Primary and secondary factors in language maintenance in a medium-sized community language: Catalan in Spain

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Abstract

Aims and objectives: The main aim of this study is to find out which social and ideological factors determine the maintenance of Catalan language in public contexts, and particularly the relative weight each factor contributes to the choice. The question is which of the socio-demographic and ideological factors determines to a greater extent the use of Catalan.

Methodology: Participants completed a survey, which consisted of a sociolinguistic questionnaire and an attitudinal test based on the matched-guise technique. Sociolinguistic inferences concerning the relationship between different factors and language use were made using statistical methods.

Data: Six hundred university students from the cities of Valencia, Palma and Barcelona answered the same survey. University students are a very interesting research group, since they are going to become part of the most influential social groups.

Findings: Results from the analysis support the importance of social networks in understanding language maintenance, apart from making some differences between the territories clearer: this relative importance of social networks is very high in Valencia and Palma, but not in Barcelona.

Originality: This study shows the first comparison between the influence of different kinds of factors in the use of the Catalan language, as well as the comparison between the behaviour of the three major Catalan-speaking cities. Furthermore, the focus on the factors related to university students' language use is not a much-visited field.

Significance and implications: The use of Catalan seems to be naturalized in Barcelona, whereas in Palma and Valencia the use of this language is more ideologized – and minor. The

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coincidence in the same territory, Catalonia, of the major language use in all situations and the more incisive and inclusive language policy should point out the direction that campaigns to promote Catalan in the other two regions should take.

Keywords

Socio-demographic factors, ideological factors, network analysis, language maintenance, Catalan

Introduction

The main aim of this article is to determine the influence of social networks and other social factors such as attitudes and ideology on the use of Catalan in the three major Catalan-speaking communities. Catalonia, the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands are the three communities where the Catalan language shares official status with Spanish, which is the official language of the Spanish State, an autonomic or quasi-federal state. Catalan is also spoken in other European countries, such as France (Roussillon or North Catalonia) and Italy (Alghero), where it is not an official language, or where it is the only official language, the Principality of Andorra. The degree of vitality of the Catalan language varies greatly depending on the region. Obviously, the language is more fragile when the state does not recognize its speakers' linguistic rights (i.e. France and Italy).

The Catalan language community can be considered medium-sized, according to the concept that emerged in 2009 as a result of studying various cases such as Catalan, Czech, Danish, Hebrew, Estonian and Danish. The framework of this study was a research project by the University of Barcelona and Linguamón-La Casa de les Llengües focusing on the sustainability of medium-sized language communities in a process of globalization.[1] The concept aims to break the overly simplistic and too strict dichotomy between *majority* and *minority languages*, purely based on quantitative criteria. Thus, a medium-sized language community is not only defined by its demographic weight (having between one and 25 million speakers), but also by its socio-economic development within a general process of globalization (therefore, it is a postindustrial society) and its degree of sociolinguistic vitality (i.e. that intergenerational transmission of the language has not been broken) (Vila, 2013). The medium-sized communities studied have also established specific language policies, either because they have enough political power to do so, or because they are part of a federal or quasi-federal state, or are an independent state.

From a demographic point of view, according to the Population Census of 2011, the number of people who can speak Catalan in all the three regions analysed in this article amounts to 8.5 million (Pradilla & Sorolla, 2015). This is why it cannot be said that Catalan is endangered or threatened. However, Catalan sociologists report that the language is suffering great *demolinguistic stress*, since, despite its number of speakers and its official recognition, it continually faces regulatory pressures against its use.

Finding out the demographic, social and ideological factors favouring the use of the Catalan language has been one of the main objectives of Catalan sociolinguists. In this regard, the various reports and studies published on the situation of Catalan suggest that with regards to factors favouring the use of Catalan, socio-economic factors have been displaced by those related to ideology and identity. Moreover, in recent years, another factor, which traditionally had not been taken into account, has also been introduced: social networks. This factor has a very direct influence on the use of Catalan.

Following recent work, the hypothesis stated is that social networks will be revealed as one of the factors that largely determine the use of Catalan, although to different degrees, depending on the

region analysed. To verify this, the impact of social networks on the use of language will be compared with the impact of attitudes and ideologies, with specific analysis of each factor and all of them.

Firstly, an overview of the Catalan-speaking communities studied in this article, Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, will be offered, focusing on the different language policies implemented and the differing development of language use. Then, a review of the theoretical background of the main independent variables – language and social networks, language attitudes and ideology and identity – will be considered, with particular attention to the work done among the Catalan language community. Afterwards, the methodology of the study will be explained; it is based on a combination of different techniques that have been considered optimal to determine the impact of several factors: the matched-guise technique and a sociolinguistic written questionnaire. The results show the relative weight of each factor and their combination in the use of a language, and are interpreted and summarized in the final section of the conclusions.

The Catalan-speaking communities

Language policy and language planning

Spain has promoted a Spanish identity for centuries related exclusively with the Spanish language. Especially during Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975), this was carried out in a particularly coercive way. Therefore, after his death, language rights were claimed together with other democratic demands, including self-governing for historic territories such as the Balearic Islands, Catalonia and the Valencian Community, as well as for Galicia and the Basque Country. This is the basis of the territorial organization established by the 1978 Constitution, which sets Spain as a quasi-federal state with 17 autonomous communities that have a certain range of competences, recognized by the respective Autonomy Statutes (a kind of regional Constitution).

Regarding language policies and language rights, article 3.1 of the Spanish Constitution establishes that 'Castilian is the Spanish official language of the state' and that 'all Spaniards have the obligation to know it and use it'. Furthermore, the Constitution refers to the linguistic pluralism and recognizes other Spanish languages. However, while the Constitution establishes a (brief) common regulation, the Statutes and language policies create the regional differences.

In Catalonia, the Statute of 1979 defines Catalan as the preferred language in official environments, that is, public administration, public media and public education. Moreover, the new Statute from 2006 determines the goal to take all the necessary steps to recognize Catalan as an official language in the European Union (EU), as well as to use it in international settings. Regarding the education system, it ensures that all students, no matter their native language, will be schooled in Catalan. In general, the language policies adopted and the legal measures applied by the successive Catalan governments can be qualified as a 'guarantee' and a 'continuation'. As Marí (2011) points out, the language policy has taken the Catalan language from a situation of 'normalization' to one of 'sustainability'.

It can be said, then, that Catalonia is the territory in which language policies more decisively in favour of Catalan have been carried out (and they still are). The fact that Catalan nationalist and pro-independence parties have been part of the autonomous government has led to the implementation of such policies. Currently, Catalonia is undergoing a process for the right to decide its independence as a state. This has made language a debate topic, discussing whether the Catalan language should become the exclusive official language – thus, excluding Spanish. This debate is unthinkable at this point in the other territories.

In the Valencian Country, the Statute from 1982 considers both Catalan and Spanish coofficial languages, but contrary to the Catalan Statute, it does not give Catalan the character of preferred

language. This weaker starting position is based on a language policy that is also very weak. Pradilla (2004) describes language policies carried out by socialist governments (until 1995) as underachieving, while conservative governments (1995–2015) carried out a real counterplanning, withdrawing support to the language social use and not advertising language teaching in Catalan. Observable results reveal the counterproductive character of the Valencian language policies: data on language use (see the *Evolution of language use* section) and generational transmission are very worrying, according to which the Valencian Country would be the largest territory showing the least encouraging data (see Bodoque 2011; Casesnoves & Mas, 2017). In fact, the only relatively positive data adduced after 35 years of self-government refer to written skills, thanks to schools, the only formal area where language has advanced. However, the Valencian school system has never provided a universal schooling in Valencian. Instead, there are three programmes, depending on the degree of use of Catalan as the language of schooling, which can be chosen by the parents subject to their language of preference.

The new Valencian Government (from 2015) is a coalition between a leftist and a nationalist party and it anticipates a certain impetus to language policies in favour of Catalan. For example, the Valencian Parliament approved the Decree on Multilingualism. Even though it maintains parents' will as a determinant of the proportion of Catalan and Spanish as languages of instruction, it presents a programme with different starting points regarding the use of Catalan and Spanish as the language of schooling, but that tends to a major presence of the minority language.

