

‘A sociolinguistic description of Perpignan’

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## Abstract

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This thesis reports on a research project conducted in Perpignan in 1988. The object of the project was to discover and describe the varieties of language present in the town, patterns of language use and language attitudes among inhabitants.

Perpignan has been part of France and therefore officially French-speaking for over three hundred years, but it is historically a Catalan-speaking town, and Catalan is still spoken there, although it is now a minority language. Several other minority languages are also spoken, due to the presence of immigrant communities, most notably Spanish, Portuguese and Arab.

The research took the form of a questionnaire survey, used with a representative sample of the population.

The major part of the thesis consists of a presentation of the findings of the survey. It presents the responses of the sample as a whole, and then discusses in greater detail the responses of each ethnolinguistic group.

The survey revealed that Catalan, the historically indigenous language of the region, is quite widely known, but little used. 54.5% of the sampled population claim some knowledge of this language, but only 19.2% actually use it regularly. The majority of the sample seems to be well-disposed towards the language on a cultural level, yet see little or no use for it in practical terms.

Use of and attitudes towards other minority languages are also discussed, with particular reference to Spanish, Portuguese and Arab immigrants.

The study reveals a great linguistic diversity in Perpignan, and a number of conflicting movements and attitudes relating to those languages. There is a widespread feeling that it is inevitable and even necessary that all inhabitants of the town should become monolingual French speakers, yet at the same time there is an awareness of the value of maintaining minority languages, expressed mainly in attitudes towards Catalan.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

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The primary aim of this project is to provide a sociolinguistic description of the town of Perpignan. It is intended to be an empirical study, which uses sociological techniques to gather information on the language use and language attitudes of inhabitants of the town. The function of this introduction is to explain why such a project was undertaken, how it has developed, and what it hopes to contribute to the world of sociolinguistics. Thus it will provide some of the prehistory of the project as well as explaining how and why the latter developed as it did. Finally the introduction will explain the organisation of the thesis.

### 1.1 Origins and development of the project

This project started life as a desire to describe the sociolinguistic situation of a French town. It appeared that such a project had not been undertaken by French sociolinguists who had, for the most part, preferred to describe rural communities or to examine certain aspects of urban sociolinguistics rather than to try and give a full overview of the situation in a town. Thus in her introduction to issue 29 of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, which deals with regional languages in France in rural situations, Tabouret-Keller says “It has not been an easy task to gather articles that would illustrate the present state of regional languages in France, not because there are too many potential articles to choose from, and hence the sampling procedure difficult, but because there are too few” (1981:6). She claimed moreover that she was obliged to begin the series on French sociolinguistics with rural issues rather than urban or theoretical because her “impression is that both other domains were even less developed from the point of view of offering a sufficient choice of original work” (1981:7). The basic aim of this project then was in a sense to fill a gap by giving a complete picture of the sociolinguistic situation in one French town. This was at once rather ambitious and rather vague: the rest of this section will show how this aim was modified and clarified.

#### 1.1.1 Choice of Perpignan

The choice of town was of primordial importance in this process, as every town has its own linguistic and other characteristics which would affect the nature of the project.

Perpignan was not chosen at random, but for a number of interconnecting reasons. A primary consideration was to find a town where standard French would not necessarily be the norm. Despite a long history of attempts by French central government to impose the language of Paris on the whole of French territory (see Gordon, 1978; Bourhis, 1982), there are



numerous regions of France where regional languages are still in existence. Alsace, Brittany, Provence and the Basque country would have been potentially as interesting as Roussillon, in the sense that they have regional languages fighting for survival. Moreover, in all these regions the majority of sociolinguistic work carried out recently has been undertaken by groups or individuals involved in the defence of the regional language and therefore have tended to be rather one-sided. They have not sought to take into consideration all the varieties of language in a given region or town, but simply to show the extent to which their own language is used.

North Catalonia, or Roussillon, was chosen in preference to the other regions mentioned above, for the following reasons. Firstly, because Catalan, the historic language of this region, has in recent years been enjoying a very successful revival in neighbouring South Catalonia. Although Franco attempted to extinguish the Catalan language in Spain, in the latter years of his dictatorship its use became more open again, and since his death it has been completely revived and may now be regarded as more prestigious than Castilian in the region. It is still possible for immigrants from other parts of Spain to live and work in Catalonia and speak only Castilian, but it is tolerated less and less by the native Catalans. (Throughout this thesis the term "Castilian" will be used rather than "Spanish" when referring to the majority language of Spain, since this is the correct term, and the one used by its native speakers.) Thus it seemed that there would be a possible conflict of influences in the region of North Catalonia: centralising French policies on the one hand, stressing the importance of speaking standard French, and on the other hand the example of South Catalonia, proof that Catalan is a language valid for use in every sphere of modern life, and that it can be developed in a region which remains part of another state.

On this point there was also a personal element of interest in this region: a prior knowledge of Elche, a town in the *Comunidad Valenciana*, on the southern limit of the Catalan-speaking zone, gave an added incentive to look at the north side of the zone. Like Perpignan, Elche has been to a large extent decatalanised, although for completely different reasons: initially of course because of repressive language planning by Franco, but also due to in-migration of Castilians from other parts of Spain, attracted by the town's booming footwear industry. However, in recent years there has been a distinct growth in regionalist feeling in the town: in 1987 the street names were changed from Castilian to Valencian; Valencian is now obligatory in schools, and pride in this language and in Valencian identity is very strong among schoolchildren and teenagers. This first-hand experience at one extreme of the Catalan area therefore awakened interest in the idea of a study of the situation at the northern extreme.

Apart from the presence of Catalan, the fact that Roussillon is a border region suggested that there would be a greater likelihood of finding variety in language, due to influence from the neighbouring country, Spain. Also, as throughout the south of France, there is a high level of immigration from North Africa in this region, thus adding yet another sociolinguistic element.

Once the region was decided upon, it did not take long to narrow down



the choice to Perpignan. The only other towns in the region are Prades and Céret, which are scarcely more than overgrown villages, and chapter three will describe the extent to which Perpignan is the undisputed centre of this region.

It cannot be claimed that Perpignan is a “typical French town” (only 35.7% of its sampled inhabitants think it is), but then this would be to presuppose that such a town exists. The intention of this project is not to present Perpignan’s sociolinguistic situation as indicative of that of all French towns, but as unique: it has its own sociolinguistic character, as does any French town. In the case of Perpignan it is the presence of Catalan that distinguishes it from all other towns, but it does invite comparison with other towns which have their own regional language, and also with any French town for the interaction of immigrant languages with French.

### 1.1.2 Hypotheses and objectives of the study

It was only once the choice of town had been made that the form of the survey could be determined. Thus it was after a short fact-finding visit to Perpignan and a consequently increased awareness of the situation that it became possible to formulate some hypotheses about the potential findings of the survey. At the same time the decision was made to conduct the fieldwork by means of a questionnaire survey on a sample of the population. The reasons for this decision are explained in chapter three.

Based on personal communication with Pere Manzanares (a leading figure in the *Arrels* association) and Francesc Català (a retired doctor who had conducted a survey on use of Catalan in his practice) a number of assumptions were made about the situation of Catalan:

- It is very little spoken in the town, but is more likely to be found in *quartiers populaires* such as Saint Mathieu.
- People are generally unable to say whether they are French or Catalan. They often feel that they are both but do not know which comes first.
- A replacement of the original population, due to unemployment and centralisation, has led to widespread de-catalanisation in the region.
- Schools and the mass media have had an effect on linguistic patterns (there is a tendency to converge towards standard French).
- Conversely, an influx of Catalanophones during and after the Spanish Civil War, and the proximity of South Catalonia, has contributed to the maintenance of Catalan in Perpignan.
- The prospect of a United Europe and possible closer ties with Barcelona may lead some people to learn Catalan for economic reasons.
- A number of older people, who have spent their working lives away from the region, in retirement try to learn Catalan and to regain their *catalanitat*.



- The people of North Catalonia lack the dynamism of the South Catalans, and tend towards fatalism which enables them to accept their linguistic oppression.

From a wider knowledge of the literature concerning minority languages, and in particular their situation in France, the following hypotheses were also made:

- Catalan would be spoken more widely among older people, but they would tend to be reticent about admitting this (Bernardó and Rieux, 1973; Verdaguer, 1988). Conversely there may be a tendency for younger people to seek a revival of the language, on analogy with the situation in Alsace (Gardner-Chloros, 1985) and in numerous other minority language communities throughout Europe since World War Two.
- Everyone, whether or not they speak Catalan, would value it less highly than French. People are likely to consider English the most prestigious language on a world scale, and to give little importance to minority languages such as Catalan.
- Speakers of immigrant languages would value French more highly than their own language, and immigrant communities may find themselves in a state of language shift as they either adopt French totally or seek to conserve their own language.

The phenomena mentioned in the second and third of the above points are discussed in general terms by Appel and Muysken (1987) and Fasold (1984) among others.

These hypotheses were kept in mind when the questionnaire was drawn up, but every attempt was made to avoid questions which could lead to bias, since the primary aim remained to provide an unbiased perspective on the situation. Within that framework the main objectives of the questionnaire were the following:

- to discover the number of varieties of language known and used in Perpignan, and the extent of multilingualism;
- to determine when and why the different language varieties are used - whether, for example, such factors as age, sex and socioprofessional category influence a speaker's use of different varieties;
- to discover attitudes of speakers towards their own and other languages, and how people feel about speaking languages other than French;
- to discover the extent to which Catalan is in use, in what circumstances it is used and by whom, thus estimating the consequences of government policies and societal changes on this language.



These broad objectives led to the formulation of the questionnaire which is reproduced in Appendix A, which was used in Perpignan from May to September 1988.

With the responses to this questionnaire the study hoped to address the following general issues:

- languages in contact and bilingualism: relating to the variety of languages which are in contact in Perpignan, in particular Catalan, but also immigrant languages;
- language maintenance and shift: firstly with regard to Catalan and its apparent slow death and possible revival; secondly with regard to immigrant languages, their maintenance as a mark of cultural difference or their assimilation;
- language attitudes: primarily expressed by attitudes towards Catalan, but also in a general appreciation of the relative value of different languages.

## 1.2 Organisation of the thesis

Whilst it is hoped that the table of contents is clear and self-explanatory, this section should explain how and why the thesis has been arranged in its present form.

Chapter two is also a kind of introduction, taking up in greater detail the points mentioned in 1.1.1. and thus giving the reader the necessary background for a full understanding of the situation being investigated here.

Chapter three discusses the methodology, explaining and justifying the choice of methodology used, and going on to describe how it worked in practice. In the same way, chapter four discusses first the theoretical background and preparation of the questionnaire, followed by an appraisal of how it worked in the field. Through these two chapters a clear picture should emerge of exactly what the project involved in practical terms, and why it was undertaken in that way.

The following few chapters, which constitute the major part of the thesis, contain the results. Over four chapters, five to eight, the responses of all informants to all questions are presented in the form of histograms and tables. The responses are presented in this way initially, in their totality, so that the reader may see, in the most straightforward way possible, exactly what the questionnaire produced. The accompanying commentary is intended to explain or elucidate that which is not immediately clear or self-explanatory, and to offer some analysis of these overall responses. In some cases responses seem to confirm hypotheses, in others they do not, in still others it simply is not clear.

Chapters nine and ten are also direct analyses of responses, but go into individual questionnaires in rather more depth, taking individual groups within the sample. Chapter nine deals with Catalans: it attempts to show



who the speakers of Catalan are, and to discover, through them, what the current situation of their language is in Perpignan. The following chapter seeks to analyse, in a similar way, speakers of other minority languages in Perpignan, to find out who they are, and what the situation of each language is. It also considers the attitudes of each group towards Catalan. Taken together, these two chapters should cover every informant in the sample, and indeed some multilingual informants are discussed more than once.

These two chapters may be seen as a refinement of the preceding four, and the six together should succeed in giving the reader a clear picture of the sociolinguistic situation uncovered by this survey.

The penultimate chapter takes up the various sociolinguistic issues raised by the survey (mentioned above in 1.1.2.). It discusses the issues in Perpignan in a wider context, relating them to similar situations described already in the literature, and seeking to make tentative predictions as to the outcome of the different situations in the town, based on previous work in the field, empirical and theoretical.

Finally it seems prudent to add a few comments concerning the presentation of this thesis: firstly, every effort has been made to ensure that the text is clear and comprehensible. To achieve this, tables have been used wherever it seemed appropriate, in order to present facts as clearly and concisely as possible, and sub-headings have been widely used so that it is easy to find a relevant section of the text. It is hoped that these techniques prove successful in producing a clear and readable text.

Secondly, equally in the interests of clarity and in order to avoid unnecessary and unnatural turns of language, on occasion the first person singular has been used in this thesis. Although it is not normal academic practice, it has been deemed a more logical solution in certain parts of the thesis, notably in the discussion of the fieldwork (3.4.).

Thirdly, there are no footnotes in this text. Some chapters do contain end-notes, where a word of explanation was deemed necessary. As far as possible however, this practice has been avoided, as it is felt that all relevant material should be fully integrated into the text. All references to other works are given in abbreviated form (author, year of publication and page number) and can be found in full in the bibliography at the end.



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## Chapter 2: Introduction to Perpignan

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### 2.1 A Sociolinguistic history of Catalogne-Nord.

#### 2.1.1 Introduction: origins of Catalan

As the name of this region suggests, it is historically part of the entity known as Catalonia, and a sociolinguistic study of it must therefore begin with a recognition of the role that the Catalan language has played through the ages. Although the development of Catalan is comparable to that of any other Romance language, it is frequently referred to as a dialect of Spanish or a “patois” and as such has for many years been discriminated against by the Spanish and French in favour of their own languages. Since the return of democracy in Spain, the condition of Catalan in that country has improved greatly. In the autonomous region of Catalonia it enjoys official status, along with Castilian, and its use is increasingly favoured in the other Catalan-speaking regions (the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands). In French Catalonia, however, the situation is altogether different: Catalan is not in widespread use, and attempts to revive it have seen only limited success so far. To understand why this is so, some knowledge of the region and its linguistic development is necessary.

There is much controversy as to the origins of the Catalan language: Francesc Vallverdú claims that it is of Ibero-Romance origin, formed south of the Pyrenees in what is now “Catalunya Vella”. Its relation to Hispanic languages is clear in its morphology; yet its resemblance to French in phonetics and vocabulary could suggest that it is derived from a Latin similar to Gallo-Romance. Miquel Strubell i Trueta claims that the language actually originated in Gaul - in “Catalunya-Nord”, and Meic Stephens also classes it as a Gallo-Romance language, due to its origins and sustained cultural links with the South of France until about 1250. Whatever its origins, it is undeniably a distinct language, with its own culture, which forms a kind of bridge between the two neighbouring languages, French and Castilian.

#### 2.1.2 Early development of Catalan in Catalonia<sup>1</sup>

As early as 864 the Turks had designated Catalonia, the “Marca Hispánica”, as a buffer-state between France and Spain. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the country gained political strength, united under the counts of Barcelona, and the language developed rapidly. In the eleventh century Catalan clearly diverged from the other Romance languages, a fact attested by its first recorded use in 1114. The upper classes continued to use Latin in certain contexts, despite the availability of Catalan, creating what modern linguists might call a state of diglossia (that is, a situation in which two languages coexist in the same speech community, serving different functions).



In 1137 Ramón Berenguer IV married the heiress to the Crown of Aragon, thus becoming king of Aragon and founding what modern historians call the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation, beginning a period of independence and expansion.

Expansion into Occitania ended with the death of Pere I “El Catòlic” in 1213, after which Catalan influence north of the Pyrenees was limited to Roussillon and Cerdagne. Pere’s successor, Jaume I “El Conqueridor” created the Kingdom of Majorca (Balearic Islands, Roussillon, Cerdagne and the Seigneurie of Montpellier) with Perpignan as its capital. However, the dispersion of these territories, and family rifts, made it difficult to administer, so in 1344 Pere III “El Ceremoniós” reunited the kingdom to the rest of Catalonia, and returned Montpellier to France.

### 2.1.3 • Normalisation of Catalan

The Catalan language meanwhile emerged as well-defined and unified, largely due to the standardising effect of the Royal Chancellery of Aragon. Although Provençal was the language of poetry, and generally overtook Latin as the H (high) language in the area, Catalan too proved a valuable language of literature, and its normalisation was speeded up by the spread of literacy. During the period of imperial expansion into North Africa, “Romania” (the Hellenic Peninsula, Anatolia and the Greek islands) and the Western Mediterranean, which lasted from 1276 to 1410, Catalan was clearly the national language. Up to this point it may be said that Catalan followed the same normalisation process as other European languages.

Thus in the fifteenth century Catalan possessed all the properties of a standard language and enjoyed a Golden Age of literature: the first book printed in the Iberian Peninsula was in Catalan: *Les trobes en Llaor de la Verge Maria* in 1474. Despite this, literary bilingualism began to increase, partly due to the Renaissance, which encouraged an internationalist spirit, but also due to the political submission of the *Països Catalans* to the Crown of Castile, since the Compromise of Casp (1410-1412) when the Crown passed to the Castilian dynasty of Trastamaras.

In 1516 the last king of the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation died, and under Charles I of Spain the slow invasion of Castilian culture began. Despite the political autonomy maintained until Philip V destroyed the Confederation in 1714, Catalan lost its status as national language and the linguistic conflict opened: the lower classes speaking only Catalan, and the ruling classes and intellectuals diglossically bilingual in Catalan and Castilian.

