficiently exposed to all kinds of messages in the Catalan language enabling such non-Catalan individuals to progress even more in the achievement of this linguistic knowledge. This entails more Catalan than Spanish usage on television, in the cinema, on the radio, in all levels of education; and more courses directed to adults, specialized in-company courses, etc. The solution regarding point b) - which concerns expression in Catalan - requires on the one hand more time (as the adult and elderly population groups find it more difficult to express themselves in a language learned as adults, and so we must focus especially on the young generations), and, on the other hand, - and yet

again -, it requires structural changes favouring Catalan more than Spanish, fundamentally in the schooling system and leisure activities fields, which are so important during the primary socialization period of young individuals of allochthonous origin. The goal to be achieved is that this population group may really develop fluency in Catalan at the best and more adequate time, which seems to be before puberty.

The overcoming of point c) - the fear of a negative interpretation/reaction on behalf of the interlocutor who does not speak Catalan (but does understand it) - would automatically derive in the overcoming of b), an adequate transmitting competence. If the interlocutors do answer and develop the conversation in Catalan, the autochthonous individual stops feeling anxious about speaking Catalan to an individual who does not use this language in order to express him/herself, and, consequently, there is no fear as to any special reaction because the interlocutor - by using Catalan - is expressing his/her agreement and acceptance. Nevertheless, this event may take a long time before it becomes a massive reality. Thus, the intervention on behalf of the linguistic policy bodies should be addressed in the meantime to solving the legitimation problem of the new behaviour which is desired. All actions should be directed towards what Watzlawick (1975) defines as "reframing of the situation". If the autochthonous population must feel increasingly free to talk Catalan to those individuals who do not speak the language as yet, the autochthonous group must re-frame its perception of the situation, in order to be sure that the

change in their behaviour is totally justified and positively *understood* - that is, not representing a conflict -, by the great majority of the non-Catalan speaking sub-group. From this standpoint, the social significance of this change must be focussed with positive rather than negative arguments. That is, the messages put forward should not be of the type "it is your *right*, never give up Catalan" - as this type of message does not solve the perception of the conflict on behalf of the autochthonous individuals -, but rather, on the contrary, of the type "do not set up barriers to the future, open the way for social and linguistic integration". The latter type of message responds to an existing trend in certain layers of the allochthonous origin population, and the change in the autochthonous individuals' behaviour becomes in this way positive. A series of initiatives also necessary and acceptable would be those directed to getting the autochthonous population - - young and old alike - to speak Catalan to the *infants/children* of immigrant origin (that is, to all) who in fact are already in the process of learning Catalan at school, although they may encounter a majority of contexts in which they are still condemned to being perceived as "non Catalans" and thus being addressed to in Spanish, owing to their association to the parents assumed by autochthonous neighbours or companions at school. Consequently, great attention must be paid to inter-generational code-switching.

Thus, our reflection on such phenomena has enabled us to see that the key issue of the problem must not only be the

autochthonous group, but rather the group of allochthonous origin. In short, it can be stated that the use of Catalan on behalf of the Catalan people when addressing immigrants will only increase massively if the immigrant individuals also speak Catalan or, to a lesser degree, when such people show a clear and positive acceptance of the change. In fact, the situation will in all probability change gradually and massively according to the rhythm in which the allochthonous population goes on to speaking Catalan with the autochthonous population (in the case of new relationships, for instance, in which the immigrant origin persons are the ones to establish the moment from which they will begin to use Catalan, and not the other way round). The generalized change of the Catalan people's behaviour seems to depend, then, rather on the behaviour change developed by the immigrant individuals. *The central issue of the problem seems to be, then, not how to change the behaviours of the Catalan people, but rather in what way to contribute towards the change amongst the immigrants.* All in all, it is a question of how to build a reality in which, in a natural manner, all inter-group relationships are developed in Catalan and not in Spanish as has been done up to the present time. The problem for the autochthonous people, then, is no such problem, but rather the centre of the issue, from a social behaviour standpoint, lies in the fact that it is the immigrants who do not speak Catalan, and not in the fact that the autochthonous individuals do not speak in Spanish. Thus, it is both groups *simultaneously* who require a global focussing enabling a comprehensive dynamics understanding of the situation, owing to the circular and

retroactive - not linear - causality of any human interaction (Elias, 1982).

5. Conclusions.

From the *practical* point of view, it seems possible to conclude - bearing in mind the previous analysis carried out -, that the actions undertaken by means of advertising persuasion in order to promote the change of the autochthonous population's inter-group linguistic behaviours will tend to clash with the prevailing usage norm and with the social *obligation* of its being obeyed. The maximum that can be achieved really in this stage - according to our point of view -, and as yet not on a majority basis, may be the use of Catalan addressed to non-Catalan speakers in services and commerce, and also in sporadic and anonymous relationships. But this will not be the case in those relationships already established, or in stable recently created relationships which do not include an attitude on behalf of the immigrant interlocutor clearly positive or accepting the fact that he/she is addressed to in Catalan although he/she may speak in Spanish. A certain headway in the positive perception of the inter-group norm change may be equally achieved amongst the whole of society. The problem, though, must be seen bearing time in mind, and it must be focussed mainly regarding initiatives on the new generations, and, especially, those with Spanish as their first language.