In the Balearic Islands, as well as in Catalonia, the Statute from 1983 establishes Catalan as the only preferred language and entrusts the Government to protect and promote actions belonging to a plan of linguistic normalization with the purpose of reaching linguistic equality. It must be pointed out that a model of bilingual education was applied much later than in the other two Catalan-speaking territories, from 1997 to the last elections in 2011.[2] The model is similar to the one in Catalonia, as it does not divide the students according to their mother tongue, but it differs from it in that Spanish might be the language of as much as 50% of schooling (Gelabert, 2009, pp. 99–103). In general, the language policies in the Islands have depended on the political colour of the territorial government, which has changed between conservative-in-favour of Spanish and progressive-in-favour of Catalan (Villaverde, 2005).

Regarding corpus planning, at this point, it can be said that the Catalan language is pluricentric (Mas, 2012; Riutort, 2011). These languages are defined primarily by the tension between convergence towards a single standard based on the variety of more demographic weight and prestige (dominant variety) and the desire to preserve the particular characteristics of the non-dominant varieties (Clyne, 1992; Muhr, 2012). In the case of Catalan, this tension has led to the setting of private standards for the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands, while there is also a normative common code across the linguistic domain. Especially in the Valencian Country, there are some social groups, with a conservative and anti-Catalan ideology, who bring interdialectal issues to an extreme, proposing a completely independent coding, with the intention of creating a new language. This would be an attempt of language division by *Ausbau*, using the well-known terminology suggested by Kloss (1967). Their suggestions have never had academic or cultural support and have not been formalized, but conservative governments and their political groups both in the Valencian Country and in the Balearic Islands have maintained a calculated ambiguity: it is a strategy in order to oppose public language use, qualifying the variety used in formal areas as foreign, as strange.

The article focuses now on the effects of these language policies in how the general population uses Catalan.
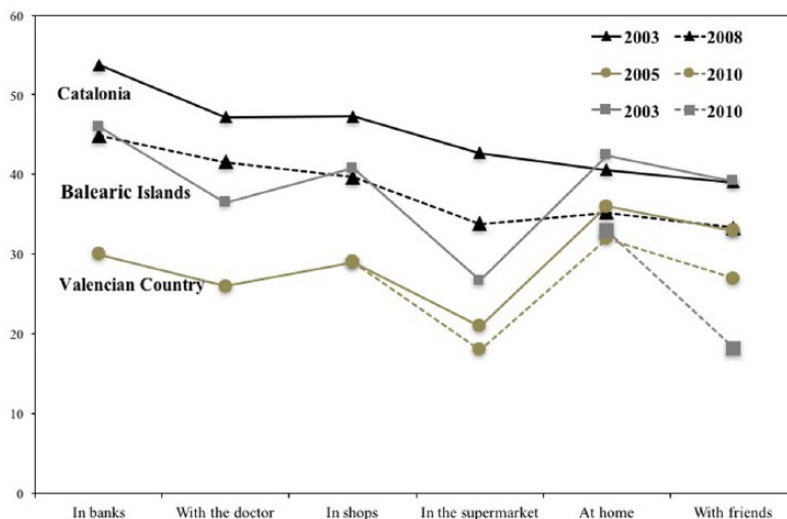
Figure 1. Evolution of the rate of use (always or usually) of Catalan in the Balearic Islands, Catalonia and the Valencian Country.

Evolution of language use

Specialists in endangered languages revitalization agree that the degree of language vitality is a basic indicator used to determine the appropriate type of language revitalization programme (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Among the factors that a group of experts from UNESCO (2003) pointed out to measure language vitality are its intergenerational transmission (which is the key factor in Fishman's scale, 1991) as well as trends in existing language domains. This section will focus on this last point, since longitudinal data on the use of Catalan in different areas and in all three territories are available. Only the results of the most recent survey will be shown to see the evolution of the language in a decade: between 2003 and 2013 for Catalonia (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, online; Torres, 2005); between 2004 and 2014 for the Balearic Islands (Govern de les Illes Balears, 2004; Melià, 2015); and between 2005 and 2015 for the Valencian Country (Servici d'Investigació i Estudis Sociolingüístics, 2005, online).

Figure 1 shows self-reports of the use of Catalan (population aged 15 years and more) rather than Spanish in various contexts. Continued lines indicate the first year or reference (2003, 2004 or 2005) and dotted lines, the last year (2013, 2014 or 2015).

Figure 1 illustrates two trends: firstly, according to the context of use, Catalans speak more Catalan in banks or with doctors (situations where the relationship with the interlocutor is not important), than at home or with friends (where the relationship with the interlocutor is most important). In the Valencian Country, on the contrary, Catalan is more used in contexts defined by a private and intimate relationship, while in the Balearic Islands the division according to the degree of intimacy of relationships does not seem to be obvious. Moreover, it is clear from the results that the use of Catalan has decreased during the first decade of the 21st century, independently of the context and of the region.

Thus, the process of linguistic revitalization, despite the differences in language policies, has had the same effects on the three Catalan-speaking territories, according to the data of use of Catalan.

Theoretical background

Language and social networks

Social networks are defined as 'the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking many individuals' (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 117). The idea of applying social networks as a variable affecting the way of speaking, or as a factor that could explain language use, was introduced by Milroy (1987; see also Milroy & Milroy, 1978, 1985) in her study about a working-class neighbourhood in Belfast. The method requires the measure of personal integration in the network (density) and its influence in language use. Results of the Belfast study show that the more integrated speakers were in their neighbourhood, with denser and multiplex personal networks (everyone knows everyone else), the more probable it was for them to use traditional or vernacular speech elements and the more susceptible they were to resist innovations.

The initial most important contribution of social networks analysis (SNA) has to do with the difficulty to implement the social and economic model underlying Labov's work (1972, 1986) on language variation and change. Social and demographic factors such as sex, age and social class explain the differences in language behaviour of a large urban community, while social networks can better describe the differences between groups and individuals (Bayley, Cameron, & Lucas, 2013). Firstly, SNA was limited to the area of language variation and change. However, it soon spread to other fields of sociolinguistics: language maintenance and shift in bilingual and multilingual contexts (Sallabank, 2010), in immigrants communities (Dabène & Moore, 1995; De Bot & Stoessel, 2002; Hulsen, De Bot, & Bert, 2002; Labrie, 1988; Wei, 1994), in marginalized communities (Gumperz 1982; O'Riagáin, 1997; Zentella, 1997), regarding second language (L2) acquisition (Dewey, Bown & Eggett, 2012; Fraser, 2002; Isabelli-García's, 2006; Pellegrino Aveni 2005; Whitworth, 2006) and identity (De Federico de la Rúa, 2005; Lubbers, Molina, & McCarty, 2007).

The introduction of social networks as a variable susceptible to influence Catalan use is quite recent, in comparison to the study of this variable in other languages. Querol (2000) introduced ground breaking research and proposed a model to explain and predict the use of Catalan among high school students in the Valencian Country. His model included three variables: social representation of the social network (or group of people who share, at least, one of the languages and have linguistic interactions among them in one of these common languages); social representation of groups of reference; and the social representation of the languages. The results leave no room for doubt since a social network in Catalan (which includes the ratio, frequency, quality and stability of contacts with people who speak Catalan) is found to be a decisive factor in determining the use of Catalan among high school students. The application of this model to other Catalan-speaking regions, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Andorra (Querol, 2004), empirically confirms the validity of the model because the variables considered are able to predict the use of Catalan in approximately 90% of cases. All three variables contribute to explain the use of Catalan. However, social networks did not have the same predictive importance in all regions. For instance, in the Valencian Country the value of social networks for Catalan speakers was even more relevant than first language (L1), which was considered until this research the most determinant variable in the use of Catalan; meanwhile, in Catalonia the most important factor was language representation.