### 2.1.4 The Francisation of North Catalonia

During this period the history of French Catalonia diverges from that of the *Principat*. The French had been interested in the area since 1462, but it was not until 1659, with the Treaty of the Pyrenees, that Roussillon and Cerdagne were finally ceded to France. At this point many anti-French Catalans emigrated into Spain and pro-French settled in Roussillon. One of



the latter, Francesc de Sagarra, led the first phase of the process of francisation. Bernardó (1978) sees three principal phases, the first being “horizontal” and selective, touching only the upper classes. The second phase was “downward” and spontaneous, occurring when the middle classes tried to learn French to gain social mobility or greater social status. The final stage is one of coercion, through schools, the media, and other means, reaching the entire population. The first stage involved creating French schools and, in 1682, making a knowledge of French necessary to obtain any official function. Furthermore, in 1700, French was proclaimed the only legal language for official purposes.

Nevertheless, from the start there was resistance to the policy of francisation: in the *Mémoire de la Généralité de Perpignan ou Province de Roussillon* (1727) it is recorded that “le peuple du Roussillon se nomme et s’estime Catalan et regarderait comme une dégradation et une injure le nom de Français ou de Catalan francisé” (in Bernardó, 1978:31). In order to “éteindre le Génie Catalan” the crown implemented six measures: putting French priests into the benefices of Roussillon; educating the nobility in French and integrating them in the military service; enforcing French law and conducting the region’s legal affairs in Toulouse; making the region administratively subservient to the *Gouvernement Général du Languedoc*.

After the 1789 revolution, Roussillon was renamed the department of Pyrénées-Orientales. In April 1793 it was invaded by Spain, but restored to France later in the same year. Even by this time the region was not fully integrated into the Hexagon. In the *Essai sur la Statistique du Département des Pyrénées-Orientales* (in Bernardó, 1978), Delon wrote: “Le Roussillon quoique réuni à la France depuis près d’un siècle et demi lui était presque étranger, les habitants de cette province avaient conservé leurs mœurs peu liantes et n’avaient presque aucune relation avec les Français”. As proof of this he claimed that “lorsqu’ils veulent se faire valoir, ils disent avec une gravité risible *je suis catalan*” (Bernardó, 1978:40). French was still only used by the upper classes, and even so “Les gens bien élevés savent le français, mais en général, à l’intérieur des familles et dans presque toutes les sociétés on fait usage de préférence du catalan” (Bernardó, 1978:40,41). A SNES publication on the teaching of Catalan cites the following anecdote which indicates the attitude of Perpignanais to the Catalan language after the 1789 revolution:

“A la question 29 de l’enquête Grégoire (1790-1792): “Quelle serait l’importance religieuse et politique de détruire entièrement ce patois?” La Société des Amis de Perpignan répondit: “Pour la détruire, il faudrait détruire le soleil, la fraîcheur des nuits, la qualité des eaux, l’homme tout entier.” (SNES, 1972:23)

### 2.1.5 The nineteenth century: the decline of Catalan in France

The importance of Catalan in the nineteenth century is seen in a letter from the *ministre de l’Intérieur* to the *Préfet* of the department in 1806 in which he wrote “Le catalan qui se parle dans votre département est moins



un patois qu'une langue régulière... Il me paraît donc nécessaire qu'il en soit donné dans la statistique de votre département une connaissance un peu approfondie" (*in* Bernardó, 1978:41). Several inquiries carried out in the public education system also bear witness to the fact that Catalan remained very much the language of the people. The use of Catalan in schools was actually banned after Victor Duruy's inquiry in 1864, and the infamous slogan "Soyez propre, parlez français" introduced later, but these measures still did not prevent Catalan from being widely used. Indeed, following Jules Ferry's education laws, the school inspector Mattes found himself obliged to write a French grammar book in Catalan, in order to make francisation more efficient.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a number of factors made the acquisition of the French language more desirable: one was that education was exclusively in French; a second, the lack of employment locally, forcing people to enter the civil service, which usually sent them to the Paris region or to the colonies; a third, the wars with Germany - 1870, 1914, 1939, which proved a unifying force for France. As Verdaguer (1988:2) phrases it: "Una família que ha 'donat' un pare o un fill a França esdevé 'francesa' de cor"; the arrival of the railway in Perpignan in 1858 served further to link the region to France, and cut it off from the rest of Catalonia.

#### 2.1.6 Twentieth-century developments

It is in the twentieth century, however, that the greatest damage has been done to the Catalan language in France. Throughout the century schools have contributed to de-catalanisation: the Deixonne Law of 1951, which allowed a voluntary class of Catalan for one hour a week, was largely ignored until 1975. Schools and the mass media have tended to "folklorise" the role of Catalan. Francesc Català, from his study of language use in 1970, felt it fair to say that since the Second World War, Catalan has ceased to be a maternal language - in his view the war served to precipitate a change that would normally have evolved slowly. At the time of his study, Català found that French was viewed as the language of social promotion, and parents used it with their children to give them an improved chance of succeeding in a career. Moreover, many people seem to be ashamed to speak Catalan, feeling it marks a lack of education. Catalan is seen as the language of the uneducated peasant, and French is widely viewed as the language of culture.

Besides this deliberate policy of francisation, a number of demographic factors have served to "decatalanise" the region: the most notable of these is the "substitution" of young people which seems to have occurred since the 1960s. The lack of employment in the region has caused a general exodus of indigenous young people seeking work elsewhere. This has been counter-balanced by an influx of northerners, who are either sent there by centralised companies, or who simply want to enjoy the advantages of the region, such as its climate and scenery, and have the money to do so. In this latter group are the high numbers of pensioners who spend their retirement here. Another important factor is the influx of *pièds-noirs* following the independence of Algeria and other North African countries. These people are particularly



opposed to linguistic nationalism, as they have seen at first hand its emotive power, in the arabisation movement. Having already been ousted from North Africa, they would naturally be opposed to the catalanising movement which would threaten to oust them again.

### 2.1.7 The current situation

The state of the Catalan language in the late twentieth century then appears far from ideal. Although some 60% of the population still speak Catalan (Stephens, 1976) there is no real sense of Catalan identity. The traditional hostility between north and south Catalonia causes those on the French side of the border to emphasise linguistic differences in order not to “espanyolejar”, and when asked if they are Catalan are likely to say, “Sí, sóc català, mes també francès!”. At the same time, they view with some contempt the Occitan language, calling it a patois, and refer to the Occitans contemptuously as “gavatxos”. For many, Catalan is a kind of defence weapon, a secret code, which is most likely to be used away from home or in front of tourists (Planes, 1978:95-99).

It must be stressed that attitudes to language cannot be viewed in isolation. The socioeconomic state of the region must be borne in mind when considering the linguistic problem. The state of colonialism induced by the buying up of land by wealthy “foreigners” - mainly from the north of France - has led to a sense of alienation among the indigenous people. The Roussillonnais who remain tend to be agricultural workers, often exploited and with no unions, whereas the non-Catalan bourgeoisie are well-organised and well-paid, and generally hold local political power. Many Catalans now experience a feeling of being *exili interior*. This feeling is expressed in the words of a folk song: “De quin país veniu? On aneu?/Sóc d’aquí, sóc estranger.” Moreover there persists a kind of fatalism among the Roussillonnais, inherent in their nature, which allows them to accept their oppression, in political, cultural and linguistic terms. (Pere Manzanares, personal communication). Bernardó (1978) classifies the reactions to the linguistic conflict in the following way: inability to see the conflict (negation of the problem); minimisation of the problem (partial exclusion of the problem); avowal of helplessness (apathy); establishing a hierarchy of languages; escape into confusionism; “autoodi” (self-hatred). (Expanded in Bernardó, 1978:166-169.)

Thus during the twentieth century traditional local culture has become alienated: it is cultivated within intellectual groups, with no reference to contemporary social and economic problems; or it has been folklorised for the benefit of the ever-growing numbers of tourists. Genuine Catalan culture, according to Bernardó (1978:175), is “une culture populaire rurale, faite de grands rassemblements communautaires.” It is normally manifested in religious festivals, such as the *Processó de la sanch*. The other thriving aspects of Catalan culture are the *nova cançó catalana* and the increasingly popular *sardanas*. In general, however, it is this cultural alienation which has tended to undermine the success of attempts to revive the language.

Nonetheless, the outlook is not altogether bleak, and many contemporary



*catalanistes* see reason for optimism concerning the future of their language. As Pere Verdaguer says: "el món ha canviat, i ha canviat a favor nostre." (1988:1). The wars of independence in France's overseas colonies caused many to view in a new light the problems of "interior colonisation", and the late 1960s and early 1970s saw the formation of several bodies promoting the Catalan language, in a variety of ways.

In 1969 the *Universitat Catalana d'Estiu* opened in Prades, and has grown in numbers and in scope every year as it demonstrates the technical, scientific and intellectual capacities of Catalan. Still at an intellectual level, a number of young poets, in groups such as the *Grup Guillem de Cabestany* and the *Escola Popular Catalana*, are considering the Catalan question in a new light, studying the political thought of Catalans in the *Principat*, and the problems shared with other minorities in the French state. As far back as 1960 the GREC (*Grup Rossellonés d'Estudis Catalans*) was formed, voicing a very wide spectrum of opinions. Perhaps inevitably it was forced to divide, and in 1967 some members left the original group to start the IREC (*Institut Rossellonés d'Estudis Catalans*), which was more conservative and traditional, more academic and less political. The GREC, on the other hand, hopes to see the Catalan language "normalised" in the region. To this end it runs classes in Catalan for adults, publishes the monthly journal *Sant Joan i Barres* in Catalan and has been involved in various cultural and political issues over the years.

The movement for political autonomy began in 1967, and a few regionalist parties formed, but gained little support: the A.R.C. (*Acció Regionalista Catalana*) had some following among the "petty bourgeoisie", but suffered internal conflicts. The E.C.T. (*Esquerra Catalana dels Treballadors*) lacks strategic objectives, and neither group have adequate linguistic or cultural programmes. In 1973 both parties presented themselves at local elections, but won less than 2% of the votes. More recently however, economic factors have begun to play an important role in changing people's attitudes to Catalan. The south of France in general now looks to Barcelona for its economic lead, and the idea of an "economic triangle", Toulouse-Montpellier-Barcelona, with Perpignan in the middle, is being developed. Inevitably, increased links with Barcelona, where Catalan is the language of business and culture, would increase interest in Catalan, and this is bound to become even more important after 1992, when trade barriers in the EC are abolished. Paris now finds itself "entre la necessitat de tenir en compte l'existència d'un Principat potent i la por dels vells fantasmes 'separatistes'." (Verdaguer, 1988:4).

As far as mass communication is concerned, it is only recently that changes have begun to take place. For about 30 years various daily and weekly newspapers have published articles in Catalan, but it was not until 1987 that a completely Catalan paper *Punt Diari Catalunya Nord*, appeared. It seems that there have never been so many Catalan writers, nor so many books published in that language (Verdaguer, 1988) - a fact attested to by the presence of a Catalan bookshop in Perpignan. Since the advent of free radio in 1981, several stations have devoted a space to Catalan, but it is only



Radio Arrels which broadcasts exclusively in Catalan. The first television broadcast to be made in Catalan, in 1981, lasted for only two minutes, but FR3 have since then broadcast a magazine programme of 20 minutes once every three weeks. As from 1985 it has also been possible for people in Perpignan to receive TV3, which broadcasts in Catalan from Spain.

The situation in schools appears more favourable too, with 35% of pupils at primary school now learning Catalan - a higher proportion than for any other regional language in France. Nevertheless, few teachers take advantage of the full three hours a week they are entitled to give to Catalan. At secondary level Catalan is usually considered as a second language, after English or Castilian. At the University it is now possible to study Catalan up to the level of doctorate, and the CREC (*Centre de Recerques i d'Estudis Catalans*) has been created to provide facilities for further research on Catalan problems. The Federation for the Defence of Catalan Language and Culture, which now numbers some fifty groups in Catalogne-Nord, is starting a campaign to introduce mass teaching of Catalan in the region at all levels.

A report published in 1972 entitled *Le Roussillon Sous-Développement Colonialisme Intérieur et Lutttes Révolutionnaires* had the following to say on the subject of the teaching of Catalan in schools:

“Un enseignement de qualité, de haut niveau, c'est d'abord un enseignement culturel. L'éducation se fait à partir d'un savoir qui se transmet. L'enseignement du catalan doit permettre d'enrichir ce savoir d'une culture populaire et vivante. Il est important d'ouvrir les élèves à la réalité palpable d'un patrimoine et d'une histoire trop longtemps étouffés, de leur montrer que cette dimension de réel est partie intégrante de la culture, que le progrès social et économique implique son développement parce qu'il est porteur d'enrichissement personnel et collectif.

La langue catalane est le pivot de ce patrimoine, il faut donc en développer l'enseignement.”

Taking all the factors together, there seems to be cause for a guarded optimism about the future of the Catalan language, but three centuries of francisation will not easily be effaced, and there are also new threats to minority languages (such as the world dominance of English). Francesc Català (personal communication) foresees little likelihood of “normalisation” unless the region is joined administratively to the *Principat*, but the situation is changing all the time and the next few years could change everything that has gone before .

## 2.2 Background to Perpignan and the Pyrénées-Orientales

### 2.2.1 Origins

Before even beginning to describe the region in which Perpignan is situated, the problem of naming it must be faced. This problem is dealt with at



some length by Llorenç Planes (1978), Dominique Bernardó (1978:185-189) and others, and will simply be outlined here. Pyrénées-Orientales is the name of the French administrative department, which covers the ancient *comarcas* of Roussillon, part of Cerdagne, Capcir, Vallespir, Conflent and Fenouillèdes. Apart from the last, all these regions belonged to the former Catalan-speaking kingdom which straddled the Pyrenees. The Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 separated these territories from the rest of Catalonia, with no apparent logic, and left the region with a problem of self-definition. Most other French people will happily refer to the whole region as “Roussillon”, a francised version of “Rosselló”, but it is inaccurate to use this to refer to an area which also contains the other above-mentioned regions. Among other possible appellations are Catalogne Française, Catalunya Francesa, Catalogne-Nord, Catalunya-Nord, Catalunya Continental, Catalogne (de France) and País Rossellonès. Planes concludes that the only acceptable term is Catalogne-Nord, or Catalunya-Nord, and Bernardó says that this term “a été adopté par les milieux les plus avancés du mouvement catalaniste (autonomistes et indépendantistes), le plus souvent par référence à une problématique politique irrédentiste” (Bernardó, 1978:188). Planes further claims that the boundaries of the region are totally unjustifiable on human, geographic and economic grounds.

The region is situated in the South-West of France, and contains beautiful and varied scenery: the Pyrenees, the plain and the Côte Vermeille. In recent years the tourist industry has capitalised on this, and also on the climate - 320 days of sunshine a year and an average temperature of 15°C. The *Plan Guide Blay* for Perpignan describes it like this:

Chef-lieu du département des Pyrénées-Orientales, siège d'un Evêché, ville de plus de 112,000 habitants, Perpignan se trouve à 13 km de la mer.

Ville au cachet espagnol, gaie, animée et prospère, Perpignan est situé dans un grand cirque de verdure bordé par les Corbières, le Canigou et les Albères.

Point de départ de toutes les routes et voies vers: les Fenouillèdes, la Côte Vermeille, le Vallespir, le Conflent, le Capcir, l'Espagne et l'Andorre.

The earliest mention of Perpignan - Villa Perpinianum - dates from 927 A.D., and it was towards the end of the 10th century that the counts of Roussillon made Perpignan the political capital of the county, which included only the plain, from Albère to the Corbières. In 1172 Perpignan and the Plain of Roussillon passed into the hands of the counts of Barcelona, and the Treaty of Corbeil (1258) incorporated the region into the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation. The most brilliant era in Perpignan's history was the period 1276-1344, when it was capital of the Kingdom of Majorca, and it continued to be a thriving commercial town throughout the Middle Ages.

Since the Treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659, Perpignan has been demoted to the role of regional town with no local power. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at this point the feeling held by at least the local “intelligentsia”,



that the region is in a state of colonialism. Planes (1978) compares the situation in North Catalonia to that of Algeria before independence: an influx of outsiders has raised the price of land; there is local unemployment, because profits made locally are invested elsewhere; centralisation removes local power; responsible positions are held by non-locals. Robert Lafont, lecturer at the University of Montpellier, speaking on regionalism and centralisation in Perpignan in 1969, said this:

El centralisme francès ha arribat quasi a la perfecció: del ministre al ciutadà només hi ha un espai buit ... El sistema té una eficàcia terrible: ha provocat l'adhesió de totes les sectors complets de l'economia de les regions sense provocar cap reacció ... No hi haurà veritables poders regionals si no prenen la decisió de descolonitzar.

(in Verdaguer, 1974:31). Some causes and effects of this, both social and linguistic, will be seen in the following pages.

### 2.2.2 Population Growth.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Perpignan was still a fortified town, surrounded by small villages and agricultural communities; now, in the last quarter of the twentieth century it is a large city, and the villages have become suburbs or dormitory towns. Recent migratory trends have left Perpignan with a highly diversified population, and a mixture of languages and cultures. The centralising and francising policies of the French government have also been far more effectively implemented during this century, and have made Perpignan more than ever a *Centre régional incomplet* (Vigouroux and Ferras, 1977).