All interventions must be, preferably, a number of

initiatives developed on the institutionalized plane of society rather than on the individual plane, as a direct intervention in this latter plane is difficult. Thus, a real and efficient promotion of focussing on Catalan within any type of public service - official and unofficial -; a greater presence of the Catalan language in the mass media; the preeminent instrumental use of Catalan in the whole of the schooling system done from the very beginning; the extension of the use of Catalan as the working language in public and private companies; the aid for the use of Catalan in leisure and sport activities for children and teenagers; the stimulation of a real and creative mass culture in Catalan; the association of Catalan with the most innovating activities regarding the future, etc., are some of the patterns for change or for structural deepening and institutional actions that should be undertaken resolutely. This must be done bearing in mind the fact that, in any case, it will be the changes taking place in the real contexts of the individuals the ones that can drive Catalan society towards an inter-generational transformation of linguistic behaviours. A number of powerful and well-organized campaigns for the reframing of the situation alluded to could also contribute in a way to the progress of such situation. Nevertheless, such campaigns should not assess the situation as an inter-ethnic conflict for which an inter-personal linguistic divergence attitude is demanded - and this is the case of the Flemish-French conflict in Belgium -, but rather as an integration process of interest for the future of the immigrants themselves, including a level of persuasion for the use of Catalan addressed to the whole of the new generations,

infants and teenagers. However, we did see the difficulty regarding the impact of such actions in daily routine behaviours.

It will always be necessary also to bear in mind the psycho-sociological laws concerning the perpetuation of social norms and the dynamics of change of the behaviours of all individuals in society. Aspects such as the importance of the issues related to the development of the ability in the usage of linguistic competence must also be taken into account. The circular rather than linear law of causality governing interaction must always be counted on when analyzing all social situations and deciding on the change of some of their aspects. All of these issues, plus the inside analysis of the system to be acted on, must pay attention to the comprehensive background and the other systems which are inter-related.

From a purely *theoretical* point of view, the situation examined proves that linguistic usage norms are, in a certain way, autonomous, and tend to a self-persistence, as they are strongly maintained by means of social control - a social control which is the result of such interaction and also of the mutual need for esteem and approval coming from human beings. The instances in which the change seems to be most prone to be produced are those of inter-generational transition, that is, the moment in which new socialization processes take place - processes which will greatly influence and characterize the individuals in many ways for the remainder of their lives. It is at this moment when linguistic competences are developed,

behaviour norms are formed and adopted, and identities are acquired, etc.. (Berger & Luckman, 1983). It is the crucial point of change, owing to the inter-generational trend towards behaviour persistence. Some innovations - although differing from adult behaviour - can be adopted and extended, and, even though some of them may disappear during the evolution of the generation itself, others may remain, established and consecrated in the new social layer which, in its turn, will maintain them in a subconscious though coercitive manner during the lifespan of the generation in the case of no crises occurring which make the change or the oblivion of such acquired innovations desirable.

The changes in linguistic behaviour seem to follow, in general, a type of dynamics not different to that of other spheres of human social behaviour. The acceptance of change will probably depend on the assessment of its advantages and drawbacks according to the representation of each concrete social reality. Those changes seen as legitimate and justified and convenient in this definition of reality, will be carried out more rapidly, and will consequently extend from the original dynamic nuclei to the rest of society. Nevertheless, those changes which may generate social resistance, not gaining a generalized social acceptance and entailing sanctions and practical drawbacks throughout everyday life, will encounter many more difficulties in order to extend and root, to such a point that their majority social introduction may eventually prove impossible. However, those linguistic changes involving complex motor abilities, owing to their nature of social and individual ability, will tend to be

reduced precisely because of the non-permanent predisposition of human beings regarding the development of such complex abilities. Thus, in the case of linguistic phenomena, the greater or lesser development of the abilities necessary will be an important factor, and it may influence the extension degree of the changes, and the attitudes of the individuals playing the main part in these social situations. On the other hand, the development degree of such linguistic abilities often escapes the control of the individual involved, and depends on the structure of the contexts in which he/she participates.

Finally, the Catalan situation examined is also representative regarding the birth of the linguistic usage norm in inter-group meetings. Thus, the norm will be the product both of the conditions of the moment and situation themselves, as of the past history of the different human groups in contact. The linguistic competence developed up till then by the individuals involved, the representation of reality as a result of their previous experiences, and the global power relationships existing between both groups, will determine the election and the evolution of the inter-communal linguistic behaviour. If headway is made towards a deep and stable social integration, this norm will in all probability have effects on the direction of the linguistic changes which will take place in the future in the new society of plural origins. To later change the norm initially adopted on a majority basis, and further consecrated by means of daily routine usage, will not be an easy, rapid process of direct intervention on the individuals themselves, but rather on the

contrary: it will be a slow, painstaking enterprise which will probably only end in massive success by means of inter-generational substitution of the population. The planning for change shall have to be based on a number of interventions on the institutionalized plane of society - and this plane will indirectly have an effect on the individual plane, eventually -, and also on a number of complementary actions which will gradually lead to new perceptions of the situation, thus endowing the change desired with a positive and general acceptance sense.

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