Galindo (2006) also took into account the linguistic structure of the speakers' social networks to explain how children in primary schools in Catalonia use languages during recess. The results confirm the relevance of the presence of people who speak Catalan in social networks, in addition to the knowledge of the Catalan of the population, and the percentage of Catalan- and Spanish-speakers who study in the school.

Bretxa, Comajoan, and Sorolla (2009) analyse different variables to explain the relationship between preteenager students' home language and their language of identification in a city in the province of Barcelona, and two Catalan-speaking rural areas in the border between Catalonia and its neighbour, Aragon. This study shows that the presence of Catalan in the social networks of students who speak Spanish at home makes them include Catalan among their languages of identification.

Following the results of these studies it can be assumed that the quantity and quality of contact speakers have with other Catalan-speakers who are part of their social networks will influence, one way or another, the Catalan use in other contexts. The next section explores the studies that have shown the influence of one of the variables that influences Catalan use the most: language attitudes.

Language attitudes

Attitudes are a mental disposition towards something, being at the same time a predisposition towards social action and a result of it (Baker, 1992). If 'languages' in the previous definition substitute 'something', it will refer to language attitudes, that is to say, to attitudes related to languages and varieties as well as to speakers. This is demonstrated in the pioneering work by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960) and proved throughout time with the amount of research produced in subsequent decades (Giles & Billings, 2004, refer to it with the term 'Explosion of Research'). All this research underlines the importance of the study of language attitudes, since they are connected to behaviour and may be used for predictive purposes. Thus, 'attitudes contain important information for evaluating how speakers' prejudices and predispositions delimit the social domains in which a language is used' (Casesnoves, 2010, p. 478).

All this research allows stating some general trends; first of all, the consolidation of a theoretical approach to language attitudes, the mentalist theory, despite the behaviourist theory. Indeed, the behaviourist approach considers that attitudes and behaviours are responses to a given situation, according to a scheme comparable to that of cause and effect, which is not always corroborated. Contrary to this, the mentalist approach has shown a considerable degree of consistency in results over time and in different contexts, especially with indirect approach techniques to language attitudes, as for instance the matched-guise technique, which will be discussed in the methodology.

By now, it has been found that attitudes show resistance to change, but are mutable: they can be related to macro-factors and changes. French-speakers from Quebec illustrate the relationship between the level of psychological attitude and social norms of action. In a bilingual situation with French as language B in respect to English, and after 20 years, no significant differences in attitudes towards the identification with the endogroup were found (Genesse & Holobow, 1989). This change was produced after the *Charte de la Langue Française* in 1977, which established French as the only official language of the region.

Subsequent research has confirmed the need to distinguish two dimensions in language attitudes: solidarity, related to the role that language plays in the social identity of the group, and status or prestige, which has to do with its suitability to be used in formal contexts. It also seems to be a widespread tendency to change first attitudes related to solidarity rather than those to do with prestige (Byers-Heinlein, 2002; Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian, 1982), even though language policies are normally more focused on the status.

The Catalan case is no exemption from these trends, despite some of its peculiarities. Woolard (1984, 1989) and Woolard and Gahng (1990) highlighted the uniqueness of Catalan among minority languages, since it was the L1 to show results that clearly moved away from the concept of dominance in a situation of languages in contact. Data gathered with the matched-guise technique

showed that youngsters from Barcelona who participated in the study evaluated more positively speakers of Catalan than speakers of Spanish in both prestige and solidarity.

Moreover, it seems that the progression of Catalonia at the start of the 21st century goes towards an equalization of the values attributed to both languages. Accordingly, the work of Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng (2008) shows a certain value of bilingualism as a characteristic of solidarity. This, together with the acceptance of the informal use of immigrant languages, is attributed to a kind of 'linguistic cosmopolitanism'. In this regard, active bilingualism is perceived as a tool for social harmony, regardless of whether the speaker's original language is Catalan or Spanish, to the point that the emergence of a kind of bilingual language identity could be witnessed. Similarly, Woolard (2008) detected a decrease in the value of ethnic authenticity in relation to language, although public debate continues reproducing an essentialist relationship between language and nation, both by supporters of the hegemony of Spain and by advocates of Catalan (Woolard & Frekko, 2013).

The Valencian Country follows a different evolution, which emphasizes the changing nature of attitudes and how they are influenced by socio-political factors. The comparison between the pioneer Ros (1982) and the researches following the Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià[3] by Blas (1995) and Gómez (1998) show a certain loss of hegemonic prestige value of Spanish in favour of Catalan, although a few years later Casesnoves and Sankoff (2004) presented results that were somewhat different: Spanish is still the language of prestige among young people, with attitudes influenced by very different political and identity positions if we take into account those interviewed. A few years later, Casesnoves (2010) replicated the study and demonstrated that the Catalan language had barely earned any status, although the Spanish loses some. Catalan also loses value in the dimension of solidarity, which means that the symbolic value of the historical language could be declining.

Literature regarding the Balearic Islands is scarce. The only study that can be cited is that by Villaverde (1998), which compares, on the one hand, attitudes towards the standard Majorcan variety with attitudes towards Spanish and, on the other, attitudes towards the local standard variety and that of the area from Barcelona (central Catalan). The results obtained coincide with those of Woolard's some years before in Catalonia: there is a preference for the central Catalan variety when contrasted with Spanish and there are no differences between the evaluations of the varieties of Catalan. The author emphasizes the difference between the results obtained through the matched-guise, and those obtained from a test with direct responses, more concordant with the behaviour and social discourse explained by a diglossic situation in favour of Spanish.

Ideology and identity

While age and gender are inherent characteristics, the speaker has decision-making power in other ones, such as ideology and group representation. These are therefore subject to change, along with attitudes, and so is the relationship they may have with language use. It seems that identity is taking an outstanding importance in many language communities (Casesnoves & Sankoff, 2003; Woolard, 2009), and it is also being taken into account by institutions like the EU when designing language police (Byram, 2006).

Ideology has obviously been taken into consideration in situations of linguistic conflict, since the use of one language or another in these situations becomes a relevant social behaviour (Darquennes, 2015). Therefore, the role of ideologies must necessarily be considered: they can explain different behaviours in a situation with a lack of consensus, in this case, about the integrative and instrumental value of the language.

This article considers national identity (often analysed as ethnicity) and language unity as ideological topics. The point to consider these topics as ideological is the social controversy (Van Dijk, 1999) that exists in these societies about them. The existence of political parties and associations for the defence of the language advocating one or another national identity (i.e. Spanish or Catalan), and whether the language spoken in the three regions analysed is the same or not, justifies their consideration as ideological factors.

Regarding the ideological positioning itself, recent studies point to a lower relationship in all regions (Newman, Trenchs-Parera, & Ng, 2008), with the exception of the Valencian Country, where it seems that once again some positive correlation exists in favour of language use by leftwingers (Casesnoves & Mas, 2016), probably because Spanish nationalism mostly adheres to a rightist ideology. It is also assumed that ideologies about social identity have historically been of paramount importance in the use of Catalan (Woolard, 2008). What is interesting is to find out whether they still are and whether they are on the same terms, as has been recently questioned (Casesnoves & Mas, 2016; Woolard, 2013). The favourable opinion of the unity of language should also correlate with an increased use of the language, especially in the Valencian Country.

Objectives and hypotheses

The main aim of this study is to find out which social and ideological factors determine the choice of Catalan as a language of use, and particularly the relative weight each factor contributes to the choice. Indeed, the research consists of finding out which of the factors considered in this study as an independent variable determines to a greater extent the use of Catalan (the dependent variable). To this end, factors were classified as primary or secondary factors. The first are those given to the speaker, in the sense that they cannot be chosen, such as gender, origin or the parents' language. The secondary factors refer to those that can change throughout life, such as language attitude, ideology or social network. A series of statistical analyses will be used, particularly three multiple regression analyses, following these steps: first only the primary factors will be considered, then secondary factors will also be introduced (e.g. identity, language attitudes and political ideology) and, finally, the social networks will be included in the analysis.