The first document on the town, dating from 1355, describes a community of 2,675 homes. Since that time Perpignan has enjoyed a steady growth, which has accelerated in the past 30 or so years - from 85,156 in 1962, to 104,095 in 1968, to 113,646 in 1982. For centuries Perpignan was contained within the ancient fortified walls, and it was only in 1862, when the train station was built two kilometres outside the town, that it really began to expand. What is now the *quartier* of Saint Assiscle grew up around the station. Not long after this, in 1875, developpers moved in to the land north of the Têt - the district that would become Bas-Vernet. In the early years of this century, overcrowding and sanitary conditions grew so bad in the city that the decision was finally made, in 1904, to destroy the old ramparts. This proved to be a long process, which was still unfinished at the outbreak of war in 1914. However, once they were replaced by boulevards it was much easier for new suburbs to be integrated into the town.

During and after the First World War a great wave of immigration led to an increased building programme. Firstly the existing *quartiers* of Saint Assiscle, Bas-Vernet and Saint Martin were expanded, then new areas were built upon, most notably Saint Jacques, Saint Gaudérique, Mailloles and



Haut-Vernet. During the 1930s the council built the H.B.M.s (*Habitations à Bon Marché*) of Saint Jacques and Saint Mathieu.

The next wave of immigration began in 1936, with the Spanish Civil War. There had always been a substantial number of Spanish immigrants in Perpignan, but in 1936 the figure rose to 21,556, as a result of refugees from the war, and remained high throughout the 1940s; even in 1954 it was 6,791. Of these immigrants, 65% are Catalans, mainly from the region of Girona. They have tended to be working-class, but very industrious, and their children often become civil servants, doctors, and teachers. The post-war period also saw an influx of Arabs from North Africa - before independence about 40,000 were living in Saint Jacques, La Réal and Vernet. They were followed, in the 1960s, by the *pieds-noirs*, the ethnic French repatriated from Algeria and other North African countries after independence.

The arrival of these immigrants helps to explain the 50% population growth over the 15 years 1954-1968 - probably mainly concentrated between 1960 and 1964/5. The inevitable result of such rapid population growth was yet further increase in the building programme. During the 1960s it was largely overseen by municipal bodies, such as the SIVP - *Société Immobilière de la ville de Perpignan*, and the *Office Municipal*, responsible for the H.L.M.s (*Habitations à Loyer Modéré*). It was also at this time that the "new town" of Moulin à Vent was built, to the south of the city. It was built privately, but with municipal aid and full support of the mayor, Paul Alduy, and is regarded by many as a tasteful combination of the traditional and modern. It is extremely well-provided for as far as public services, schools, shops, libraries and so on are concerned.

From the 1960s onwards, the in-migration described above has been to a great extent counterbalanced by an out-migration of local youth. Between 1962 and 1968, one-third of Roussillonnais aged 18-30 left to find work in the North, mainly in the Paris region. The reason for this exodus is not hard to find: industrially the region is underdeveloped and work is scarce. Many young Roussillonnais are not prepared to do the menial work now usually done by immigrants, and they tend to look for a career in the national administration, police, SNCF or PTT - all centralising bodies which send their personnel all over the country. In this way the Catalan presence in Perpignan has rapidly diminished.

A further factor which has changed the nature of the population, not only in Perpignan, but throughout Catalogne-Nord, is the arrival of senior citizens. During the 1960s, the business world began to exploit the fact that many elderly people had the time and money for extended holidays, and Roussillon proved a popular area, due to its mild climate. In fact, it proved so popular that a great number of them, having visited the region on holiday, decided to leave their homes in the north of France, Belgium or other northern countries, and spend their retirement in the sun. They tend to move to the rural parts of the region, thus "decatalanising" the places usually most likely to retain a high number of Catalan speakers.



### 2.2.3 Present Population.

The census figures of 1982 reveal that the population growth of Pyrénées-Orientales had been faster than that of the wider region of Languedoc-Roussillon; of the 39 French towns of over 100,000 inhabitants, only five had a population increase between 1975 and 1982, and Perpignan came in second place (INSEE). This growth is attributed solely to a high level of immigration, not a high birth-rate. In 1985, out of a total population of 334,557 in the department, 39,697 were foreigners. Of those, by far the biggest group were Spanish (24,115), followed by relatively large numbers of Algerians (5,067), Moroccans (3,527) and Portuguese (2,879). The total population of the department in 1984 was estimated at 348,500, and that of the *commune* of Perpignan at 113,646. Over two-thirds of the population is concentrated on the plain of Roussillon, almost 138,000 of them in the agglomeration of Perpignan (which comprises Bompas, Cabestany, Pia, Saint-Estève and Toulouges as well as Perpignan itself). This high concentration in Perpignan makes it by far the most important town in the region - for most people the only "real" town. There are two other "agglomerations" in the department: Port-Vendres and Prades, but their respective populations are only 7,773 and 7,479; no other town in the department has a population of over 7,000.

Because of its size, Perpignan does tend to dominate the region - cultural, commercial and industrial activities are centred there. However, in many ways it is not a true regional centre, for it only dominates the department, and has little or no real authority. Generally speaking, Perpignan is administratively subject to Montpellier, and health services and so on are controlled from there. Most industrial initiatives originate in Barcelona, and much of the tourist industry is organised by national or foreign agencies. Thus Perpignan may in a sense be viewed as an alienated and impotent town, having had its indigenous population to a certain extent replaced and being deprived of any real authority in its own region. This is reflected in various aspects of the life of Perpignan and the Pyrénées-Orientales.

### 2.2.4 Industry and Employment

L'image traditionnelle des Pyrénées-Orientales, pour beaucoup est celle d'un département excentré à l'extrême sud de la France, bénéficiant d'un climat méditerranéen particulièrement favorable à la culture des fruits et primeurs et aux différentes activités touristiques.

(*Monographie Economique*, Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales).

In general terms, there is very little industry in the department; in recent years fewer people have been employed in agriculture, and more in "services" (65% in 1977, Vigouroux and Ferras). Tourism has also become increasingly important.

Historically, the agricultural sector has been important in the economy of the Pyrénées-Orientales. However, the number of people employed on the



land is constantly decreasing - in 1962 it was 30.9% of the active population, in 1982, only 11.2%: a decrease of 51.5%

The 136,615 ha of agricultural land are cultivated in the following way: 12,650 ha as arable land, 11,690 ha for fruit growing, 55,200 ha as vineyards, 57,00 ha are left fallow, and 75 ha are used as vegetable nurseries. Since 1975 arable land and fruit growing have increased by 39.8% and 15.4%, while vineyards and fallow land have declined by 10.5% and 14.9% respectively.

There is really no heavy industry, and what there is tends to cater for the regional market, based on agriculture, building and tourism. The most important industries are those linked to local agriculture: there are two important co-operatives at Saint Estève and Haut-Vernet. Several well-known companies are based here, producing wines and spirits, preserves and fruit juices, confectionery and chocolate. There are also various wood-related industries: packaging for fruit and vegetables, furniture of various kinds, special types of paper. Other industries are the production of building materials and equipment for the agriculture and food industries.

Construction work is very important in the region, although it has been affected by the recession. Nonetheless, the rate of housebuilding is still high in relation to the population, and employs a relatively high number of personnel. Moreover, it also indirectly provides employment in other areas: specialised construction work - chimneys, swimming-pools, woodwork, furnishing, DIY, electrical goods and so on; and provides work for professionals such as estate agents, insurance brokers, architects and lawyers.

One branch of industry which is well-developed in the region is *artisanat* which employs one-sixth of the active population. About half of these businesses are based in Perpignan, and 76% are in urban areas. This sector involves building, production of various goods (metalwork, textiles, clothes, wood, furniture), food; and services.

*Artisanat* of course is closely linked to tourism, which is of considerable importance to the region: during the 1985/86 season, about 2,200,000 tourists come to Roussillon, bringing in more than 5 billion francs. The region has many attractions for tourists: sailing, at numerous places along the coast; winter sports in the Pyrenees; health-resorts, especially in Cerdagne, Capcir and Vallespir; and six thermal spas, two of which are open all year round.

The service industry employs 30% of the active population of the department. It is a growing sector, which created over 6,700 jobs between 1979 and 1983. Many services are directly affected by the tourist trade: hotels and restaurants, campsites and leisure facilities. Indirectly affected are estate agents, travel agents, transport services and seasonal commerce. As for financial services, there are eighteen banks and loan societies in Perpignan, including three Spanish banks. Transport services are important due to fruit and vegetable production: there are 373 firms for goods transportation, and 52 for passengers.

Commerce also has an important role in the region, employing 15.6% of the active population. Wholesale commerce is mainly connected to local



agriculture and imports of fruit and vegetables from Spain, or to building materials and agriculture. Retail trade tends to specialise in clothes, electrical goods and furniture. Tourism also entails a large number of seasonal traders. An annual trade fair is held in Perpignan, with 250 exhibitors, and the *Palais des Expositions* in the former market-place is also used for trade fairs. In recent years several national chain-stores have moved into the region: there are now three hypermarkets and eight supermarkets in Perpignan, and fifteen supermarkets in other towns.

Perpignan's position as a frontier town makes it an important point on trade-routes, especially since the entry of Spain and Portugal into the EC, and communications are of a good standard, by road, rail, sea and air. The motorway 39, "La Catalane" links up the French and Spanish motorway networks, and several *routes nationales* join the region to Spain, and the rest of France. The railway network also links Perpignan directly to Paris, Toulouse, Marseille, Ventimiglia, Geneva and Barcelona, and special goods trains run an express service for fruit and vegetables in season. The commercial port of Port-Vendres deals mainly with fruit and primeurs, especially citrus fruit from North Africa and specialised trade with Mediterranean countries. It is also an important fishing-port. Finally, there is the airport of Perpignan-Rivesaltes, with three daily flights to Paris, and other, less frequent, flights elsewhere.

Because of the volume of commercial traffic passing through the region, there are a number of *plates-formes de transport*. The *Marché International Saint Charles* is a meeting-place for importers from Spain and Morocco and specialised buyers. Since November 1985 the *Gare de Marchandises "Perpignan-Roussillon"* has been in use nearby, for sorting and selecting goods. Also in the same district (west of Perpignan) a new wholesale market has been installed.

#### 2.2.5 Culture/ Media/ Education.

It is already clear that Perpignan is, commercially, by far the most important town in the region; it may also be seen as the cultural centre, being the place where people go for theatres, cinemas, concerts and other cultural activities. There are several museums in Perpignan, and numerous cultural associations, including an increasing number reflecting an interest in Catalan (these have already been discussed in 2.1.7.). The opening of the University has given new life to some cultural activities, such as the *Societat Agrícola Científica i Literària*. The *Palais des Congrès* is an important cultural centre, housing the *Cinemateca* and various clubs, and holding concerts. In addition there are two societies for the protection of monuments and art, and a School of Fine Art.

A great variety of newspapers is available in the region. The most widely read daily is *L'Indépendant*, which is published in Perpignan; other regional papers, printed in Montpellier, are also read, and Parisian and Spanish (Castilian) papers are all widely available. A local weekly paper, (created in 1987) *Punt Diari Catalunya Nord*, is also printed in Catalan, and *Terra*



*Nostra*, a Catalan magazine, is produced in Prades. There are two local radio stations, *Radio Perpignan*, which broadcasts in French, and *Ràdio Arrels*, which broadcasts in Catalan. Regional television is controlled from Montpellier.

The University of Perpignan opened in 1958, the ancient *Estudi Major* (founded by Pere III in 1349) having been closed by the revolutionary government in 1790. It began as a university college, dependent on Montpellier, became a *Centre Universitaire* in 1971, and finally the University of Perpignan in 1979. It is a small establishment of some 3,000 students, studying for first degrees and higher degrees in a wide range of subjects.

## 2.3 Saint Mathieu and La Lunette.

### 2.3.1 Introduction.

The preceding description of Perpignan reveals, or at least hints at, a number of facts about its population which needed to be taken into account when deciding on how to draw up the sample. Section 3.2 will deal in more detail with the theoretical issues involved in this process, whilst this section presents the two areas which were ultimately chosen to represent Perpignan, and explains why.

Various ethnic and linguistic groups are represented in Perpignan. As well as the native French, both monolingual French speakers and Catalanophones, there is a high proportion of Spaniards (Castilian and Catalan speakers), Algerians, Moroccans, Portuguese and others. Inevitably, their presence is not evenly distributed around the town. As frequently happens, the older "inner city" areas tend to be inhabited by the lower classes and especially by immigrants, whereas the middle classes - usually native or repatriated French - live in the residential suburbs. In Perpignan such distinctions are often extremely marked, and certain *quartiers* are renowned for being inhabited exclusively by one ethnic or social group. For example, the new town of Moulin à Vent is known as the *quartier pieds-noirs* (indeed, it was built specifically to meet the housing needs of this group in 1962), and Saint Jacques is infamous as being inhabited solely by Arabs and Gypsies.

In order to include in the sample representatives of as many ethnic/linguistic groups as possible, it was decided to take a sample from two *quartiers* which would, between them, include the full range. Thus one *quartier populaire*, Saint Mathieu, and one *quartier bourgeois*, La Lunette, were chosen, and are described below.

### 2.3.2 Saint Mathieu.

The historical *quartier* of Saint Mathieu actually covers a very small area of the town centre, just to the north-west of the Citadelle. Although it is one of the oldest *quartiers* of Perpignan, the present buildings are not ancient, having been built on a grid pattern around 1870. It must be mentioned that the administrative district called Saint Mathieu by INSEE covers a rather wider area, which includes a more middle-class district bordering on



La Lunette. Only twenty questionnaires were completed in this district, accounting for 13.6% of the sample in Saint Mathieu.

During the last half-century, Saint Mathieu has seen a vast number of changes, a fact frequently lamented by the remaining "original" inhabitants. The following information was supplied by one such inhabitant, a lady of over eighty, who has lived there since 1927.

The major changes in population occurred during the 1960s, when vast numbers of immigrants moved in. Up to that time, the majority of the inhabitants were working-class local people, who would have been almost without exception native Catalan speakers. There had been an earlier influx of immigrants, following the Spanish civil war, but they were now joined by other Spaniards, and also Portuguese, Algerians, Moroccans and natives of other French colonies, all seeking work and a better standard of living than that available in their own countries. At the same time, many of the young people who had been brought up in Saint Mathieu began moving out to find better housing in the new suburbs, and rented their former homes to the arriving immigrants. The shift in population has been so complete that now only about 16% <sup>2</sup> of the population is French, and the original inhabitants have been reduced to about fifty families, who tend to know each other very well.

Not surprisingly, the atmosphere in Saint Mathieu has changed greatly in recent years. Before, it was very much like a village, where everybody knew each other, and on summer evenings people would bring their chairs out into the streets and sit chatting. Although it is still common to see old people sitting out in the little squares or at the side of the street in the afternoon, the community spirit has largely vanished, for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is the fear of violent attack, common to all areas which have a high level of unemployment and large numbers of *marginaux* among the inhabitants. Many people are afraid to go out after dark, and some do not feel safe even in daylight. Moreover the area is also well-known for the drug-dealing carried on there at night. It is not only fear which keeps people indoors, however, but the television, which provides the entertainment previously supplied by the local gossip. Yet another modernism which has undermined the village atmosphere is the coming of the *grandes surfaces*. Before they began to appear, in the 1960s, Saint Mathieu was full of little shops, but they were unable to compete with the hypermarkets, and now hardly any remain.

The *quartier* now seems to be losing all life, and even the local primary school has closed down, as most young families prefer to move away, leaving an ageing population.

However, the future appears to promise further change for Saint Mathieu, as the *mairie*, through its programme of *Réhabilitation de l'Habitat* begins to renovate it. The neighbouring *quartier* of La Réal has already undergone the process of renovation: the slum dwellings have been demolished, roads widened and little houses built. In Saint Mathieu, the only improvement so far has been the creation of car-parks, but the likelihood is that the area will be renovated in such a way as to make it attractive to young working



people.

Attempts are also being made by certain members of the community to try to counteract the “deterioration” of their neighbourhood. This is seen in the *comité du quartier*, which has been set up, as in three or four other areas of Perpignan to try to deal with problems in the community. It has a self-elected committee, and members pay a nominal annual fee of about ten francs. They then meet three or four times a year, in the *Annexe de Mairie*, with an average attendance of about fifty. The object of these meetings is to discuss how to improve conditions in the area and solve some of the problems faced by inhabitants. Some results have already been seen, in such matters as the cleanliness of the streets and keeping down noise levels. Matters are discussed and dealt with in a friendly, positive way, and bonds are formed between members of the community.

Despite the high percentage of Muslims in Saint Mathieu, the parish church is still an important feature. (In actual fact, there is no mosque in the area, although there is a synagogue.) The original church was a medieval one attached to the nearby Palais des Rois de Majorque, but this was burnt down, and the present building dates from 1671. An elderly lady has taken the task of caring for the building, and goes there every day to clean, put out flowers and simply enable it to be kept open for the public. There are always a few people who take advantage of this fact to come in and pray during the day.

Since 1973 masses have been held in Catalan once every Sunday at the parish church of Saint Mathieu. Whilst only a few people went at first, there is now a regular attendance, mainly of older people.

Saint Mathieu’s major claim to fame is the fact that it possesses three thorns from Christ’s crown, which are normally displayed to the public only on Good Friday and St Matthew’s day.

### 2.3.3 La Lunette.

As with Saint Mathieu, the “historical” centre of La Lunette can be quite precisely defined as the area around the Rue Colonel d’Ornano, which forms a “Lunette” around the primary school. This residential area, between the Citadelle and Moulin à Vent, is made up of very attractive villas and small apartment blocks, and is distinctly middle class. However, the INSEE administrative area also covers two of the boulevards marking the old town boundaries, and includes to the north-east the area bordering on Saint Mathieu, and to the north-west the area bordering on Saint Jacques, the *quartier* inhabited primarily by Arab immigrants and gypsies. Thus this district too is quite diverse, ranging from luxurious villas, maisonnettes and apartments at its centre to rather less salubrious *immeubles* and smaller houses on the peripheral areas along the boulevards.

Unlike Saint Mathieu, La Lunette has probably never had a great sense of community, and has none of the character of the former. La Lunette has no history to speak of, being simply one of the new residential areas created



to meet housing needs after World War Two. The greater space between neighbours means that there is inevitably a good deal less contact between them, and people are much less aware of belonging to a *quartier* than those in Saint Mathieu. A high percentage of both populations is aged over 65 (25%), but there is a great difference in the type of retired people in each. Many of the senior citizens of Saint Mathieu live in the same houses they have lived in all their lives, and are proud working-class Catalans. The others are immigrants who came in search of a better life, but have never been able to move away from low quality rented accommodation. In La Lunette on the other hand, there are relatively few foreign immigrants but a great many immigrants from other parts of France. Either they were posted to the region to work, or simply came here for their retirement, because of the climate. Many of this latter group spent their working lives in French colonies in Africa, and could not readjust to the climate of their home towns in the north. For the same reason, many *pieds-noirs* have settled in Perpignan, and a large number of them live in La Lunette.

The parish church of La Lunette is by no means a focal point in the district. It is very small and could easily go unnoticed between two houses in a quiet side street. There are two non-catholic churches in the *quartier*, a French reformed church and a Mormon church, but neither of these draws its congregation primarily from the immediately surrounding area, and they have little role in the life of the community.

This short description of the two *quartiers* should show how, by their differences, they complement each other in the different social and ethnic groups to provide a representative picture of Perpignan as a whole. The following chapter will deal in more detail with the methodology involved in the choice of sampling these two areas.

1. The information contained in this chapter is largely drawn from the following works:

Becat, Joan; Ponsich, Pere; Verdaguer, Pere (1985). *Gran Geografia Comarcal de Catalunya (14). El Rosselló i la Fenolleda* (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana).

Esteva i Fabregat, Claudi (1984). "Ethnocentricity and Bilingualism in Catalonia: the State and Bilingualism", *IJSL* 47, 43-57.

Planes, Llorenç (1978). *El Petit Llibre de Catalunya-Nord* (Perpignan:L'Hérisson).

Strubell i Trueta, Miquel (1982). "Catalan sociolinguistics: a brief review of research", *IJSL* 38, 70-84.

Strubell i Trueta, Miquel (1984). "Language and Identity in Catalonia", *IJSL* 47, 91-104.

Torres, Joaquim (1980). "Problems of linguistic normalization in the Països



Catalans: from the Congress of Catalan Culture to the present day”, *IJSL* 47 (1984),59-62.

Vallverdú, Francesc (1984). “A sociolinguistic history of Catalan”, *IJSL* 47, 13-28.

Verdaguer, Pere (1974). *Defensa de Rosselló Català* (Barcelona: Curial).

Verdaguer, Pere (1988). “Situació de la nostra llengua a la Catalunya del Nord” (unpublished).

Vigouroux, Michel (1972). “Quelques aspects de la croissance de Perpignan”, *Société Languedocienne de Géographie Bulletin* 6/2, 179-198.

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Vigouroux, Michel; Ferras, Robert (1977). “Perpignan: ambiguïté d’une ville catalane”, *Revue Géographique des Pyrénées et du Sud-Ouest* 48/1,221-230.

2. This figure applies only to the historical district of Saint Mathieu. Clearly the immigrant population is not so high in the whole administrative district.



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## Chapter 3: Methodology: theory and practice

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### 3.1 Review of methodologies

At the outset of this study, some time was spent in considering the methodologies used in sociolinguistic research, in order to find the one most suitable to the particular requirements and constraints of the project. As has been seen above (1.1.), the essential aim of the study is to describe the varieties of language in the chosen community and to look at the covariance of linguistic and social structure. Therefore a method needed to be found which would provide accurate information on a representative sample of the population.

A select bibliography at the end of this chapter lists the works consulted whilst investigating methodology, some of which will be specifically referred to during the chapter. The literature reveals a multitude of different ways of gathering information on language, several of which appeared potentially useful, and whose advantages and disadvantages will now be discussed.

#### 3.1.1 Language-testing

Various means of “language-testing” exist such as “matched-guise” testing, which involves recording the same person using different speech samples, “thus preserving at the same time the morphological, syntactical, and phonetic peculiarities of the chosen varieties - dialect languages, regional accents, etc. - and eliminating possible sources of error produced by individual characteristics such as physical presence, form of dress, age, and tone or gravity of voice” (Ros i García, 1984:78). According to Tucker and Lambert (quoted in Ros i García, 1984:78) “The technique exposes the most intimate sentiments of the listener and his stereotyped attitudes towards contrasting groups whose language, accent, and dialect are distinctive, and seems trustworthy in the sense that the same profile of reactions emerges in repeated samples of a particular group.”

On the other hand, Ralph Fasold (1984:152-155) comments on a number of problems inherent in the matched-guise technique. Firstly, in its purest form, that is with the same passage being read in each language variety, listeners may actually judge the performance of the reading rather than the variety of language being used. Secondly there is the problem of a possible incongruity between the language variety and the subject of the passage - listeners may judge what is said according to whether or not the language variety is appropriate to the subject matter. A further problem is that of validity: “Demonstrating validity in the case of cognitive and affective attitudes is nearly impossible. One would have to compare the



results of the attitude experiment data with what people are *really* thinking and feeling, as discovered in some independent way" (Fasold, 1984:153). According to Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:150) there always remains "the familiar problem of the low degree of consistency between attitude measures and overt behaviour" (quoted by Fasold, 1984:154). Finally there is the problem of artificiality: "Asking listeners to judge people by their voices only, though it does provide maximum control over other variables, is a bit far removed from real-life contexts" (Fasold, 1984:154).

Nevertheless, this technique is a valuable method of language-attitude research, and is certainly useful in studies aiming to discover the way that speakers in a bilingual or multilingual society react to and evaluate the different varieties of language present in that society. Thus it was used successfully by María Ros i García in Valencia, (Ros i García, 1984) and Christel Stieblich in Montreal (Stieblich, 1986). Use of similar testing methods would perhaps have yielded interesting information concerning attitudes to the varieties of language present in Perpignan. However, the objective of this study was not simply to discover informants' "instinctive" reactions to those varieties of language, but also a wider range of thoughts concerning them; and had the other primary objective of investigating informants' own language use. Thus any experiment of this type would need to be done in conjunction with some other technique. Furthermore, this technique has the disadvantage that it can only be used in certain settings, with certain types of people. It is significant that both Ros i García and Stieblich carried out their research with high-school students in a classroom setting. Matched-guise experiments are in fact used by social psychologists in classroom situations, to reveal the extent to which children are influenced by different forms of language (Trudgill, 1974b:139). There would be obvious practical difficulties involved in attempting to carry out this type of experiment with anyone other than school-children or students, and as this study sought to represent all ages and social levels, it was felt that such a technique would be inappropriate.

Having thus discarded the idea of any kind of classroom-testing, the methods available may be classified as questionnaire survey (direct or indirect method) and participant observation. There are variations on both methods, and each has its own strengths and weaknesses, discussed below. Both practices have traditionally been used by sociologists, and have often been taken over and adapted by sociolinguists.

### 3.1.2 Participant observation.

Participant observation is an anthropological research method which involves the researcher identifying as closely as possible with the subjects of the research, and has been successfully used in sociology and by sociolinguists. Lesley Milroy indicates three major advantages in this methodology: it can yield high quality data on everyday language; it can give insight into the social and communicative norms of the community; it may provide in-



sights into *why* a speaker's language holds the position it does in a wider social structure (Milroy, 1987:78). She subsequently points out several disadvantages: on its own, it cannot locate the data in a wider sociolinguistic context; it can be very demanding on the fieldworker in terms of tact, energy, persistence, time and emotional involvement; it is wasteful, in that a great deal of unanalysable data needs to be recorded in order to obtain a relatively small amount that is analysable; problems may arise when attempts are made to stratify the sample, as it may prove difficult to obtain the same amount or quality of material with all the required categories (Milroy, 1987:78, 79).

All these factors were taken into account when considering the suitability of participant observation for the present study, and eventually a negative decision was reached, for the following reasons: firstly, the aim of the study was not to describe a certain dialect or even patterns of speech among certain people, so it seemed unnecessary to listen to individual speakers for long periods of time. In fact, the data being collected differs considerably from that of Labov or Trudgill who needed to obtain large amounts of "natural speech" in order to describe a particular variety of language, and found participant observation the best method for doing this. Moreover, there were constraints of time and resources which favoured a method yielding quicker results. Secondly, it was felt that participant observation would prove too restricting in this particular case. This was mainly due to the fact that the fieldwork was to be done entirely by a female English student (myself), and therefore participant observation would be possible in an extremely limited number of situations. Indeed, it may be argued that a foreigner would almost never be able to conduct participant observation effectively, as she would always be very clearly an outsider. Traditional dialectologists have often stressed the desirability of using a local fieldworker, and Francis points out the advantages that such a fieldworker would have: "He can proceed more directly to work, without having to spend time familiarizing himself with local culture. He is more likely to achieve ready acceptance and less likely to make the kind of social errors that cause the stranger to be looked on with ridicule" (Francis, 1983:80). Other factors, such as the age and sex of the observer, may add further restrictions, as a female student is limited in the situations in which she can very naturally participate and would certainly be unable to mingle with a truly representative sample of the population of a town. In short, the problem named by Labov "the observer's paradox" seemed too great an obstacle in this instance. Participant observation would only be a satisfactory method to use if the study focused solely on, for example, women or young people. Since the objective was to describe sociolinguistic patterns for the town as a whole, participant observation alone would be inadequate, and it seemed more important to concentrate on the problem of obtaining representative data.

This then is a somewhat different approach from that of many sociolinguists, such as Lesley Milroy, who "sacrificed representativeness in the interest of developing techniques of recording a wide stylistic range" (Milroy, 1980:43).



Her neighbourhood studies are described in some detail in Milroy, 1980:43-62 and Milroy, 1987:75-78. Essentially she used the concept of social network, being introduced as a “friend of a friend” and thus gaining the confidence of those she wished to observe. As with other participant observation methods, this one is clearly valuable in obtaining data on a repertoire of speech styles, but is not really ideal for obtaining the kind of data being looked for in the present study. Milroy’s neighbourhood study was in fact carried out in conjunction with a “doorstep survey”, which was looking for “broad patterns of variation across a wide social range” (Milroy, 1987:84), suggesting that participant observation on its own is unable to obtain this kind of data.

### 3.1.3 Questionnaire surveys.

After thus looking at a range of possible field methods, a questionnaire survey appeared to be the most appropriate to this project. It has already been mentioned that there are two types of questionnaire survey, the direct and the indirect method, which are discussed in some detail by Francis (1983:79-103), and must both be considered. However, it was decided almost immediately that the indirect, that is postal, method was inappropriate to this study, for two major reasons. One is that it requires resources which were not available (such as access to valid lists of addresses, cost of postage and other costs), the other that it tends to involve a lot of time waiting for replies, and there is no certainty of a high rate of reply. The direct method, on the other hand, requires relatively few resources and can achieve results in a much shorter space of time. Having thus decided on the field method, the two main considerations were sampling technique and questionnaire design.

## 3.2 Discussion of Sampling procedure.

If an urban study is making claims about the language of a town’s inhabitants, then an attempt must be made to include in that study a representative sample of the inhabitants, or the claims will be open to criticism. The principle of sampling has always been recognised in the social sciences, but it is only over the last twenty or so years that it has become widely accepted among sociolinguists. Traditional dialectologists tended to concentrate on a particular kind of speaker, usually the oldest and most uneducated, hoping in this way to discover the “pure” language of the region under observation.

### 3.2.1 Traditional sampling techniques.

“The traditional surveys have proceeded on [an] assumption: that there is an indigenous local dialect of a village or town, which has been established there for a long time, which may be used by only a fraction of the population and by them only in limited contexts, and which is in process of being contaminated” (Francis, 1983:70). This approach was perhaps a valid one when the objective was to investigate the history of a given dialect or language, but



poses problems when it is adapted for other purposes, such as contemporary urban studies. Some early urban studies (discussed in Milroy, 1987:14-15), whilst supplying valuable data about urban dialects, may be questioned as to the validity of those data, due to the continuing preoccupation with finding “pure” dialect speakers, and the consequently unrepresentative nature of the informants. Although some linguists did succeed to a certain extent in adapting traditional methodology to conduct urban studies, it was really Labov, in his *Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966), who first used sampling techniques to achieve a representative study. Labov was not actually the first sociolinguist to be aware of the need for representativeness; “However, Labov’s sampling methods are important and distinctive in that they were part of a larger, principled programme for the *quantitative* study of language variation” (Milroy, 1987:19).

### 3.2.2 Sociological sampling: Labov in New York City.

The methods used by Labov are clearly described in numerous works, including his own (see also Francis, 1983:195-200; Hudson, 1980:148-152,158f; Trudgill, 1974a:38-40). He took his informants from a previously constructed random sample, prepared for sociological research, and therefore statistically representative of the population as a whole. However, his ultimate sample was of dubious representativeness as he obtained data from only 88 of the original 340 informants, due to a number of unavoidable factors such as death, illness and refusal to cooperate. In the social sciences, such a lack of strict statistical representativeness would cast doubts upon the validity of such a survey, but in linguistic research it was a great advance on the kind of haphazard sampling techniques often used before.

### 3.2.3 Trudgill in Norwich.

To take another well-known example, Trudgill used a sample of only 60 people to represent the 160,000 inhabitants of Norwich (Trudgill, 1974a:27). He claims to have used “accepted statistical methods” to obtain his sample, and quotes Labov to justify the small size of it: “the structure of social and stylistic variation of language can be studied through samples considerably smaller than those required for the study of other forms of social behaviour” (Labov, 1966a:638, quoted in Trudgill, 1974a:27). This view is supported by Milroy, who claims that “it is by no means clear that strict representativeness would necessarily give greater insights into sociolinguistic structure” (Milroy, 1987:20).

### 3.2.4 The Tyneside Linguistic Survey.

A rather less well-known study, the Tyneside Linguistic Survey, used several sampling methods, with the aim of comparing their effectiveness in studying linguistic variation. The objectives of this survey were apparently much



closer to the present project, namely, to identify speech varieties, determine the relative commonness or rarity of each, and define their distribution across social attributes (Pellowe et al., 1972:1). The sample of 250 speakers was selected in the following way: 40 speakers, individually picked as being known speakers of non-localised varieties; 60 speakers, all the residents available for interview in a “middle-class street” chosen on subjective criteria; 150 speakers chosen randomly from the Electoral Register. The last 150 formed a two-stage non-stratified random sample in which every individual had the same probability of selection (Pellowe et al., 1972:22). In this article, no mention is made of the proportion of the population represented by the sample, rather emphasis is laid on the fact that it seeks to represent all the varieties present in the population.

### 3.2.5 Sampling procedure adopted in this study.

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that sampling techniques have not always been as statistically rigorous in urban sociolinguistics as in other social sciences. Whatever reasons or justifications there may have been for this, it was felt, in the present case, that a considerably more representative sample was needed, in order to make any valid claims about the population. Careful attention was therefore paid to some basic concepts of sampling theory, and a more sociological approach was taken. This section will look at the different stages involved in preparing a sociological sample survey, and will consider how each stage was implemented in Perpignan.<sup>1</sup>

#### Sample universe

There are several stages in preparing a sample survey, the first of which is to define the *sample universe*, that is, the population from which the sample is to be chosen. “The population to be sampled (the *sampled population*) should coincide with the population about which information is wanted (the *target population*). Sometimes, for reasons of practicability or convenience, the sampled population is more restricted than the target population” (Cochran, 1963:6). This proved to be the case in the present study, as restrictions of time and personnel would make it impossible to obtain a representative sample of the entire population of Perpignan. The sampled population in this case had to be limited by the fact that all interviews were to be conducted by one person, and therefore would proceed at a slower rate than a study using several fieldworkers. Apart from the fact that it can become extremely wearing to conduct this kind of fieldwork for a long time, as would be necessary if an attempt were made to sample all of Perpignan, there is the time factor: “An urban area is always in a state of flux and the longer the fieldwork is drawn out the more fluctuation will be included” (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, 1968:24). For these two reasons it seemed more practicable to select for the sampled population two *quartiers* on the basis that between them they have the social and economic characteristics of the town as a whole.<sup>2</sup> The two chosen were Saint Mathieu and La Lunette,



which have already been described in some detail (2.3.). Conclusions drawn from the sample, of course, may only strictly be applied to the sampled population, here Saint Mathieu and La Lunette. Whether or not these conclusions may also realistically be applied to the target population - the town of Perpignan - depends on the extent of the differences between them. It is for this reason, in fact, that Saint Mathieu and La Lunette were chosen, as INSEE figures (1982) suggest a relatively high degree of correlation between the socio-economic characteristics of Perpignan as a whole, and of the two areas taken together.