The study was conducted on the population of university students in three major cities, Barcelona, Valencia and Palma, capital cities of the three Spanish regions where Catalan is official language (together with Spanish): Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. University students are a very interesting research group, since they are going to become part of the most influent social groups. Furthermore, they are living in a key moment for changes in linguistic performance, being permeable to language policy (Pujolar, González, Font, & Martínez, 2010).

The comparative aspect is important: the differences will be interpreted considering the different language policies implemented in each territory (see the *Language policy and language planning* section). In addition, research is carried out with the intention of making the results available to language policy makers in these territories. A good diagnosis of the situation and developments, taking into account previous studies about the issue is essential when carrying out language planning.

The main hypothesis is that social networks will be revealed as the factor that determines language choice to a greater extent in all territories. Large regional differences are not likely within the primary factors, as these factors do not depend on social nor regional facts. In contrast, secondary or ideological factors will have a greater impact on areas where there is less social consensus on the use of the language: Palma and, especially, Valencia (see the *The Catalan-Speaking Communities* section).

Methodology

The survey consisted of two parts. Firstly, using the matched-guise technique to access language attitudes, the students acted as *judges*, and listened to different voices recorded to evaluate them. Secondly, students answered a sociolinguistic questionnaire with 67 written questions to obtain social and ideological information, as well as data on their uses of Catalan. These materials, as well as the fieldwork procedure and the sample, will be described below.

The matched-guise technique

The matched-guise technique was originally elaborated by Lambert and colleagues (Anisfeld & Lambert, 1964; Lambert, Frankel, & Tucker, 1966), and it was conceived to elicit prejudices and stereotyped impressions, or biased views generated by the fact of speaking a given language (Lambert, 1967). Listeners or participants are asked to evaluate the personal qualities of the speakers who they have just heard, who had previously been recorded reading a text in different languages or varieties. In this study a variation of this technique was used, recording different individuals who read the same text once in Spanish and once in Catalan, and asking students to evaluate them to take part in a study to find the best speaker for a radio programme.

The text. Three criteria were followed to choose the text used: the content did not address a specific subject from any territory, it was as neutral as possible and it avoided political and identity issues; regarding register the article was written to be published in a newspaper and it used grammar complying with the standard and, finally, with regard to language, a newspaper that offered Catalan and Spanish versions of the same text was preferred.[4] Therefore, an unusual article was chosen about the detention of some burglars by an old lady, from a daily bilingual newspaper published in Catalonia, the only territory that, at that time, had bilingual editions. This is why the article was originally written in the newspaper following the standard rules of the central Catalan standard. This original version was used to represent the central Catalan standard. Leaving aside phonological differences between the three standard varieties from the different territories, morphological and lexical differences appeared in the text and had to be adapted: on the one hand, regarding morphology, the plural in *–ns* for words ending in *–e* (*hòmens*) and in *–os* for words ending in *–sc* (*cascos*) in Valencian, but only in *–s* for both central and balearic Catalan (*homes* and *cascs*); on the other hand, in relation to specific vocabulary, the adjective *gran* in the central variety was used, but in the Valencian and Balearic versions, *major* was used instead, the words *pal* and *aparador*, in central and Valencian dialects, but *garrot* and *mostrador* in Balearic or the adjective *vermell* or the verb *sortir* in central and Balearic varieties, but *roig* and *eixir* in Valencian.

The speakers. The objective was to have a representative range of speech and accent patterns on a spectrum of language dominance, from 'most Catalan' or 'Catalan dominance' to 'most Spanish' or 'Spanish dominance' through 'neutral accent' or the 'balanced bilingual' evaluated, that is, normally heard accents in each region. This is why speech samples from six varieties were needed: from non-marked varieties of Catalan and Spanish, as well as Catalan and Spanish spoken as the L1 and L2. The matched-guise technique originally involved one or more individuals, each speaking the same set of language varieties. This is not practicable when there are six varieties to be compared (cf. Table 1). Therefore, similarly to what Woolard (1992, p. 130) did, we chose different speakers who used their real accent. For unmarked varieties, 'balanced bilinguals' were selected, people who spoke both languages regularly, were children from a mixed marriage and lived in the capital (Eva and Paco). For varieties of Catalan as the L1 and Spanish as the L2, we looked for

Table 1. Speakers' characteristics.

	Speakers	Description	
		Catalan	Spanish
Women	Maria	Strong Catalan, non-urban	Strong Catalan accent
	Eva	Standard Catalan	Standard Spanish
	Cristina	Strong Spanish	*Suburban* accent
Men	Jordi	Strong Catalan, non-urban	Strong Catalan accent
	Paco	Standard Catalan	Standard Spanish
	Oriol	Strong Spanish	*Suburban* accent

individuals who had Catalan as their L1 and used it normally, and who lived in a town (Maria and Jordi). These varieties are named 'strong Catalan' in Table 1 because their accent is typically Catalan, and 'non-urban' when they speak Spanish, because their Spanish accent shows some Catalan phonetical features (e.g. the pronunciation of /l/), which are typical of people who do not use to speak in Spanish and who used to live in rural areas. For varieties of Spanish as the L1 and Catalan as the L2, people who had Spanish as their L1 and usual language and who resided in the metropolitan area of the capital were selected (Cristina and Oriol). In Table 1, these varieties are called 'strong Spanish' because their accent shows their Spanish origin (Newman, Trenchs-Parera, & Ng, 2008; Woolard, 2009). It is also called the 'suburban accent' when they speak Catalan, because the Spanish immigrants are located, traditionally, outside from city centre. In total, students listened to 12 different voices, three women and three men,[5] speaking one time in Catalan and a second time in Spanish. In all cases, the researchers moved to the speakers' place of residence, who were recruited through acquaintances, and were recorded in their house and with instruments usually used in this kind of experiment (recorder and/or computer and microphone).

The results of the present article focus exclusively on the balanced bilingual speakers, Eva and Paco, representing both the Catalan standard variety in each community (central Catalan standard, Valencian standard and Balearic standard, respectively) and the Spanish standard variety. These varieties are the ones that elicited the highest status evaluations and, according to the theory explained above, should reflect the effect of attitudes on language choice.

The test. After hearing the recorded voices the participants had to answer a questionnaire, available in Spanish and Catalan, which consisted of a series of questions to assess the people they had just heard. Firstly, they were asked about each speaker's geographical origin (Appendix 2 presents the model of the questionnaire used in Valencia) to verify whether they were identifying the speaker's origin correctly. There were four response options: (a) from the capital city of each community in question (Barcelona, Palma and Valencia); (b) from a town (of the respective community or island, Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca); (c) from the rest of Spain; and (d) from the Catalan-speaking community of reference in each case (Catalonia in Valencia and the Balearic Islands, and Valencia in Catalonia).[6]

Afterwards, students were asked to evaluate the speaker on a seven-point Likert scale (from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*) on a number of social and personal characteristics. All these scales were based on matched-guise literature, especially that pertaining to the Catalan-speaking area (Gómez, 1998; González & Blas, 2012; Newman, Trenchs-Parera, & Ng, 2008): amusing, trustworthy, likeable, open, sense of humour, generous, intelligent, self-confident, cultured, hardworking, responsible, urban. A priori, the first six adjectives measure the degree of solidarity and

identification with the social group that represents the speaker, while the last six serve to assess the socio-economic status, the prestige of that speaker in society.

Finally, there was one other kind of question that directly questioned the informant, in the sense that they were asked to specify, also on a Likert scale, the degree of agreement on the fact that the speaker could be a university professor (Professor), their boss (Boss) and their friend (Friend) and, finally, if they would like their children to speak the same way the speaker did (Offspring).

Sociolinguistic questionnaire

After listening and evaluating the speech samples, students filled in another survey, consisting of 67 questions, grouped by topics. The first part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire provided data on socio-demographic characteristics, such as gender (male, female), social class (working, middle and upper class, based on parental occupation and educational levels) and parents' geographical origin. This last characteristic is based on demographic and linguistic criteria. Therefore, informants whose parents were both born in Catalan-speaking areas were considered native; those with one parent born outside the language area (in another Spanish-speaking area in Spain or abroad) were considered mixed and the group of immigrants includes those students whose parents were both born outside of the Catalan-speaking area.