	Saint Mathieu	La Lunette	Perpignan
total population	4 232	5 812	111 892
foreigners	16.4% (692)	5.1% (296)	9.8% (11 016)
population under 20	21.6% (916)	18.0% (1 048)	25.4% (28 452)
population over 65	25.2% (1 068)	25.3% (1 472)	18.9% (21 136)
working population	36.3% (1 536)	35.7% (2 072)	37.4% (41 808)
population in work	30.8% (1 304)	26.8% (1 808)	32.1% (35 960)
executives	7.4% (312)	14.9% (864)	9.2% (10 240)
blue collar workers	12.8% (540)	4.7% (272)	10.2% (11 412)
retired people	19.3% (816)	16.5% (1 292)	16.8% (18 800)

Breakdown of population in Saint Mathieu, La Lunette and Perpignan as a whole.

In some cases it will be noted that there is a very high discrepancy between the two, but when they are considered together, the percentage is similar to that of the town as a whole.

#### Sample size.

The next stage is to determine the sample size. It has already been seen (3.2.1.-3.2.4.) that for some sociolinguistic studies the sample size was not seen as very important, but in this study it was seen as necessary to aim for a rather larger sample than many sociolinguists have deemed adequate.<sup>3</sup> This was due to the more sociological nature of the data to be collected and in particular the importance of correlating social and linguistic data, bearing in mind that, "in general, a sample must be large enough for any breakdown in analysis to leave one with meaningful numbers" (Stacey, 1969:95). In many sample surveys it is difficult to decide on a sample size, as not enough is known beforehand to decide on a limit of error which is reasonable. In this case, after consultation with a statistician, the figure of 5.0% was decided upon. This may appear to be fairly arbitrary, but is in fact quite standard in sample surveys, and is usually considered an adequate proportion from which to draw confident conclusions. (There is the one in twenty chance of coming across an unrepresentative sample, but this seemed an unlikely possibility given the nature of the data involved.) In practical terms, considerations of time and resources would have made it difficult to aim for a significantly



larger sample; on the other hand, a much smaller one would have made some already small subdivisions far too small to be at all meaningful. The figures actually used were 5.0% of the adult population of each *quartier* (arrived at by eliminating all those under 15). In Saint Mathieu the total adult population was 3624, giving a 5.0% sample of 181 and in La Lunette 5088, giving a sample of 254. Thus the total sample being aimed at was 435.<sup>4</sup>

#### Sampling frame.

Having defined the sample universe and size, the next stage is to find a *sampling frame*. This is a list of *sampling units*, or members of the population. Finding such a frame is frequently a major problem in planning a survey, and this one was no exception. It appeared that no adequate list enumerating the relevant population was available: only those actually on the electoral register could have access to it, and the telephone directory would give a very inadequate representation in the poorer area, Saint Mathieu. Consequently, it was impossible to follow the usual procedure of random sampling, that is, to select names at random from such a sampling frame. Instead, using the material supplied by the 1982 INSEE census, a stratified quota sample was constructed, according to age, sex and socio-professional category. "Quota sampling may be described as stratified sampling with a more or less nonrandom selection of units within strata" (Cochran, 1963:137), and if people are chosen at random within the geographic area, and placed in the appropriate strata, it should have the same results as stratified random sampling. The quota method often compares well with probability samples on matters of opinion and attitude, and therefore seems appropriate to this study. There are in fact advantages in working by quota, rather than with names from an electoral register. One is that it eliminates the problem of trying to replace people who, for one reason or another, cannot be interviewed. (Changes of address or of circumstances, illness, death and refusal to cooperate can all intervene to upset the random nature of the sample, as Labov and Trudgill discovered.) With the quota method, sampling just continues until the quotas have been filled. Also, it is a relatively quick and effective way of reaching - potentially - every member of the base population. Although it would perhaps be dishonest to claim that it is a scrupulously random and unbiased method of working (and it is true that "sampling-error formulas cannot be applied with confidence to the results of quota samples" (Cochran, 1963:137)), it has already been seen how practical considerations have often been allowed to undermine otherwise more technically random methods (Trudgill, 1974a:21-26), or statistically accurate methods have been combined with undisguisedly subjective ones (Pellowe et al, 1972:22). Given the restrictions of time, money and access to recent electoral lists, the method is the most representative one possible, and the numbers involved would be considered adequate for any kind of social survey.



### 3.3 Account of Fieldwork.

Having thus considered the theoretical issues involved in the preliminary stages of the project, this section aims to give a factual account of how the fieldwork was actually carried out. As this section is dealing with personal experience it is partly written in the first person.

#### 3.3.1 Contacting people.

Before attempting to contact people, a street map was used to compile a list of all the streets to be covered in each district, and thereafter a careful record was kept of all houses visited, with a note as to whether there had been a reply and if so, whether or not an interview had been conducted there. The purpose of this was to ensure that, in the event of returning to a street, the people who had already given an interview, or who had refused to do so, would not be disturbed again. This was particularly important in Saint Mathieu, where often it was necessary to visit a street several times before obtaining responses at most houses.

For most of the time, the procedure followed was to call at every house in a given street, attempting to work systematically round the whole of the two *quartiers*. Obviously there would always be a certain number of houses where there was no reply, so these would be visited again, on a different day and at a different time. It may well be argued that sampling in this way introduces a bias, as it will only include the people available for interview at the time of calling. However, possible ways of avoiding this particular bias, such as only calling at alternate houses are scarcely more random, and simply make the sampling process take longer, as it would involve walking a lot further in order to cover the same number of houses, and risks not calling at houses where people are potentially willing to be interviewed. Moreover, it has already been shown (3.2.5.) that the problems involved in obtaining a genuinely random sample are vast, and it is virtually impossible to avoid bias altogether, however much the risks are minimised. In this case attempts were made to minimise the bias, by making repeat visits at different times, and also by using other methods of contacting people (see below 3.3.4.).

#### 3.3.2 Initial reactions.

I always began by explaining that I was an English student, and that I was preparing a study on language in Perpignan, and would like to speak to as many local people as possible, and then asked the person if he or she could spare a few minutes to answer some questions on his or her use of language(s). The range of response to this was extremely varied, from immediate refusal to comply to an enthusiastic welcome to enter the house. Among the refusals were an interesting range of reasons: some simply said they were not interested or that they were too busy, whereas others found it necessary to go into detail as to why they were unable to assist. On



several occasions people would begin by refusing, then ask a few questions to find out what they were refusing and eventually agree to participate. Many elderly people claimed they were too old or ill, and people of all ages regretted they could not even open the door because they were alone in the house. Another response common among old people but not confined to them was lack of qualifications. In many cases people feared that the questions would form some kind of test which they would fail, and did not wish to appear ignorant, whilst a number of people considered that questions about language should be addressed only to people who directly concerned themselves with it, and advised me to visit various cultural societies which promote the use of Catalan. A frequent cause for refusal to cooperate was simple distrust: many people feared that the "few questions" would either form part of a political survey, or would be a prelude to selling something, proclaiming a religion or even to robbery or an attack on their person. So widespread is this suspicion that initial contact was often made more difficult by the fact that inhabitants preferred to speak to unknown callers from an upstairs window rather than at the front door.

### 3.3.3 The fieldworker.

To counterbalance this selection of uncooperative responses, there was a variety of cooperative ones. It is probably fair to say that a good many people agreed to be interviewed simply out of curiosity, as they failed to understand why an English student should be interested in their use of language. In fact it is worth mentioning at this point the importance of my introduction of myself in gaining the confidence of informants. Ghiglione and Matalon (1978:68,69) point out that the physical and other characteristics of the fieldworker may have an important influence on the development of the interview, and in this case a number of factors made me more acceptable than perhaps a different fieldworker would have been: I was English, female and a student. Another useful advantage was my ability to switch to Castilian when necessary - many Spanish immigrants have never mastered the French language and therefore reluctantly declined to be interviewed, but in most cases were quite enthusiastic about cooperating once I offered to conduct the interview in Castilian. The fact that I was English often proved vital, not only because it aroused people's interest, but also because many of them felt far less inhibited talking to a foreigner for a number of reasons. Firstly, they would feel less self-conscious about what they may have considered to be inadequacies in their own linguistic use; secondly, they would have no fear about anything they said appearing in local papers, as they perhaps would have done with a French student; thirdly, the conspicuous nature of a foreigner doing a linguistic survey reduced the fear that I might be a thief or any other type of criminal. The fact that I was not only foreign, but female was also a major factor in gaining interviews. A great number of people confided that they rarely opened the door to strangers, but that they felt safe with a single girl, and thought I "looked honest" or "had a nice face". Such remarks were regularly made by women, particularly older ones, and it is probably true to say that the majority of women would not



have consented to be interviewed, had the fieldworker been a male student.<sup>5</sup>

A considerable number of people also felt reassured by the fact that the information was needed purely for academic purposes. However, on only three occasions was it necessary to produce the official letter proving that this was indeed the case; most people were content to accept my word for it. Many people agreed to help because their children or grandchildren were students, and they liked to think that other people would do the same for them should they need similar help, or they simply thought that students should be encouraged and supported. Only a very small percentage of those who agreed to be interviewed did so because of a personal interest in the linguistic situation of Perpignan, but they must be mentioned, as they tended to be among the most “fruitful” informants.

### 3.3.4 Other procedures for contacting people.

Although the procedure for making contact was very largely that outlined above, that is calling at individual houses, a certain number of other approaches were used, with varying degrees of success.

#### Personal contacts.

From an early stage, personal contacts proved a useful means of obtaining interviews; in other words, friendly informants would either direct or personally accompany me to others they felt would respond, and sometimes these contacts would then lead on to others. There is clearly a danger of bias here, as one informant is likely to indicate another of similar age, socio-professional status or ethnic group. However, using the quota method, this is largely irrelevant, as the individuals contacted are in a sense only important as representatives of their quota, so this would only be a problem if a “contact” was providing representatives of a quota already filled. Some informants showed incredible goodwill in their eagerness to help find friends and neighbours and persuade them to be interviewed. In fact, I was able to build good relationships with a number of these informants, which was also helpful in gaining insights into the community. Perhaps not surprisingly, there were a great deal more of these personal contacts in Saint Mathieu than in La Lunette. This is largely due to the fact that people there live much closer together, and tend to know each other more. Indeed despite the quite justified fear of attack and burglary in Saint Mathieu, people often seemed more open and trusting than in the comparatively safer streets of La Lunette, where many people did not even know their neighbours.

#### Espaces de socialisation.

Another way of finding people was to go into *espaces de socialisation*, that is, public places where people gather and are likely to have time to participate



in the study. Some such places proved very fruitful, others less so. One of the best places was the public park next to the Palais des Rois de Majorque, where mainly elderly people tend to congregate on summer afternoons to chat with one another. Being out in the open, and surrounded by others, made people rather more willing to talk to a stranger than they perhaps would have been had she called at their house. In Saint Mathieu there are no public parks, but on warm summer afternoons the old, and sometimes not so old, sit out in the little Place de Saré or at the roadside and, as in the gardens, are more willing to talk than when at home.

Two other places which provided several interviews were the *Club de boules* and the launderette. At the *Club boulistes Saint Mathieu*, which is actually in La Lunette, quite a number of members were willing to participate, although most of them preferred to fill in the questionnaire at home, having listened to all the explanations about them. The launderette is an ideal place to interview people, as they are usually bored as they sit waiting for their washing, and are glad of any distraction. The launderette in Saint Mathieu is very close to the town centre, and so is used by people from other parts of Perpignan and also by visitors, but the one in La Lunette is used only by local people and was therefore very fruitful, especially as the attendant was extremely obliging and encouraged her customers to assist me.

### 3.3.5 Types of people involved.

It may be appropriate at this point, having considered the ways of making the initial contact, and the differing reactions to it, to consider briefly the types of people involved. Of course, men and women of all ages and of the full range of socio-professional categories were interviewed, but certain categories proved more elusive than others, as will be seen.

It has already been seen how my age, sex and nationality frequently had a favourable influence in persuading people to agree to participate in my study, and indeed these factors were always an advantage in obtaining interviews. However, a number of other factors often had an unfavourable influence: general suspicion, fear of being tested, tiredness and busyness. Bearing in mind these factors, it is clear to see why certain categories - such as housewives and students - were relatively easy to fill. These are the people who are most likely to have the time to spare, and would not usually feel threatened by a female student. Old people, on the other hand, whilst having plenty of spare time, in many cases do not speak to any strangers, and either told me so, or claimed to be tired or busy. The same claims were made, with more reason, by many people in full-time work, whilst some unskilled workers may well have used them as an excuse rather than admit to a fear of being unable to answer the questions. Indeed working people, especially those in the socioprofessional category six, proved the hardest to find and interview, as long working hours mean that they are rarely at home, and when they are in they are tired, and have other things to do; and added



to all this, in many instances, is the fear of showing ignorance. This gives some idea of the difficulties encountered in filling the quotas, and explains to a certain extent the gaps in some of them.

### 3.3.6 Development of interviews.

Once I had been given permission to proceed with an interview, its development varied to a certain extent with each informant. No two interviews were exactly alike, although in terms of answers given, a number of them may look very similar on paper. Given the diversity of the interviews it would be impossible to generalise too much on them, but a few broad categories should indicate the way the majority proceeded.

First of all there were those who were pressed for time: real or invented pressures meant that they could spare only a limited time to answer questions, which in one or two cases meant it was impossible to work through all of them. Usually, however, it was possible to complete the whole questionnaire in about ten minutes, although this might mean spending less than the ideal time on certain sections. Certain other informants managed to complete the questionnaire in a very short time, simply because they did not have a great deal to say. This was particularly true of monolingual French speakers who were not interested in Catalan and had never given a thought to any language other than their own. Similarly, some Arab immigrants were also able to cover all the questions quickly as they had nothing to say about Catalan or indeed any language. These short interviews were almost invariably conducted on the doorstep or (in La Lunette) at the garden-gate.

Not all the interviews conducted at the door were short, however; very frequently an informant would start out intending to be brief, and then find himself unable to answer certain questions in few words. On the other hand, some informants automatically invited me in but did not spend more time than was absolutely necessary on the questionnaire. In a sense these were "good" interviews, inasmuch as they provided all the required information without wasting any time (generally taking about twenty minutes). Nevertheless, they were rarely as interesting as the next category, that is those informants who had time to spare and enjoyed talking. These interviews could last for anything up to two hours, with a greater or lesser degree of usefulness. They could of course be most profitable, if the informant was interested in the questionnaire and talked at length about the issues raised in it, which was frequently the case, and often such informants would unwittingly supply me with information which I had not asked for but which proved very interesting and useful. Regularly, however, the talkative informants would be more interested in talking about other things: their own or their children's experiences in England; other experiences in their lives; their opinions on recent developments in Perpignan, especially the influx of Arabs; their opinions on Arabs; French and English politics and so on. Most, though not all, of the people in this category were elderly, living on their own, and grateful for someone to talk to. (These people often displayed a remarkable



degree of trust in me by speaking in the way they did; I heard numerous life stories and confidences in the course of interviewing.) Sometimes it would be possible to complete the questionnaire before the informant began talking about other subjects, but more often than not questions would have to be fitted into breaks in the conversation, and on some occasions the informant would spend up to half an hour talking about some pet subject before I could ask any questions. Consequently a twenty-minute interview could be extended to one hour or even two. Many interviews were also further prolonged by informants offering me drinks and asking me questions.

More specific points about the way in which questions were asked and answered will be discussed in the following chapter.

1. Much of this section is drawn from Cochran, 1963.
2. A similar procedure was adopted by Trudgill in his Norwich study (Trudgill, 1974a:22)
3. An exception is the Detroit Dialect Study, which had a sample of 702, but in the end only 36 speakers were selected for analysis (Milroy, 1987:22,23).
4. All figures are taken from the 1982 INSEE Census, see Appendix B.
5. Lesley Milroy has made the point that "a solitary woman [is] unlikely to be viewed as a threat" (Milroy, 1980:44), whereas young males are often seen as threatening (Milroy, 1987:79).

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## Chapter 4: The Questionnaire: theory and practice

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### 4.1 General principles in planning a questionnaire

#### 4.1.1 Preliminary points on interview techniques.

Preparation of the questionnaire is perhaps the most vital stage in planning a sample survey, as a questionnaire which does not successfully elicit the desired information can totally invalidate the whole project. This section deals with some general guidelines on preparing questionnaires for social research.<sup>1</sup> “The aim of any research interview [...] is to get truthful information from people on a subject about which they are under no obligation to tell, if they do not wish to” (Stacey, 1969:72). Bearing this in mind, there are a few preliminary points about interviewing which need to be considered before beginning detailed preparation of the questionnaire. It is important for the researcher to see herself as a suppliant, and begin by asking the potential informant for help. It is also important to explain at the outset, in non-technical terms, what the study is about and who it is for, so that the informant is clear about what he or she is taking part in. Another point to bear in mind is the influence that the interviewer herself may have on the informant, by her appearance, behaviour and so on. (Some aspects of this are discussed in 3.3.3.) Still in the role of suppliant, the interviewer should try to establish a friendly rapport with the informant, whilst also commanding respect, in order for the informant to feel at ease, but to be aware that it is a serious exercise. A final point to remember is that “answers should be gathered within as short a time as possible. Otherwise external factors connected with the passage of time may make the data invalid” (Stacey, 1969:73).