A second section included linguistic questions, particularly, on language use (Catalan, Spanish and other languages) in several contexts. These contexts can be classified in two groups: among relatives or with known individuals (at home with parents, siblings, and outdoors, with friends, neighbours and classmates), and with non-relatives or unknown interlocutors, in which the most important characteristics are the situation or the context, generally public places (hospital, bars, supermarkets, banks, shops and with passers-by on the street). The response options present a closed range of possibilities: from the exclusive use of Catalan to the exclusive use of Spanish, to the balanced used of both languages, and the use of languages different to Spanish and Catalan. Except the answers in contexts with relatives, the rest of the answers enabled the construction of two different scales that measured the overall language use, from exclusively using Catalan, to only speaking Spanish (*Known Language Use Index*), that will not be analysed in this study, and type individuals (*Type Language Use Index*), acting as a dependent variable. With the answers to the two questions about language use with the students' father and mother, a new variable was created (*Language with parents*).

The third part of questionnaire was devoted to measure language use in social networks. Since social networks imply that individuals establish, participate and integrate to different degrees in a social group, the method requires a measure of degree of integrgation. The index of personal integration has been measured using general scales, whereas approaches to characterize and quantify this index have been very different. As the components or indicators used to measure integration are culturally determined; these indicators may vary in different scales.[7] Despite the variation in the scales indicators, the hypothesis underlying the research is the same: there exists a correlation between social network and language use (either in the studies of linguistic variation and change or in the works related to the maintenance or shift in minority languages-migrant communities). Furthermore, in the particular discipline of language maintenance and shift, what underlies the research is the idea that 'a person's social networks affect the vitality of the community language and its likelihood to succumb to language shift' (García, 2003, p. 25). Works in Catalan sociolinguistics have taken into account both assumptions to construct an index score to measure the relative weight of a social network on the use and maintenance of Catalan language. Querol (2000), following Landry and Allard (1987), applied a questionnaire that, including the different components of a social network of communication, explains a

Table 2. Students' demographic and political characteristics used in this study.

Variable	Category	Percentage		
		Barcelona	**Valencia**	**Palma**
Gender	Women	68.3	63.0	61.2
	Men	31.7	37.0	38.8
Origin (of parents)	(1) Native	61.1	57.4	59.2
	(2) Mixed	19.5	21.3	19.4
	(3) Immigrant	19.5	21.3	21.5
Politics	(1) Left	60.6	54.4	54.1
	(2) Centre	19.0	24.6	38.5
	(3) Right	20.4	21.0	7.1
Parents' language	(1) Catalan	55.9	40.2	49.5
	(2) Catalan and Spanish	13.2	12.2	9.7
	(3) Spanish	24.5	45.0	30.6
	(4) Other	6.4	2.6	10.2

person's acquaintances related by language in both languages in contact (Spanish and Catalan in this case): proportion, multiplexity, density, frequency, stability and quality. Moreover, Galindo (2006), Galindo and Vila (2009), and Bretxa, Comajoan, and Sorolla (2009) designed a questionnaire to obtain specific information on the informant's use of Catalan in their more significant personal relationships. In all cases, the data must be considered an indicator of the perception or representation the informant has of their contact with the linguistic groups, in Querol's case, or of the informant's own language uses, in the case of the other mentioned works. Our approach to the questions about SNA and the construction of an index is a variation of the methods so far described. The questions in the questionnaire were similar to those of Galindo's (2006) and Bretxa, Comajoan, and Sorolla's (2009) in the sense that responses sought statements about the *frequency* of use of Catalan and Spanish with significant personal relationships. Students were asked to think of the 10 people with whom they relate daily and indicate the degree in which they use Catalan, Spanish or other languages with them. The index score takes into account only the answers related to the degree of use of languages.

The last part of the questionnaire was devoted to ideological questions, such as political orientation (self-report on a seven-point scale from extreme left to extreme right), and identity or feelings of identification ('To what degree do you consider yourself…?') with the social groups of reference (Catalan/Valencian/Islander and Spanish).

The sample

Six-hundred-and-six students from public universities of the three main cities in the three Catalan-speaking communities in Spain answered the survey: 221 in Barcelona, 189 in Valencia and 196 in Palma.

Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for the demographic and political characteristics used in this study. Regarding gender, females are overrepresented in all three samples, especially in Barcelona. This can partly be explained because, in general, the presence of women is higher in Spanish universities (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2011) and partly because of the low representation of engineering and architecture degrees, traditionally associated with the male gender, in our samples.[8]

The results about origin explain the importance of migratory movements in the capitals. Native students – with both parents born in the region where they live or in another Catalan-speaking territory – constitute about 60% of the samples, 20% are mixed – one of the parents comes from a Spanish-speaking area in Spain or from abroad – and 20% are immigrants.

In relation to the parents' language, the overrepresentation of Catalan-speakers in the three samples is surprising, particularly in Barcelona, where the difference between the frequency of youngsters who use Catalan at home (61.4%) and that of the general population of Catalonia (32%, according to the official survey of 2008 by Generalitat de Catalunya) reaches 30 points. As explained below, these characteristics will be considered as independent variables in the statistical analysis.

Fieldwork procedure

The convenience of accessing a lot of informants at once explains why the vast majority of studies on language attitudes have been carried out in public schools, especially secondary schools. This study was conducted in public universities.

Informants were selected through the accidental selective sampling technique (Trudgill & Hernández-Campoy, 2007), as the informants were not chosen completely at random. They were selected from specific faculties, while at the same time researchers tried to represent all branches of study. An email to all distribution lists that appeared in the universities was sent to seek the cooperation of the teaching staff.

Finally, participants were accessed from February until October 2012 through two options: either in person, in a classroom and in the presence of a monitoring investigator, or online, by visiting the web page where the survey (surveys and recordings) were available, on the other. In the first case, access to students was made possible thanks to the response of teachers, which left us a part of their class to carry out the survey and, secondly, because informants were approached inside the university facilities until a satisfactory amount of responses was gathered (asking them to answer the survey at that moment or from home). In all cases we addressed the students in Catalan by default.

Statistical analysis

Two kinds of statistical data analyses were carried out, aiming at the objectives pursued. Firstly, to operationalize and reduce the data on language attitudes a principal component analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation was performed, as other authors had done previously (Laur, 2008; Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2009; Woolard, 1989). The PCA was used to reduce the original group of data to a new simplified or smaller set of data. Moreover, it groups traits that elicit similar reactions or evaluations by students. The second analysis was a series of multiple regression analyses to identify the independent variable that influences the most in language use (the dependent variable, *Type Language Use Index*). In this study, as independent variables are used the following characteristics of the students interviewed;

1. Socio-demographic and ideological characteristics.
2. Reactions to guise of bilingual speakers (Eva and Paco, cf. Table 1).
3. Social network index.

Results

Principal component analysis

The use of PCA aimed to reduce the number of variables that measure attitudes while at the same time aimed to verify the dimensions that traditionally underlie attitudes (status and solidarity).

Table 3. Highest factor loadings for male balanced speaker of Catalan in every city.

	Factor 1: Solidarity			Factor 2: Status			Factor 3: Proximity		
	BCN	Palma	VLA	BCN	Palma	VLA	BCN	Palma	VLA
Amusing	.84	.85	.87						
Trustworthy	.35	.46	.54	**.63**	**.61**				
Likeable	.85	.81	.83						
Open	.77	.80	.78						
Sense of humour	.88	.86	.85						
Generous	.76	.72	.64						
Intelligent				.69	.74	.75			
Self-confident				.81	.74	.80			
Cultured				.86	.83	.84			
Hardworking				.85	.84	.79			
Responsible				.86	.80	.78			
Urban				.61	.57	.53			
Offspring							.72	.72	.73
Professor							.87	.86	.72
Boss							.84	.84	.85
Friend							.72	.72	.71

Table 4. Highest factor loadings for female balanced speaker of Catalan in every city.