#### 4.1.2 Types of interview.

There are in fact several different types of interview, with differing areas of usefulness. There is the totally unstructured *non-directive interview*, where the interviewer simply encourages the informant to talk, and does not even specify the subject; then there is the *focused interview*, also unstructured, but where the interviewer does specify the subject spoken about. The former is most useful for therapy, the latter for studies involving experiences, feelings, reasons and motives. More or less unstructured interviews may be used at an early stage of research where “a rigidly structured set of questions might well fail to ask all the appropriate questions because their relevance had not yet been seen” (Stacey, 1969:76). At the opposite extreme is the *structured questionnaire*, where the interviewer uses a prepared set of questions. Obviously this type of interview is the most suitable for a survey



where comparable data is required from all informants, in order to carry out quantitative analysis, and therefore seemed the appropriate type to use in the present study. "Although it cannot be assumed that every respondent will understand the same thing by the questions, it does reduce the differences which result from the use of varied words" (Stacey, 1969:76).

#### 4.1.3 Types of question.

Types of questions used in questionnaire surveys may be divided into two groups: *closed* and *open-ended*. Closed questions have only a given number of replies, often "yes", "no", "do not know", whereas open-ended questions may be replied to in any way the informant chooses. The former are far easier to deal with, especially when the analysis is done by computer, as responses can be easily pre-coded. For many questions, pre-coding is relatively straightforward. For example, "Can you speak Catalan?" can have a limited number of coded responses - "yes", "no", "with difficulty". Other questions may require more categories of response, for example, "How did you learn Catalan?" could have the pre-coded responses "at home", "at school", "at university", "at evening classes", "through living in the region", "through wife/husband", "self-taught". Some questions however, especially those concerning opinions or attitudes, are extremely difficult to pre-code, as people may have an infinite variety of responses. They are often necessary, particularly "where the issue is complex, where relevant dimensions are not known, and where a process is being explored" (Stacey, 1969:80).

Choosing the appropriate type of question and formulating it in a way which ensures that it will be understood by all informants and will elicit the desired response is by no means a straightforward task. Ghiglione and Matalon claim that "une bonne question ne doit [...] suggérer aucune réponse particulière, ne doit exprimer aucune attente, ne doit rien exclure de ce qui peut venir à l'esprit à qui on la pose" (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:98) and discuss in considerable detail the dangers inherent in each type of question and how to avoid them. They recognise that "la construction du questionnaire et la formulation des questions constituent [...] une phase cruciale du déroulement d'une enquête. [...] Toute erreur, toute maladresse, toute ambiguïté, se répercuteront sur l'ensemble des opérations ultérieures, jusqu'aux conclusions finales" (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:96).<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.1.4 Order of questions.

The order in which questions are asked is also important - it should be similar to the way an ordinary conversation on the subject would develop, so that the interview will flow as naturally as possible. It is a good idea, therefore, to begin with a question closely connected to the subject of the research as it has just been explained. It is also wise to make this first question one which does not give offence and is straightforward to answer. Any questions which are likely to offend are best left to the end, then if the informant refuses



to answer, the majority of questions will already be answered, whereas an offensive question at the beginning may lead to a refusal to cooperate at all.

#### 4.1.5 Pilot study.

Once the questionnaire has been drafted, it is helpful to pass it to people who are able and willing to criticise and comment on it. After then making any necessary amendments, it should be tested in a pilot study, which should show up any ambiguities and inadequacies, and reveal which questions need to be amended or even suppressed, and where additional questions are needed. The final draft should not be too long, as “an overlong questionnaire lowers the quality of the answers to important as well as unimportant questions” (Cochran, 1963:6). This is often difficult to achieve, as “la tendance des chercheurs est, en général, de vouloir poser le plus de questions possible, parfois sans penser qu’il faudra non seulement faire passer la questionnaire, mais aussi l’exploiter. Devant chaque question qui vient à l’esprit il faudra se demander de façon très précise ce qu’on en fera” (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:100). The ideal interview probably lasts about 20-30 minutes, although data collected in ten minutes can be as valuable as that collected in an hour, depending on the ability of the informant to give relevant answers.

These then were the general principles on which the questionnaire for the present study was based, although there was also a certain amount of influence from previous sociolinguistic studies, as the following section shows.

## 4.2 Review of sociolinguistic questionnaires.

In the early stages of preparing this questionnaire, several other sociolinguistic questionnaires were referred to, and some did have a certain amount of influence on the present work. This influence was limited, however, since those studies whose aims were most similar to this one were rural studies which concentrated very much on the local patois, while most urban studies have a completely different focus and therefore the type of question being asked is quite irrelevant to the type of information being sought here.

### 4.2.1 Hadjadj’s study of French and patois.

One interesting study which has a certain amount in common with the present one is Dany Hadjadj’s *Sociolinguistique des rapports entre patois et français* (Hadjadj, 1981). As its title suggests, this is a rural study, looking at two small villages in central France where French and a local patois are both spoken, and as such is completely different from the situation of the present study. Nevertheless the primary aim of the two studies is very similar. Hadjadj (1981:73) puts it simply as: “décrire la situation sociolinguistique de deux communautés”. Consequently, the five linguistic variables she used seemed to a certain extent applicable to the present study. These



were entitled: *compréhension du patois; utilisation du patois; conditions d'apprentissage du patois et du français; conditions actuelles d'utilisation du patois; opinion sur le patois*. These variables were not of course entirely suitable for the present study, which covers a much wider range than simply French and the local patois. However, they did provide an idea of some of the areas which must be asked about in this type of study. Hadjadj does not actually give any real detail about her questionnaire, but does mention that it had only twelve questions, which suggests it was somewhat limited in the range of information it could elicit. Hadjadj (1981:76) claims these twelve questions to be "suffisantes pour repérer, d'une manière schématique mais néanmoins assez précise, les comportements linguistiques qui apparaissent dans nos communautés"

#### 4.2.2 \* Maurand's study of Occitan.

Another interesting study, but of equally limited scope, was Georges Maurand's *Situation linguistique d'une communauté en domaine occitan* (Maurand, 1981). Like Hadjadj, Maurand takes as a starting point Fishman's statement "Who speaks what language to whom and when" (Fishman, 1971)<sup>3</sup>. He also aimed to describe the sociolinguistic situation of a rural community, this time in the *domaine occitan*, and carried out five different types of survey, including a questionnaire survey of 150 speakers. Because the questionnaire was only one of several methods of inquiry, it clearly covers only a limited area, namely "les variations de la langue employée en fonction des relations sociales entre interlocuteurs" (Maurand, 1981:102). In fact, Maurand's questionnaire seeks very much to answer Fishman's question, by asking which language is spoken between every possible combination of family members, and which language the informant would use when addressing a list of specific members of the community. This is obviously an important area of information in any study of a community where more than one language is spoken, and certain of Maurand's questions were borne in mind when preparing the questionnaire for the present study.

#### 4.2.3 French urban studies.

As far as urban studies are concerned, very little has so far been done in France. A fairly recent issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (54, 1985) is entitled *Sociolinguistics in France: Current Research in Urban Settings*, and groups together six accounts of urban research. However, they all tend to be rather limited in scope, concentrating on particular groups of people within an urban setting, for example immigrants or women. Moreover, none of these used a questionnaire survey, and so were of little help in this respect.



#### 4.2.4 English urban studies.

Sociolinguistic questionnaire surveys have been carried out in Britain and the United States for some time, and certain of these were referred to. However, as the focus of these studies differed considerably from those of the present study, the questions being asked were inevitably quite different from those needed here. The questionnaire used by Trudgill in Norwich, for example (Trudgill, 1974a:195-197), is interested in finding out about people's knowledge and usage of "Norwich speech" and therefore follows Labov's methods of trying to elicit different contextual styles of speech from informants. To a certain extent the answers to the questions are less important than the language used to express those answers. The same might be said of the questionnaire used in the Detroit Urban Language Study (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, 1968:45-55), which was trying to contrast the speech of different socio-economic groups. The Detroit questionnaire aimed to elicit from informants three types of speech: conversational, single response and reading style. The present study is not interested in recording different speech styles, but rather sociological information about different varieties of language, therefore the above-mentioned questionnaires were of little practical interest.

#### 4.2.5 Studies in French Catalonia.

A final source which was of some help was the *Introduction méthodologique et documentaire à l'étude sociolinguistique du plurilinguisme en Catalogne-Nord* (Bernardó, 1978). At the end of his thesis, Bernardó gives examples of several sociolinguistic questionnaires which have been used in Perpignan and the surrounding region. These questionnaires are of interest, as they are based in Perpignan, but as with the other French research mentioned above (4.2.3.) they are somewhat limited. In fact the sole aim of these surveys was to discover the extent to which Catalan is known and used, and attitudes towards it. Although openly biased in this sense, they do ask questions which could be adapted to the wider needs of the present study. Of particular interest is the questionnaire prepared for the *Enquête des Normaliens* in 1974 (Bernardó, 1978:294), which asks some attitudinal questions of great relevance in any study of this area, namely:

- "Pensez-vous que la langue catalane est menacée?"
- "Son maintien vous paraît-il important?"
- "Seriez-vous favorable à son enseignement à l'école à côté du français?"
- "Pensez-vous qu'il y a une mentalité catalane?"
- "Une plus grande autonomie de la région paraît-il souhaitable?"

It will be seen below how some of these questions were adapted and integrated into the present questionnaire.



To conclude, very few questionnaire surveys are of any real relevance to the present one: those which seem to have roughly similar aims have been carried out in rural situations with a limited range of variables, and those conducted in urban settings have generally been concerned with discovering and describing speech styles rather than looking at the social distribution and implications of their use. Therefore, while a few helpful points have been taken from some previous studies, the questionnaire is quite different from those which have been used by other sociolinguists. The next section will describe it in some detail.

### 4.3 Development of the questionnaire for use in Perpignan

Inevitably, the questionnaire went through several stages of development, changing considerably in both form and content.<sup>4</sup>

The original draft fell into five sections, subtitled as follows: *information personnelle; compréhension et utilisation des langues; utilisation de langues en famille; utilisation de langues en dehors des relations familiales; opinions sur la région et sur les langues*. Whilst these sections were largely retained in the final draft, the actual questions asked changed considerably. Consequently, the easiest way to consider the development of the questions is to take each section and discuss it.

#### 4.3.1 Form

Before looking at the content however, a word must be said about the form. The major difference between the first draft and subsequent ones is the fact that the first was not prepared for computer analysis. Subsequent drafts were drawn up with this in mind, and therefore had a change in the layout: questions to the left of the page, followed by a space in which to write out responses, and on the right a row of boxes, corresponding to each question, for the codes, which the computer would use to analyse the responses. The other effect of computer analysis was to change the form of certain questions, to make as many as possible closed questions, thus facilitating coding. For example the first question, originally “Est-ce que vous avez plus d’une variété de langue?”, which would actually require the informant to specify, became two questions: “Est-ce que vous avez une autre langue à part le français?” for which the responses is simply “oui” or “non”, followed by “Laquelle/lesquelles?” and a list of possible responses, which can then all be coded “oui” or “non”. Inevitably there were some questions which had to be left open-ended, most notably those concerning attitudes, but SPSS-X (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) allows for nine coded responses to a question, so coding was possible, although in a less precise way, even for these questions. A discussion on the use of computer analysis may be found in 5.1.



#### 4.3.2 *Information personnelle*

There was in fact another major change in format not prompted by the demands of computer analysis. This was the transferral of the "personal" questions from the beginning to the end. Its original position was probably due to the influence of Trudgill, whose questionnaire begins "First of all, we'd like to ask you a few questions about your local background" and proceeds to ask questions on the length of time the informant has lived in Norwich, where his parents come from, his and his father's job, and his level of education (Trudgill, 1974a:195). In the light of other, more sociological works, notably Stacey (1969:81), this did not seem such a good idea, as questions of this type are liable to give offence, and are therefore best left to the end. The content of this section did not change a great deal, as the questions are fairly standard ones for determining an informant's socio-economic status. One question that was changed was one asking for ethnic origin - a relevant question in multi-ethnic societies such as New York City or Detroit, but not necessarily in Perpignan. Although there is considerable ethnic diversity in Perpignan, it was felt that this question could be misunderstood there, and so it was replaced by two questions which were more likely to be readily comprehensible: "Vous êtes de quelle nationalité?" followed by "Et de quelle origine?". This allowed for greater clarity in certain cases, for example, those who are of French or Spanish nationality, yet consider themselves primarily Catalan, or second generation immigrants who hold French nationality, but one of whose parents is Spanish, Portuguese or North African.

It may be pointed out here that, for simplicity, most of the questions in this section were not written out in full on the questionnaire, but only the piece of information being asked for.

The other change in this section was in the question designed to discover how much of his or her life an informant had spent in the region. This was originally expressed thus: "Avez-vous toujours habité ici?" "Où habitez-vous avant?" and "Vous habitez ici depuis combien de temps?". This was not really the most economic way of eliciting the information and was not the most straightforward way for the computer to analyse, and so was changed to read

"Où avez-vous habité pendant votre enfance?  
votre jeunesse?  
votre vie active?  
votre retraite?"

This has the advantage of avoiding any repetition, and means that the same codes can be used for each part (with one "not applicable" code to be used with younger people).



### 4.3.3 *Connaissance de langues*

The above sub-heading is the revised version of “compréhension et utilisation de variétés” and “conditions d’apprentissage”. The word “variété” was in fact not used at all in interviews as it tends to confuse people who, understandably, do not usually know what is meant by it. The transformation of the opening question has already been considered above (4.3.1.) This was originally followed by the request “Constatez votre niveau de compétence dans chacune des langues suivantes”, accompanied by a table showing the major varieties of language known in Perpignan and the variables “comprendre”, “parler”, “lire”, “écrire”. Pilot testing showed that this was not immediately very clear to informants, and it was not readily amenable to computer analysis, so it was changed to a more straightforward question, “Est-ce que vous comprenez, parlez, lisez et écrivez ces langues?” The responses would then be simply “oui”, “non” or “avec difficulté”, thus requiring only three codes, plus the non-applicable code for varieties not known to an informant. The last question in this section followed the same pattern as the previous two, that is, the question - “Comment avez-vous appris ces langues?” - followed by a list of known varieties. Again, this allows for up to nine responses, plus the non-applicable code (zero).

### 4.3.4 *Utilisation de langues*

Like the preceding section, this one combines two of the original ones, amalgamating language use *en famille* and *en dehors des relations familiales*. The two aspects were still retained, but the questions on the family were considerably reduced. The original draft asked for the language of communication between each set of family members (parents-children, grand-parents-children and so on), but in the pilot study this proved to be impracticable, as people found it tedious and often irrelevant to go through this list. Two pairs of questions were therefore substituted, with the option of giving a fuller answer if it proved relevant. The first was “Est-ce que vous parlez une autre langue en famille?”<sup>5</sup> requiring a simple “oui/non” response. If the response was positive, the next question was “avec qui?”, which may entail a very simple or very comprehensive reply. The other question follows the same pattern, this time asking “Est-ce que d’autres membres de votre famille utilisent une autre langue?”, whose short answer is again qualified by “si oui, avec qui?”.

At this point a few questions were added which concerned specifically the use of Catalan in the home. These questions aimed to discover the extent to which Catalan played an important role in people’s domestic leisure activities; reading, listening to music and watching television. This is comparable to questions asked by Williamson and Van Eerde on reading newspaper material and listening to radio programmes in minority languages (Williamson and Van Eerde, 1980:68). Thus three sets of questions were constructed: the first two asked whether the informant had any books or records in Catalan, and if so how many, the last asked whether the informant had a television



set adapted to receive Spanish television, and if so, did he or any member of the family watch the Catalan channel.

The question on language use outside the family retained roughly its original form, although the wording and some of the situations were changed. The original wording of the introduction, “Dans quelle langue parlez-vous aux situations suivantes?” was altered to read “Est-ce que vous utilisez une autre langue dans d’autres situations?”, thus making it follow on more naturally from what had already been said. The possible situations listed on the final draft were those which, it was hoped, would reveal most clearly when and where an informant switched languages. This proved not always to be the case, however, as will be discussed in section four of this chapter.

Finally, three attitudinal questions were added to this section, with the objective of discovering whether people like speaking their minority language, regardless of how often they actually speak it. There were two questions on Catalan: “Est-ce que vous aimez parler catalan?” and “Est-ce que vous aimez entendre parler catalan, puisque vous ne parlez pas ou parlez difficilement cette langue?”, thus hoping to find out to some extent how this indigenous language is regarded by both natives and immigrants to the region. Another two-part question was also added to find out attitudes to other minority languages, usually Castilian and Arabic: “Est-ce que vous aimez parler d’autres langues?”, qualified by “Laquelle/lesquelles?”

#### 4.3.5 *Attitudes*

The attitudinal section underwent a substantial transformation, as the original draft contained far too many irrelevant questions. The majority of the questions are concerned with attitudes towards Catalan, as this is the indigenous minority language, but also includes attitudes to minority languages in general. Inevitably, most of these questions had to be left open-ended, as people’s attitudes cannot always be neatly categorised.

The first question “Quel est l’avenir du catalan ici?” was looking for a more or less objective opinion on how people viewed the future development of Catalan, not necessarily what they wanted that development to be. The next question, on the other hand, was intended to find out personal opinions on the value of maintaining Catalan. “Faudrait-il essayer de maintenir la langue catalane ici?” was a closed question followed by “pourquoi?”, where the simple response could be explained. This pattern was also used for the question “Croyez-vous que ce soit important, aujourd’hui, de savoir parler catalan ici?”, which sought to discover an opinion based on personal experience.