	Factor 1: Solidarity			Factor 2: Status			Factor 3: Proximity		
	BCN	Palma	VLA	BCN	Palma	VLA	BCN	Palma	VLA
Amusing	.84	.79	.81						
Trustworthy	.32	.48	.58	**.63**	**.59**				
Likeable	.85	.80	.84						
Open	.78	.81	.79						
Sense of humour	.88	.86	.87						
Generous	.76	.72	.67						
Intelligent				.80	.82	.77			
Self-confident				.74	.80	.69			
Cultured				.86	.85	.79			
Hardworking				.87	.87	.81			
Responsible				.82	.83	.81			
Urban				.53	.54	.59			
Offspring							.69	.65	.74
Professor							.83	.80	.84
Boss							.84	.84	.83
Friend							.75	.72	.58

Table 3 provides the PCA results for traits associated with the balanced male speaker of Catalan. Our traits are distributed into three factors, one including the traits that represent solidarity (Factor 1: *amusing, trustworthy, likeable, open, sense of humour and generous*) and another with the characteristics of status (Factor 2: *intelligent, self-confident, cultured, hardworking, responsible* and

Table 5. Principle components of the male balanced speaker of Catalan.

Factor	Barcelona		Palma		Valencia	
	Eigenvalue	Percent variance	Eigenvalue	Percent variance	Eigenvalue	Percent variance
Solidarity	8.1	50.7	8.7	54.7	8.8	55.1
Status	2.1	13.1	1.6	10.3	1.7	10.6
Proximity	1.5	9.6	1.4	9.2	1.2	7.4

Table 6. Principle components of the female balanced speaker of Catalan.

Factor	Barcelona		Palma		Valencia	
	Eigenvalue	Percent variance	Eigenvalue	Percent variance	Eigenvalue	Percent variance
Solidarity	8.1	51.0	8.9	55.7	8.6	53.6
Status	1.7	11.2	1.6	10.0	1.7	10.4
Proximity	1.7	10.6	1.4	8.6	1.2	7.7

urban). The third factor regroups the answers of the four questions, which were formulated in a similar way (informants were asked about the probability of having some kind of relationship, either professional or personal, with the person they listened to) and this is probably why these questions were evaluated similarly. This new factor was named *proximity*, since it is considered to transmit this desire of establishing or not having a relationship with a person.

The distribution of factors for the female balanced speaker of Catalan is exactly same (cf. Table 4). Moreover, it is worth noticing that the trait *trustworthy* presents a higher communality in the status factor than in solidarity, in Barcelona as well as in Palma, independently of the speaker's gender. This result is not surprising, because in the study by Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng (2008) this trait also loaded more heavily to status, following a tendency perceived in earlier studies (contributing to solidarity in only 0.50). The similarities between results of female and male voices indicate that the classification of traits into three factors does not vary according to the gender of the speaker.

Tables 5 and 6 show the percentage of variance explained by each factor for the male and female speakers, respectively. The amount of variance explained by the solidarity factor in all three cities (around 50%) is significantly higher than status (approximately 10%) or proximity (between 7% and 10%). Moreover, the results show slight differences according to the speaker's gender.

Regression multiple analysis

The main goals of this study are finding out the factors implied in the use of Catalan and, particularly, which of them is the most important variable. Regression multiple analysis offers this information, dismissing or selecting among the variables introduced as possible explicative factors. The frequency of the interpersonal use of Catalan, measured with the *Type Language Use Index*, which in this study works as a dependent variable, situates the students from Palma in the middle of the scale (.51 of mean, Figure 2), the ones from Barcelona at the end of maximum use (.61, Figure 3) and the students from Valencia at the end with minimum use (.32, Figure 4).
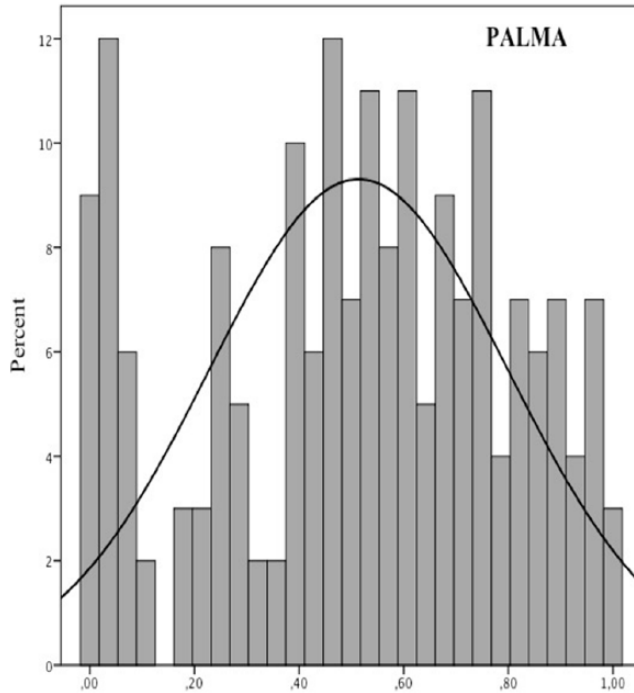
Figure 2. Distribution of students of Palma according to the Type Language Use Index (where 0 represents Spanish and 1 Catalan).

These variables (gender, origin, politics and parents' language), along with social class, reactions to status, solidarity and proximity associated to bilingual speakers, the indexes of identities (regional and Spanish) and of social networks, which are continuous variables (Table 7), complete the list of independent variables taken into account in the multiple regression analysis.

A series of regression analyses by steps was carried out. Firstly, the variables considered 'basic' or 'primary', in the sense that they are given and imposed, and cannot be chosen, were introduced. This would be the case of the socio-demographic variables (gender, origin, social class) as well as the language spoken with the parents. The results of this analysis can be seen in Table 8. While gender and origin have been excluded from the analysis, the parents' language is highly correlated to the informants' outdoor language choice, and this happens in the three samples: students whose parents speak Catalan tend to use more Catalan outdoors than students who speak Spanish at home. Social class is selected as significant, but its effect is very low. Also, the contribution of this variable is different, depending on the city: in Barcelona, it is the upper class that speak more Catalan, while in Valencia it is the lower class who does so. This could illustrate the different prestige or status that Catalan language has in the two communities.

As shown in Table 9, when a series of ideological or secondary variables are added, such as language attitudes, political orientation and declared feelings of identity, the increment of variation accounted for is between 9% in Valencia and 18% in Palma and Barcelona. Like the parents' language, the identity indexes have a significant effect in explaining language choice independently of the city: the territorial or local identity favours the choice of Catalan, rather than Spanish identity, which works against it. The fact that language attitudes do not have a great effect on language
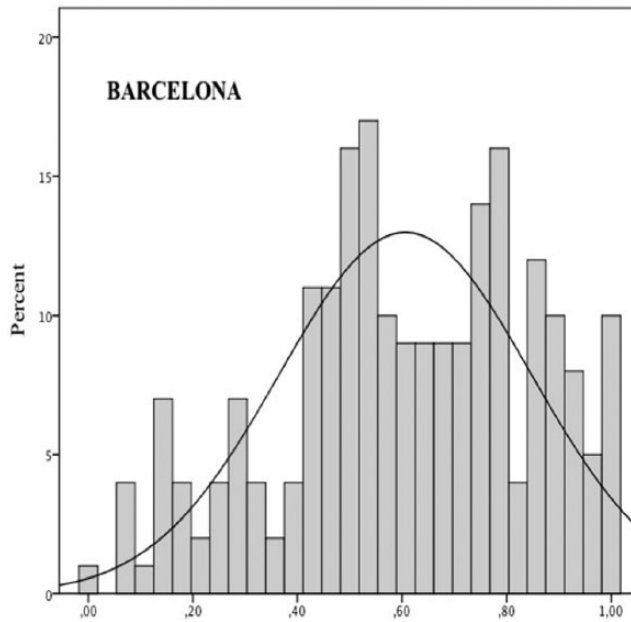
Figure 3. Distribution of students of Barcelona according to the Type Language Use Index (where 0 represents Spanish and 1 Catalan).

choice is not surprising, because this result is in agreement with previous studies that proved its low impact (Casesnoves & Sankoff, 2003). It is also true that, in the case of the male speaker, Catalan status and Catalan proximity has been selected in the analysis of factors favouring language choice in Valencian and Palma, respectively. However, the results are surprising because they work in the opposite direction to the one predicted; the more value given to proximity or the higher the status of Catalan, the less speakers are likely to use it outdoors, a misperception that could be explained by the speaker's origin. In fact, the results to another question from the matched-guise test in which students were asked to indicate the speaker's geographical origin show that, in the case of Valencia, most informants believed they were assessing the status of a neighbouring variety (from Catalonia) instead of that from their own territory. In the case of Palma, most students perceived that the speaker came from a rural area, and not from the city.

On the other hand, and contrary to what has historically happened in the Valencian Country, where a left-wing ideology was correlated to a higher use of Catalan, political orientation has not had a significant effect on language choice in Valencia. These results agree with Castelló (2001), who already proved more than a decade ago that ideology does not have an effect on the valorative loyalty of Catalan. Finally, it must be said that in the case of Valencia, both the Valencian identity index and the Spanish identity index help explain the use of Catalan, as in the cases of Barcelona and Palma: a greater sense of identification with the Spanish identity involves a lower use of Catalan. The particularity of the case lies in Valencia, where the increase of R2 (indicating the percentage of use of Catalan explained) after adding the secondary factors represents half of the increase seen in Palma and Barcelona (the 9% and 18%, respectively).

Finally, it was investigated whether including the social network index would lead to a greater increase in explanatory values (Table 10). The results are not unexpected since the selection of social networks as an important factor conditioning the choice of language coincides with the
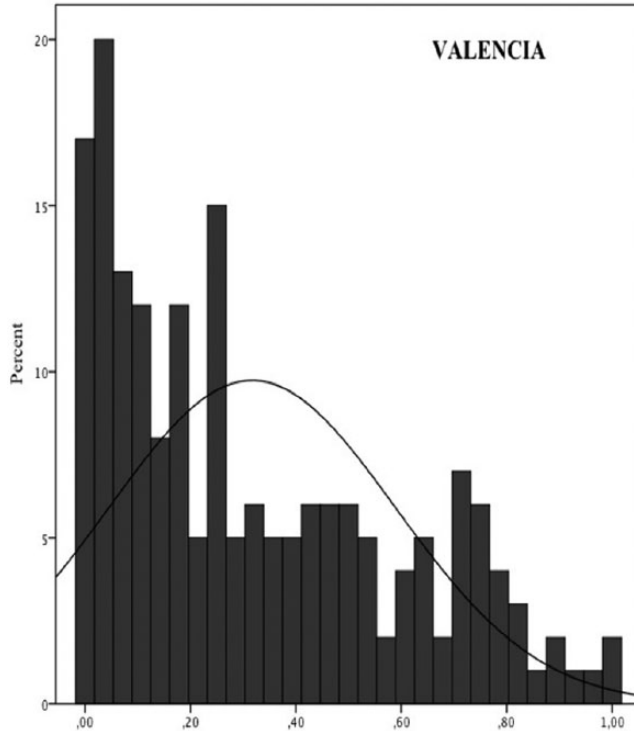
Figure 4. Distribution of students of Valencia according to the Type Language Use Index (with 0 representing Spanish and 1 Catalan).

international and local studies explained in previous sections. However, when comparing Tables 9 and 10, it can be seen that the predictive value of the networks variable increases by 18% in Valencia and Palma, while in Barcelona it is reduced by 9%. Moreover, it should be noted that the introduction of the social networks variable causes other secondary effects; for instance, social class is not selected in Barcelona and Valencia, and the parents' language is not retained in Palma and Valencia.

To sum up, the Catalan measures in social networks have considerably more predictive value on the choice of Catalan language in contexts or typified situations than other ideological and behavioural variables, such as political orientation, the parents' language or regional identity, while socio-demographic variables and the perceptions of language varieties status and solidarity have no predictive value at all. The differences between the three Catalan-speaking territories will be addressed in the discussion.

Discussion and conclusions

It is clear that demographic factors, such as gender or origin, do not have any effect on the use of Catalan in type contexts, while social class still has a minimum effect in Valencia and Palma (see Table 8). This is an expected result when taking into account the literature on the topic that demonstrates the independence between social climb or mobility, and the use of Catalan. Social networks take all the space, in the sense that this factor has far more weight than any other does when determining Catalan use. Again, this is an expected result, if we look at the most recent Catalan works. By

Table 7. Independent continuous variables used in this study (0–1).

Variables	Mean		
	BNA	Palma	VLA
Social class	**.80**	.61	**.70**
Status male	**.80**	.61	**.70**
Status female	.72	**.66**	.61
Solidarity male	**.65**	.47	**.58**
Solidarity female	.54	**.50**	.47
Proximity male	**.79**	.60	**.61**
Proximity female	.67	**.64**	.55
Regional identity index[a]	.76	.85	.71
Spanish identity index[a]	.35	.42	.62
Social network index[b]	.60	.58	.41

[a]Where 0 indicates no identification at all with the regional/Spanish identity and 1 regional/Spanish identity exclusively.
[b]Where 0 indicates no Catalan used at all and 1 that only Catalan is used.

Table 8. Regression analysis of Type Language Use Index on basic or primary factors.

City	Explanatory variables	Standardized coefficient (B)	t	sig.	R^2
Barcelona	Parents' language	−.59	−7.78	0.00	42%
	Social class	.15	2.83	0.05	
Palma	Parents' language	−.55	−6.89	0.00	46%
Valencia	Parents' language	−.68	−10.43	0.00	53%
	Social class	−.22	−4.10	0.00	

Stepwise regression analyses exclude statistically non-significant explanatory variables; thus, neither gender nor origin were chosen.

applying the same methodological protocol, the contribution of our work lies in the fact that it allows, with a guarantee of validity, comparing the differences between the three Catalan-speaking communities and uncovering the functioning and the implication that the use of Catalan in social networks has in the recovery of Catalan.

The multiple regression analysis reveals another dimension of revitalization. When compared to Table 9, Table 10, which is the last step of the analysis and when the variable that measures the use of Catalan in social networks is incorporated, shows that the effect of the language spoken with parents disappears in the cities of Valencia and Palma, but not in Barcelona. The language spoken at home disappears in Palma and Valencia because the influence and impact of the initial language in the choice of language in social networks is much higher than in Barcelona. Thus, there is a likely effect of collinearity between the two variables. The impact of this strong dependence between initial language and language choice in other contexts and situations on the recovery of Catalan in Palma as well as in Valencia directly affects the transmission of language and, therefore, the difficulty of planning an intervention in this area. In Barcelona, this relationship also exists, but it does not condition the use of Catalan outside of home in the same measure. Consequently, the impact of the planned measures, in some areas where it is easier to intervene publicly, will be more visible than in the other Catalan-speaking communities.

Similarly, the indexes of identity, language attitudes and political orientation have a different influence on how students use Catalan, depending on the city of residence. Table 9 shows the two

Table 9. Regression analysis of Type Language Use Index on basic or primary factors and ideological or secondary factors (language attitudes, politics and identity).

City	Explanatory variables	Standardized coefficient (B)	t	sig.	R^2
Barcelona	Parents' language	−.52	−6.63	0.00	60%
	Spanish identity	.−27	−4.52	0.00	
	Catalan identity	.24	4.35	0.00	
	Social class	. 11	2.11	0.04	
Palma	Parents' language	−.42	−4.93	0.00	64%
	Spanish identity	.−39	−5.28	0.00	
	Island identity	−.12	2.42	0.02	
	Catalan proximity male	−.19	−2.76	0.01	
Valencia	Parents' language	−.64	−8.35	0.00	62%
	Spanish identity	−.28	−4.01	0.00	
	Valencian identity	.17	2.38	0.02	
	Social class	−.13	−2.20	0.03	
	Catalan status male	−.13	−2.28	0.02	

Table 10. Regression analysis of Type Language Use Index on basic or primary factor, ideological of secondary factors and social networks.