The next three questions had wider applications: “Pensez-vous que c’est le gouvernement qui devrait s’occuper des langues régionales?”, “Comment?” and “Qui d’autre devrait s’en occuper?”. These questions were designed to see how important the welfare of minority languages was deemed to be, and



how people viewed the presence of such languages in a monolingual French state. The final linguistic question took an even wider range of languages to see how people value the minority language: "Selon vous, quelles sont les langues qu'il faut connaître? Classez-les." This was followed by a list of languages widely used or learnt in Perpignan, including the indigenous Catalan, immigrant languages and completely foreign languages, such as English and German.<sup>6</sup>

This section ended with two non-linguistic questions, designed to see how people viewed their town and region, and to find out whether their perception of Perpignan differed according to their feelings about the indigenous language. Thus one question simply presented a list of adjectives which could be used to describe Perpignan, and asked informants to say whether they would agree with each one; the second question asked them to explain their responses concerning two of those adjectives: "catalane" and "typiquement française".

#### 4.4 Practical issues encountered using the questionnaire

##### 4.4.1 Arguments for and against using a questionnaire

The case for conducting this study by means of a questionnaire survey has already been discussed (3.1.3.), and it is considered to be the most useful research tool in this particular project. However, it must be recognised that there are disadvantages in using any questionnaire, and there are some specific problems related to the one used in this study.

Questionnaire surveys are often compared unfavourably to participant observation studies because, it is claimed, it is more difficult to arrive at a truthful assessment of the situation being researched. This may be due to a number of factors: people are not used to being interviewed and so may feel awkward or intimidated and thus may not respond in the most natural way; they may feel that the interviewer is looking for certain answers and will respond in the way they think will please the interviewer (the reverse may also be true, depending on the disposition of the informant, or the strength of his views on the subject being researched); they may have any number of private reasons for not responding truthfully to the questions, or it may be that they are unaware that their response is not true (for example, it is extremely difficult to give a very accurate self-assessment of one's ability in a given language, and such an assessment may depend on non-linguistic factors, such as how the given language is perceived in the community). Moreover, "on admet facilement qu'un sujet puisse se tromper, que sa mémoire puisse être en défaut, éventuellement que la question ait pu être mal comprise" (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:145,146).

Another general problem which may be encountered in a study of this type is the fact that, while most people may be familiar with the idea



of questionnaire surveys, they may tend to assume that they have precise and immediately useful goals, as is the case in market research surveys. Thus in a research project such as this one, "certaines questions paraîtront complètement inutiles, oiseuses, et le [the informant] dérouteront, parce qu'il ne comprendra pas pourquoi on les pose" (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:147). This certainly proved to be the case for a number of informants, as will be seen in section 4.4.4. Another result of this "utilitarian" view of questionnaire surveys is that the informant "pourra saisir l'occasion d'exprimer ses doléances, ou ses revendications" (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:147). In fact this happened to a limited extent in this survey, but was not totally absent. Thus it may be said that the data gathered by questionnaires are potentially unreliable.

Whilst this possibility is admitted, it must be stressed that the alternative, participant observation, is by no means a sure way of achieving total objective truth. In participant observation the researcher may be directly witnessing the behaviour he wishes to study, but unless he observes every instance of this phenomenon, it will still only be a representation of it, and may, moreover, be affected by the presence of the researcher and thus rendered unrepresentative. In this case, the only realistic way to elicit the range of information from an adequate number of people is to use a questionnaire, as has already been shown (3.1.3.). In this study there is no attempt to elicit certain speech styles, but rather facts about linguistic use, and although there may be some distortion of truth due to the factors mentioned above, the questionnaire remains the most appropriate tool for eliciting this type of information. In actual fact, the interviews were almost invariably conducted in a very relaxed atmosphere, where the informants felt at ease and confident. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that they responded honestly as far as they were aware.

### The impossibility of achieving the perfect questionnaire

The Swiss dialectologist Gilliéron once said "The questionnaire, in order to be clearly the best, ought to be made after the survey" (Gilliéron 1915, quoted by Mather and Speitel 1975:10), and the truth of this is borne out in the experience of many sociolinguists. Francis (1983) agrees with this sentiment, saying of the questionnaire, "There is no way to be sure that it is finally perfected, since each interview has its surprises and reveals flaws in the questionnaire" (Francis, 1983:52). Ghiglione and Matalon (1978:106-110) stress the importance of avoiding ambiguity in a questionnaire, but recognise that

"Les diverses précautions techniques, évidemment nécessaires, qu'on peut prendre pour éviter certaines erreurs, ne résolvent que très partiellement un des problèmes les plus difficiles de la méthodologie des enquêtes, celui de la formulation des questions ayant le même sens pour tous. Y réussir implique plusieurs con-



ditions. Tout d'abord, nous avons vu, il faut non seulement que chaque terme soit compris, mais compris par chacun de la même manière. Ensuite, il faut que la question elle-même le soit, alors qu'elle peut être perçue de façon très variable, même si chaque mot en lui-même ne pose pas de problème" (Ghiglione and Mat-  
alon, 1978:109).

Even after meticulous revision and several trials, the questionnaire is "always a compromise between what the investigator would like to obtain and what he can reasonably hope for, given the constraints of time and money to which he is subject." (Francis, 1983:65). Sociolinguists often acknowledge this in their work. Hadjadj, for example, mentions that the original questionnaires used in her study, "étant difficiles à manipuler et faisant perdre beaucoup de temps aux enquêteurs" (Hadjadj, 1981:75) had to be replaced by more relevant ones. Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1969:40-44) devote several pages to a discussion of the shortcomings of the questionnaire used in the Detroit Dialect Study. They acknowledge two main groups of shortcomings (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, 1969:40,41) and then go systematically through the questionnaire, highlighting those questions which were badly placed or were misunderstood or unproductive, and mentioning items which should have been included (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, 1969:42-44).

#### **4.4.2 Specific problems encountered using a questionnaire in Perpignan**

It is not surprising therefore that the questionnaire for the present study also suffered from a number of shortcomings: some questions proved to be less useful than had been supposed, or were completely irrelevant, whereas others were either unclear in their meaning and were often misunderstood or misinterpreted by informants. The following discussion aims to show clearly the difficulties specific to this particular questionnaire.

#### **4.4.3 Linguistic ability**

There are a number of problems associated with asking people which languages they speak and how well. Firstly there is the permanent problem of self-assessment: without actually testing in some way an informant's ability to speak, read or write the language he or she claims to have knowledge of it is impossible to know whether or not he or she really has any ability in it. It is for this reason that some sociolinguists have seen questionnaires as an inadequate way of assessing linguistic ability. However, even observing informants in a variety of settings may not give any clearer indication of the true ability, and the researcher's assessment may prove to be equally arbitrary, although it would be based on sounder linguistic criteria. Moreover, a questionnaire is really the only way of gathering information on the whole range of linguistic ability. Even if people are not as accurate in their self-assessment as a linguist would be, asking questions is the only way to find out all the languages they know and when they use them. Apart from this



general problem, there were certain misunderstandings concerning some of the opening questions, which must be taken into account when looking at the responses. It should be stressed, however, that in the vast majority of cases it was straightforward, in the interview situation, to rectify immediately any misunderstandings as they arose, and thus to elicit the true answer

What constitutes another language?

The very first question proved to be open to misinterpretation, partly due to its vagueness: "Est-ce que vous avez une autre langue à part le français?". This question was designed to discover whether or not informants had a second or first language other than French, but was frequently taken to mean "Est-ce que vous avez appris des langues étrangères?" which had two major consequences. The first was that many people who would normally be classified as monolingual French speakers claimed to speak one or several foreign languages, although they probably had only a very elementary knowledge of that language, acquired at school or during the war. However, this would usually become apparent in the second question, when informants were obliged to specify which skills they possessed in each language mentioned. Most would then admit that they had learnt all four skills, and had largely lost the ability to use them, but there were some cases where people claimed to speak, understand, read and write a language they had learnt years before and never used. (Such informants are discussed in more detail in 10.6.)

The other consequence of this misunderstanding was that a large number of elderly people who were fluent in Catalan, or immigrants whose first language was Castilian or Arabic, would say they spoke only French. In both of these cases, however, other reasons may be found for such a response, and the true response would invariably become evident, usually early on during the interview.

Problems concerning Catalan.

The case of Catalan is perhaps the more complicated. Many older people replied that French was their only language, but later revealed, often inadvertently, that they did in fact speak Catalan. Their apparent reluctance to admit to speaking Catalan may stem from a number of factors. For some it is simply a question of terminology: for them, Catalan is not a "langue" but a "dialecte" or "patois". They may well recognise that the Catalan of Barcelona is a language, but they cannot read this variety of Catalan, and do not understand television broadcasts from Barcelona, so they conclude that their own language is in some way inferior, and not a true language, calling it "catalan folklorique", "roussillonnais" or simply "patois". These people were therefore willing to concede that they spoke Catalan, but were surprised that it should be considered as a language. For others, however, this unwillingness went a good deal further. Many older people were brought up



in monolingual Catalan-speaking homes, and were then punished at school for using their mother tongue, being told that it would hinder their progress in French. Thus for them, Catalan is the language they associate with punishment and ridicule, and to admit to speaking it would be to admit to being from a lowly background. In the majority of cases, they have deliberately refrained from using Catalan with their children, so that they would not suffer the same humiliation that they went through. The decision to abandon Catalan has other reasons too: many people feel a very strong emotional attachment to the French state, often dating back to one of the World Wars. They feel that if they, or their relatives, fought and even died, for France, then they owe a special allegiance to that country, and to speak a language other than French would be a kind of betrayal. Usually these people seem fully convinced of the argument used at school, that using Catalan would deform their French, and they feel that French must be the foremost language, stressing that "on est Français d'abord."

#### Immigrant languages.

The other group who did not always seem to mention that they spoke another language was that of Arab immigrants. In their case it usually seemed due to an assumption that the questionnaire was interested purely in French and Catalan. Several older North Africans, who clearly had difficulty speaking French, claimed to speak nothing else, but when asked whether they spoke Arabic with their family, replied positively. Second generation immigrants often did not mention it either, presumably because they thought the first question referred only to languages learnt at school, and Arabic for them was simply the language of the home. One young girl in fact did not even seem to know what this language was called, referring to it as "marocain" and "maghrébin".

The problem did not usually arise in the same way with Spanish immigrants, indeed many interviews were conducted in Castilian. There were cases, however, of Spaniards who felt that they ought to speak French, as they lived in France, and claimed to do so, but what they actually spoke was a mixture of the two languages.<sup>7</sup>

#### Ambiguity over feelings about languages known.

The ambiguity over what constitutes knowing a language resulted in further ambiguity in question 19. This question "Est-ce que vous aimez parler d'autres langues?", was designed to see whether those whose mother tongue was not French liked speaking this language, regardless of whether or not they actually used it very often. As such it was intended to be for immigrants what question 17 ("Est-ce que vous aimez parler catalan?") was for native Catalan speakers. The problem arose with people who had claimed to speak another language, but in fact only had a limited knowledge of it and never used it. For such people this question is really irrelevant, but many people



still answered positively. Thus it is rather difficult to assess the true extent to which languages other than French are used and enjoyed in certain cases. (This will be discussed in more detail in 10.6.3.)

#### 4.4.4 Irrelevance and intrusion

In a number of questions it proved difficult to obtain the degree of precision hoped for, sometimes because people did not understand exactly what was being asked, or why it was being asked. In other instances, they understood the question, but for one reason or another were unable or unwilling to give a very clear answer. This was the case for some informants concerning the personal information section. In some cases this lack of communication could be traced to a lack of understanding as to what the questionnaire was actually about. A number of people who agreed to be interviewed seemed happy to do so without asking or knowing much about the aims and objectives of the survey, and therefore sometimes found it difficult to appreciate the importance of certain questions, which seemed quite meaningless or irrelevant to them.

It has already been seen how misunderstanding arose over the opening question: many people were not at all clear about what was meant by "having" a language and what constitutes a language. The other question, so far not mentioned, in this first section, was equally open to misinterpretation. Question number four, "Comment avez-vous appris ces langues?" was often met with blank looks, especially from those who were bilingual from an early age and did not consider that they had "learnt" any language. This was not a major problem, though, as it was usually easy in such cases to ascertain that the languages known to the informant were learnt as "mother tongues" or just learnt in the home.

#### Language use

Questions five to eight, concerning use of languages within the family, were difficult to code very precisely, as they were very general, having been designed so as not to be tedious for monolingual informants. The problem did not arise with questions five and seven "Est-ce que vous parlez une autre langue en famille?" and "Est-ce que d'autres membres de la famille utilisent une autre langue?", as these two required straight yes or no answers. Where it became problematical was in the subsequent "Si oui, avec qui?" and "Si oui, qui?" People usually gave a list of the members of the family who spoke the other language, but the variations were so great that it was difficult to code them very adequately.

The question concerning language use outside the family elicited some equally vague answers. The intention was to find out which language(s) were used in some specific situations, but it proved difficult for some people to say. For a great many of course, although they are capable of speak-



ing another language, they rarely or never use it, and so replied that they use French in every circumstance. Others would simply say that they only spoke Catalan for example if they went to Barcelona, and many people were not prepared to go through the whole list of possible circumstances, often claiming that those listed were all irrelevant to them anyway. Generally the only people who really answered this question satisfactorily were those who were actively concerned for the welfare of the Catalan language, and were very conscious of their use of it. One other point which should be mentioned on this question is that a change was made after starting to use the questionnaire. The situation "dans les services administratifs" was replaced by "aux villages". This is because it soon became apparent that, unless an informant was actually incapable of speaking French, it was inevitable that they would use it when in contact with public services. On the contrary, a substantial number of informants added their own observation that they used Catalan when they were in little villages, so it seemed appropriate to make the substitution.

### Catalan leisure activities

It sometimes proved rather difficult to obtain straight answers to the questions on Catalan books, records and television. For many people these questions seemed quite irrelevant, and even those who were genuinely interested in Catalan frequently failed to answer in a very satisfactory way. The initial questions "Est-ce qu'il y a des livres catalans chez vous?" and "Est-ce qu'il y a des disques catalans chez vous?" were generally not problematical, but it was often difficult to obtain the desired degree of precision to the subsequent "Combien?". On the whole the informants who answered most precisely were those who had only a slight interest in Catalan, or were "catalan de souche" and therefore had a few books - usually a dictionary, grammar book and an anthology of poetry. Others tended to give such meaningless answers as "une petite sélection" or "pas mal", or simply wave the question aside as irrelevant. In many cases it appeared that informants resented being asked such questions, and so it was difficult to insist on greater precision.

The questions on Catalan television were equally difficult, although in this case this was often due to lack of information - some people did not even know the meaning of "téléviseur multistandard" and were unaware that it was possible to receive Spanish channels in France. Once again there was sometimes the feeling that people found these questions unnecessarily intrusive and were not happy about answering them.<sup>8</sup>

### Personal questions.

Some people understandably felt that certain questions in the personal section were intrusive, but when their purpose was explained, and people were assured of the anonymity of the questionnaire they were generally happy to respond. An obvious example is that of age, and in fact it was decided not



to ask the exact age of informants, but simply to assign them to age categories, which were quite wide. Another area about which many people can be sensitive is the degree of education they have. Very few people actually refused to answer this question, but many obviously felt uncomfortable doing so, and often accompanied their answer with expressions of regret that their education had not gone any further. In some cases, people appeared determined not to feel in any way ashamed of their lack of education, and said several times that they were illiterate from the start of the interview.

A number of informants were also reluctant to specify their own or their parents' profession, although this information was never actually refused. Old people in particular found it astonishing that their parents' profession should be of any relevance as they had been dead for years, and in a great many cases the responses were simply "ouvrier" or "agriculteur". A number of respondents were even more uninformative about their own profession, often stating who they worked for rather than what they did, for example, "GDF", "EDF", "PTT" or "fonction publique". In the majority of cases, however, it was possible to make a reasonable assumption as to which socioprofessional category to assign the informant to.

There were also those who found the questions concerning place of birth and other places lived in rather indiscreet, but it was very rare for anyone to refuse to answer.

#### 4.4.5 Attitudinal questions

Inevitably there were difficulties involved in obtaining satisfactory answers to these questions, as attitudes cannot always be adequately expressed in a concise way, and the questions asked in this section were frequently not ones that informants had ever considered before.

For a number of people these questions were in fact totally irrelevant, and in a few cases the only answer throughout was "ne sais pas". Most people, however, did have some thoughts on the subjects mentioned, but had not usually formulated a view which they could readily explain. The opening question in this section "Quel est l'avenir du catalan ici?" was readily understood by most people, but not so readily answered, as they had never really thought about the problem. Having managed to answer this question though, they usually had no difficulty with the following one, which they found quite similar - "Faudrait-il essayer de maintenir la langue catalane ici?" - and most informants were able to give coherent reasons for their responses.

The question which caused rather more difficulty was the next one, "Croyez-vous que ce soit important aujourd'hui, de savoir parler catalan ici?" This was mainly a problem of interpretation, as it was not always clear what "important" meant. Consequently, some informants took it to mean "is Catalan needed for everyday communication in Perpignan?", others related



it to the previous question and assumed it meant “is it important to keep using the language in order to maintain it?” and yet others understood it as “is it important or useful for work purposes?” However, these differing comprehensions should become clear by the answers to the subsequent question “pourquoi?”.

Another question open to miscomprehension was the next one, “Pensez-vous que c’est le gouvernement qui devrait s’occuper des langues régionales?” In a number of cases people thought they were being asked about what the government actually did for regional languages, rather than what they thought it should be doing. In a limited number of cases it proved impossible to make informants understand that it was a theoretical question and concerned their attitude towards government involvement in linguistic matters. The same problem arose with the question “Qui d’autre devrait s’en occuper?”, as some people once again simply talked about what they thought was being done and not what they thought should be done.