City	Explanatory variables	Standardized coefficient (B)	t	sig.	R^2
Barcelona	Social networks	.47	6.46	0.00	69%
	Spanish identity	−.18	−3.33	0.00	
	Catalan identity	.16	3.20	0.00	
	Parents' language	−.24	−2.89	0.00	
Palma	Social networks	.79	9.80	0.00	82%
	Spanish identity	−.15	−2.53	0.01	
	Catalan proximity male	−.11	−2.10	0.04	
	Politics	−.11	−2.18	0.01	
Valencia	Social networks	.87	10.60	0.00	80%
	Spanish identity	−.14	−2.64	0.01	

indexes of identity, regional and Spanish, which influence similarly the use of Catalan in the three cities, while the political orientation, and similarly in all cities, is not related to it. Language attitudes, however, have a different role depending on the city. While in Barcelona language perception is independent of the use of Catalan, in Valencia and Palma it is not completely so. In both cases, the misidentification of the origin of the speakers shows, indirectly, some interesting interdialectal attitudes of the students: the undervaluing of the Catalan variety spoken in a specific area. In one case, Catalan from a non-urban area (in Palma), and in the other, the variety that is not typical of the region (in Valencia), are downplayed. These attitudes confirm the identification of the speaker using the standard oral model predominant in their own territory, both in Palma and Valencia. In any case, their contribution among the rest of the factors that explain the use of Catalan is minimal.

Table 10 perfectly illustrates the great importance that identity is playing in Catalonia, where during the last years the positions in favour of sovereignty and independence have not stopped increasing, radically changing the political landscape and public involvement in the *movement for*

the right to decide, which is still going on. When the analysis also incorporated the social networks variable, the index of regional identity only remains in Barcelona, while in Palma the ideological orientation index seems to swallow the identity variable, and in Valencia social networks alone explain almost entirely the use of Catalan.

The most striking difference between the three cities has to do with the power and explicative strength that social networks finally have on the use of Catalan. While in Valencia and Palma it is revealed, and with a great difference, as a determining factor in choosing Catalan in type contexts, explaining 80% of the variation; in Barcelona, social networks do not exert much influence as compared to other factors, such as the language of parents and identity, which play an important role in the use of Catalan.

The process of *naturalization* in Barcelona, as opposed to the *politicization* of Catalan taking place in Valencia and in Palma, is useful to understand such different roles of social networks in the recovery of Catalan. The use of Catalan in stereotype contexts (defined by traits –private, –known person) although conditioned by the use of Catalan in social networks (defined by the features found in +private +known person), would be much more detached in Barcelona than in the other two cities. Speakers of Catalan, in Valencia and in Palma, make conscious and deliberate acts of speaking Catalan wherever and with whomever they speak to, thus demanding their right to choose this language in a situation where the use of Spanish is most common. In Barcelona, however, where the use of Catalan is much more generalized and where the language has been un-ideologisated, at least among youngsters, a speaker of Catalan does not try to show constantly that they *use* Catalan. The process of naturalization of a minority language, so necessary for its recovery and normality, seems to have started. Indeed, the last campaign by the Catalan Government to promote the language points in this direction – *Catalan, a language for everyone* ('El català, llengua per a tothom'). Probably, this is also the direction that campaigns to promote Catalan in the other two regions should take, taking advantage of the new, more favourable political situation. The replica of the study that has just been presented in these pages some years later after the implementation of this hypothetical new language policy in Valencia and the Balearic Islands could show its degree of success.

Declaration of conflicting interests

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Notes

1. http://www.ub.edu/cusc/llenguesmitjanes/
2. Until 1997 the competences in non-university education were part of the national educational authorities and, therefore, the Government of the Balearic Islands could not regulate the use of Catalan. In 2011, a conservative and centralist party (PP) won the elections and revoked the Decret de Mínims (Decree of Minimums), against the will of the people and the educative sector, and promoted a new decree. This decree sets English as a language of instruction, in addition to Spanish and Catalan, and is perceived as damage to the weaker language, Catalan. Very recently, in 2015, a new pro-Catalanist front won the

elections and immediately announced that they will revoke this decree.
3. Law of Use and Teaching of Valencian.
4. In Appendix 1 the text translated into English can be found.
5. Studies that have used this technique have demonstrated that the voices of women and men evoke different reactions (Andrews, 2000, 2003; Bayard, 2000; Denisson, 2006; Laur, 2008; Loureiro-Rodríguez, Boggess, & Goldsmith, 2013; Newman, Trenchs-Parera, & Ng, 2008).
6. The analysis of language attitudes towards different Catalan dialects has been studied in another work (Casesnoves & Mas, 2015) and, therefore, will not be explained here.
7. For example, Milroy (1987) used five indicators to measure integration in the neighbourhood: whether they were part of a group from the neighbourhood (i.e. football team); whether they were related to more than two families from the neighbourhood; whether they worked with, at least, two people from the neighbourhood; if they worked with, at least, two people of the same sex from the neighbourhood; and whether they were in contact with colleagues outside from work. However, Li Wei (1994) only asked his informants to indicate the names of the 20 people with whom they were more in contact.
8. It should be clarified that this would only be applicable to the samples from Barcelona and Palma, where young people who are studying engineering and architecture represent only 14% of the total. In Valencia this proportion increases to 37%.

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Appendix 1

Una dona gran deté els lladres d'una joieria a cops de bossa

Una dona gran va detenir a cops de bossa una banda d'atracadors que assaltaven una joieria a una localitat del Regne Unit. Les imatges de l'incident, que va ser filmat per una càmera, mostren tres homes ocults sota cascs de motos que trencaven a cops de pal els aparadors d'una joieria, mentre un quart integrant de la banda els esperava amb una moto.

Él succés es va produir davant la indiferència dels pocs vianants que circulaven per la zona. De sobte, des del fons del carrer, va aparèixer una dona vestida de vermell corrent amb una bossa negra i pesada a la mà, que quan va arribar al lloc la va emprendre a cops amb els lladres. Davant l'agressió, a la qual es van afegir altres persones, els lladres van optar per sortir corrent, però la policia ja havia arribat al lloc dels fets i va detenir els assaltants.

An older woman stops thieves in a jewellery store by hitting them with a bag

An older woman stopped a band of robbers who raided a jewellery store in a town in the UK by hitting them with a bag. The video, recorded by a hidden camera, shows three men hidden under motorbike helmets breaking with a stick the windows of a jewellery store while a fourth member of the band waited with a motorbike.

The event took place in front of the indifference of a few pedestrians that walked around the area. Suddenly, from the end of the street, an older woman dressed in red appeared running with a heavy black bag in her hand. When she reached the place she undertook the thieves hitting them.

Because of this assault, which some passersby joined, the thieves chose to run away, but the police had already arrived at the scene and stopped the criminals.

Appendix 2

Answer the following questions, crossing with an X only *one* option in each case.

1. Where do you think speaker 1 is from?

	Impossible	With difficulty	Maybe	Probably	For sure
From the city of Valencia					
From a village in the Valencian Country					
From the rest of Spain					
From Catalonia					

2. How do you think speaker 1 is like?

Funny │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Trustworthy │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Friendly │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Open │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
With a sense of humor │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Generous │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Intelligent │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Self-confident │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Cultured │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Hard-worker │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Responsible │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│
Urban │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│

3. If you had children, would you like that they talked like speaker 1?

Totally agree │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│ Totally disagree

4. Do you think that speaker 1 could work as a professor?

Totally agree │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│ Totally disagree

5. Do you think that speaker 1 could be your boss?

Totally agree │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│ Totally disagree

6. Do you think that speaker 1 could be your friend?

Totally agree │_7_│_6_│_5_│_4_│_3_│_2_│_1_│ Totally disagree