The problem of vague wording arose once again in the following question, “Quelles sont les langues qu’il faut connaître? Classez-les.” The objective of the question was to see how people value the learning of various languages, in the context of this region. As this was not specified, however, many people classified them according to other criteria, such as importance on a world scale, and in some cases changed the list completely when they realised that it should relate to their region.

Finally in this section, the questions on Perpignan proved difficult for some people to answer. This was in most cases due to uncertainty as to the precise meaning of some of the adjectives. This was particularly true of the words “catalane” and “typiquement française”. Many people, even when they had decided whether or not Perpignan was typically French or Catalan, were unable to say why, and the question asking this was rather inadequately responded to.

#### 4.4.6 Conclusion.

The above discussion seems to confirm Gilliéron’s words quoted at the beginning of this chapter. However well the questionnaire is prepared, it is impossible to know until afterwards exactly how questions will be reacted to and interpreted. The present study is no exception to this general rule, and it is only with hindsight that it is apparent that certain questions which were included were not necessarily the best ones, whilst other, possibly better ones were missing.

Moreover, as Ghiglione and Matalon recognise (1978:98), “malgré son importance, la rédaction de la questionnaire reste dépendante du savoir-faire et de l’expérience du chercheur.” In order to achieve the ideal questionnaire, where every question is guaranteed to elicit the desired response, there is no general rule - “tout ce qu’il est possible de faire, c’est de signaler les points



auxquels il faut prendre garde, certaines erreurs à éviter” (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:106). Thus it would be more surprising to find a questionnaire which did not contain a certain number of ill-formed questions than one which did.

It should not be thought, however, that the problems mentioned in this section invalidate the questionnaire. In the majority of cases it was completed with no major misunderstandings, and most of the information gathered is as truthful and valid as a questionnaire survey can hope to achieve. In fact, most of these potential misunderstandings were recognised early on during the fieldwork, and measures were taken to avoid them (such as adding a brief explanation where the original wording proved ambiguous). There were still some cases of misinterpretation or reluctance to answer certain questions, perhaps inevitable in any questionnaire survey, but particularly understandable in this one where a certain number of informants had difficulty with the language of communication, and in many cases had a variety of reasons preventing them from responding freely. Even if the questionnaire is as near perfect as is possible, there is no knowing how the general public will respond to it: human beings cannot be programmed to respond always in the expected or desired way.

This section thus aims to acknowledge that the questionnaire was not perfect, and to look at and discuss its shortcomings in order to understand what they were and to see how they could have been improved upon.

1. Much of section 4.1 is drawn from Stacey, 1969.
2. The whole subject of preparing a questionnaire - formulation and organisation of questions, pre-tests and all the problems involved at this stage - is very amply dealt with by Ghiglione and Matalon in *Les Enquêtes Sociologiques* (1978).
3. Maurand was quoting from the French translation of Fishman (1970). *Sociolinguistics A brief introduction* (Rowley, Mass: Newbury House Publishers).
4. An example of the final questionnaire can be found in Appendix A. Several aspects of the final draft owe a great deal to D. Bernardó, whose advice was very helpful at this stage.
5. Older people were also asked to relate this question to their deceased family, as in many cases people who have only ever spoken French with their children would have spoken Catalan with their parents.
6. French was not included on this list, as it was assumed to be the primary language necessary in France. In cases of confusion this was explained to informants.
7. The possible reasons for different attitudes towards native languages among immigrants of Algerian and Spanish origin is discussed in Billiez (1985).



8. It was in fact the question on television which caused me to be almost physically thrown out of one house: although the man I was trying to interview seemed prepared to answer, his wife was convinced that I was some kind of police informer, and as soon as I asked if they had a “téléviseur multistandard” she became almost hysterical and forced me to leave.



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## Chapter 5: Presentation of responses

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### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter and the three following contain a presentation of the responses to the questionnaire, with some explanation and commentary. Each chapter presents one section of the questionnaire, showing first the responses of the whole sample, followed by those same responses broken down by sex and then by age. This chapter presents the “information personnelle” from the end of the questionnaire, but chapters six to eight take the questions in the order in which they appeared in the questionnaire.

As well as the tabulated data, this chapter contains an initial exploitation of it. Explanation of the tables is given where necessary, and there is a commentary on the significance of certain responses. In some cases the commentary is very limited as it could be said that the tables “speak for themselves”, or because they will be discussed much more fully in later chapters.

#### 5.1.1 The use of computer analysis

This chapter presents the responses to the questionnaires in a form made possible by the use of SPSS-X (Statistical Package for Social Scientists). The possibility of such a statistical analysis of responses is the primary advantage of using a computer in a sociological study. It permits a very rapid production of figures and cross-tabulations which would require an inordinate amount of time if calculated manually, especially when the number of informants is high. Thus it is possible to exploit the responses with a degree of precision otherwise extremely difficult to obtain.

Whilst this advantage is indisputable, and it is the most effective way of fully exploiting the responses, there is a certain drawback to this form of exploitation, which is the loss of the *ensemble* of individual questionnaires. Ghiglione and Matalon cite the case of a researcher who has not personally conducted the questioning of informants, and only sees the responses coded and tabulated, who “n’a jamais connaissance de l’ensemble des réponses d’un même individu” (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:96). Such a researcher would be struck by “le vague ou la complexité des réponses, et la netteté des distributions sur lesquelles il travaille ensuite [...] On oublie ainsi que ces “données” ont été *produites* et non simplement *recueillies*, qu’elles sont l’aboutissement d’un processus en même temps que le point de départ, la matière première de l’analyse” (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:145). Thus it



could be said that in seeking greater clarity and accuracy in the exploitation of responses, researchers have tended to sacrifice a consideration of individual questionnaires. It is beyond doubt that a research project which presented each individual set of responses would be extremely unclear and would make it impossible to distinguish any general tendencies and thus to draw any conclusions concerning the community in question. Nevertheless, it is true that by separating the questions, some of them tend to lose a certain degree of relevance. Moreover, some questions are asked in the hope that they will have a bearing on others and this tends to become lost when each response is tabulated individually. In an attempt to avoid this as far as possible, this chapter presents the responses cross-tabulated with age and sex, and the following chapters consider in much finer detail the questionnaires for different groups of informants within the sample.

Although this chapter does appear to a very large extent “dehumanised” by the computer, it should be borne in mind that the computer also enables any individual questionnaire to be rapidly localised, so that apparently incongruous responses can be checked, and unusual responses can be compared with the rest of the questionnaire to find a possible explanation. As the fieldwork and analysis were conducted by the same person it was usually possible to recall the circumstances of any interview presenting unexpected responses and thus to explain them.

#### Some comments on coding

As mentioned in 4.3.1., for a large number of questions, coding presented no problem, as there was only a limited number of possible responses and it was a simple matter to attribute a code to each one.

When it comes to attitudinal questions, or other questions with a wide range of possible responses, coding is done in two stages: firstly, an analysis of replies, enabling the construction of codes; secondly, making each individual response correspond to one of these codes. Ghiglione and Matalon (1978:209,210) suggest that such codes, in order to be usable, should not run into too many categories, as this would result in only a few informants in each category and would make it difficult to draw any significant conclusions from the responses. This was imperative with SPSS-X, as nine categories is the maximum possible. They also point out the importance of ensuring that all the categories constructed are indeed used, and that the number of unclassable responses is as low as possible. In fact it will be seen that often the responses tended to be very homogeneous, and very few questions needed as many as nine separate codes.

A particular category which must be mentioned is that of non-responses - “not applicable”, “do not know” and refusal to answer. It is important to take these into account and, as far as possible, to distinguish between them, as they can often be as significant as any other response. Once again, the advantage of having the interviewing, coding and analysis done by the same



person is that, in a number of cases, it is considerably easier to explain these non-responses, by referring to circumstances not explicit in the rest of the questionnaire.

“Pour certains problèmes, les ‘sans opinion’ ou ceux qui disent ‘je ne sais pas’, sont intéressants en eux-mêmes. C’est une réponse comme une autre. [...] Malheureusement pour l’interprétation, la réponse ‘je ne sais pas’ ne correspond pas toujours à une absence d’opinion ou à une ignorance réelles. Certaines réactions qui correspondent plutôt à l’une des autres catégories de non-réponses s’expriment facilement de cette manière, soit parce que, dans le doute, c’est dans cette catégorie apparemment la plus neutre, que les enquêteurs préfèrent coder une réponse vague ou équivoque.

La réponse ‘je ne sais pas’ peut ainsi camoufler un refus conscient de répondre, lorsqu’on n’ose pas le faire ouvertement. Mais elle peut aussi traduire l’impression plus ou moins vague que la question est mal posée ou qu’elle est trop compliquée, ou encore qu’il faudrait réfléchir trop longtemps pour répondre” (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:216,217).

### 5.1.2 Numbering system used in this and subsequent chapters

Apart from the initial section (Defining factors) and one or two other questions for which histograms were unsuitable, the responses of the total sample are presented in the form of histograms. For ease of reference the histograms are numbered to correspond to the question they represent, with the number and question appearing below the histogram. In cases where there are several histograms for one question, they have been numbered thus: 31.3, 31.2. In other cases, where two questions have been combined in one histogram, they have been numbered thus: 1/2, 2/3. In all cases there are two histograms, representing the two *quartiers* surveyed, shown on the same page to facilitate comparison. Responses are shown in percentages, in order to show more fairly the differences between the two *quartiers*, but the number of informants is shown in brackets every time.

Responses broken down by sex and age are always presented in the form of tables, with the question written above the table. Since they refer to the same question as the preceding histogram they are not numbered unless there are two consecutive tables.

## 5.2 Defining factors

This initial section presents the responses to the final section of the questionnaire. These “personal” questions were placed at the end in order to avoid



the possibility of offending informants at an early stage (cf. 4.3.2.). However, they provide the logical starting point for an analysis of responses, as it is these responses which define the informants involved. The responses from the section *Information personnelle* have been divided into two series: *primary* defining factors, that is, those on which the quotas were constructed; and *secondary* defining factors, which help to show informants' social and ethnic background.

### 5.2.1 Primary defining factors

The three variables of age, sex and socioprofessional category were used as a means of "identifying" informants and trying to provide a fully representative sample. "Les variables 'classiques' ont acquis leur objectivité d'abord à cause de la facilité de la mesure, et aussi parce que ce sont celles qui servent à catégoriser les individus dans la vie quotidienne" (Ghiglione and Matalon, 1978:250). It is undoubtedly the clearest and most straightforward way of defining a population although, as Ghiglione and Matalon point out (1978:250,251), there are so many different implications of the difference between "male" and "female" or "young" and "old", that the concepts of "sex" and "age" in themselves mean nothing, or have so many different meanings that they cannot be seen as strictly objective. Nevertheless, they have been so frequently used as identifying factors in sociological research that it would be difficult to undertake a study of this nature without recourse to them.

The construction of quotas has already been discussed (3.2.5.) as has the difficulty of filling some of them (3.3.5.). To show clearly to what extent different quotas are over- or under-represented, the following tables compare the desired quotas for each category of age, sex and socioprofessional category with the numbers of informants actually interviewed in each.

Age, sex and socioprofessional category of informants are also shown in histograms, in the same way as all the other responses, in order to show clearly the difference between the two districts.



La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
	quota	interviewed		quota	interviewed
men	115	113	men	80	61
women	139	160	women	101	86

Breakdown by sex.

La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
	quota	interviewed		quota	interviewed
15-24	35	38	15-24	34	32
25-44	62	71	25-44	49	43
45-60	56	62	45-60	34	24
60+	101	102	60+	64	48

Breakdown by age.

La Lunette

	quota		interviewed	
	men	women	men	women
15-24	17	18	18	20
25-44	30	32	25	46
45-60	23	33	23	39
60+	45	56	47	55

Saint Mathieu

	quota		interviewed	
	men	women	men	women
15-24	17	17	13	19
25-44	24	25	20	23
45-60	15	19	10	14
60+	25	40	18	30

Breakdown by age and sex.

The first of the above tables shows clearly that the numbers of men interviewed are noticeably lower in both *quartiers*. This is due in large part to the simple fact that on the whole, more women than men are likely to be at home at any given time, and are also more likely to be available for interview. The surplus of women in La Lunette is due to the higher number of *femmes au foyer* in that district. In Saint Mathieu there is a deficit for both



sexes, as it is a working-class area, and it is harder to find people of either sex at home. Also there were a number of potential informants who were unable to participate due to an inability to speak French (this phenomenon was non-existent in La Lunette).

The second table reveals that as far as age is concerned, there is a deficit for every category in Saint Mathieu and a surplus for every category in La Lunette. However, the size of these deficits and surpluses is by no means the same for each category. Because the oldest age group was numerically by far the biggest, it was the hardest to fill, and although it is filled in La Lunette, the surplus is of only one informant, compared to three, nine and six in the three younger groups. Equally in Saint Mathieu the deficit is higher for this group than for the others (sixteen compared to two, six and ten).

The third and most comprehensive breakdown pinpoints more clearly where the deficits and surpluses are located. For men in La Lunette, the numbers interviewed come very close to the quotas, in the third age group being exactly the number required. For women however the middle age groups are somewhat over-represented, due to the large number of housewives interviewed. In Saint Mathieu on the other hand, it is only the youngest age-group of women which is over-represented, by only two informants, whereas the other age-groups are under-represented by progressively larger numbers. The male groups are consistently under-represented, also in progressively higher quantities, suggesting that it was harder to find older men willing to be interviewed.

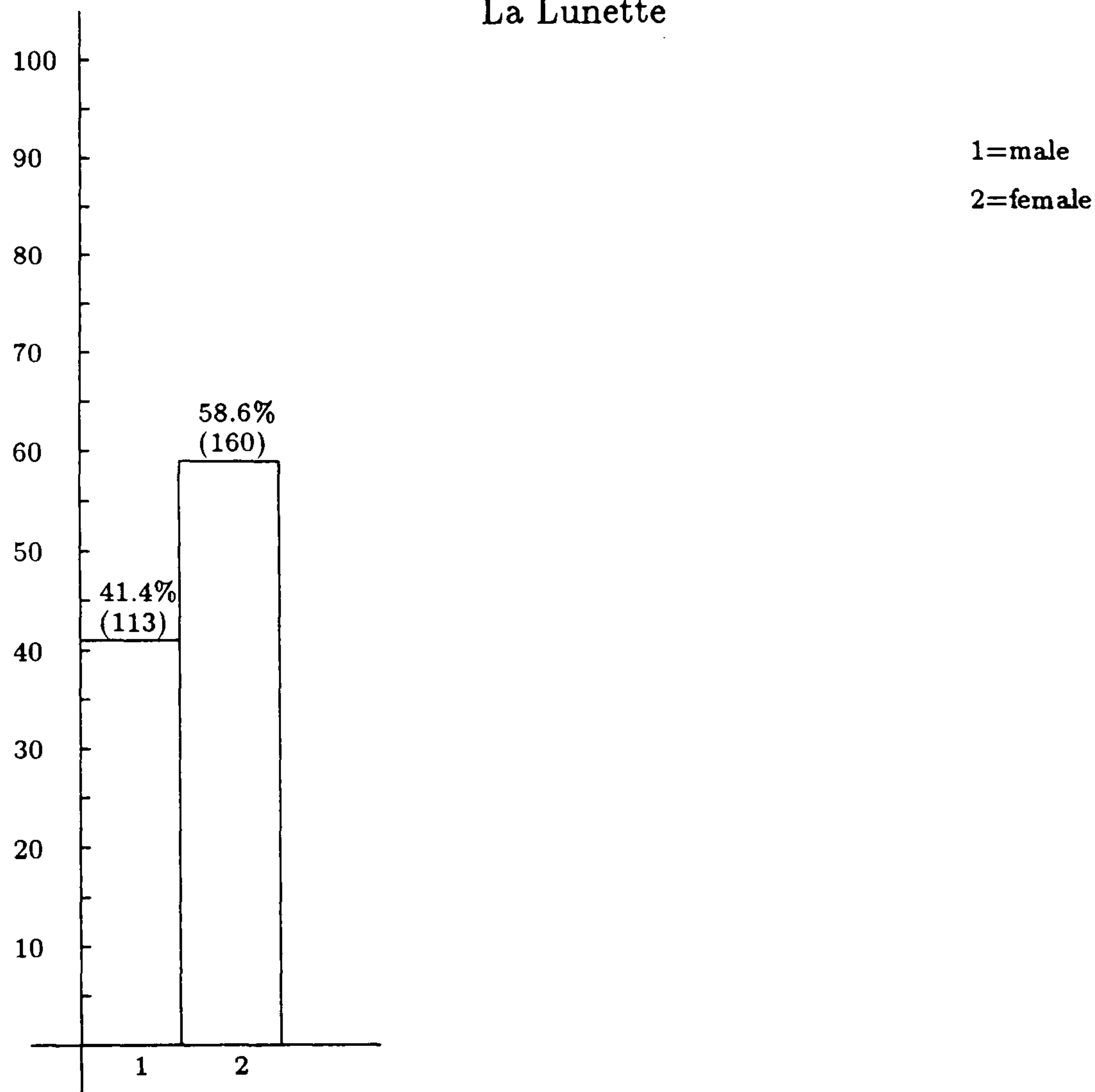
The following table shows again the breakdown by age and sex, this time showing what percentage of the total sample is represented by each group.

La Lunette			
	men		women
15-24	6.6%	(18)	7.3% (20)
25-44	9.2%	(25)	16.8% (46)
45-60	8.4%	(23)	14.3% (39)
60+	17.2%	(47)	20.1% (55)

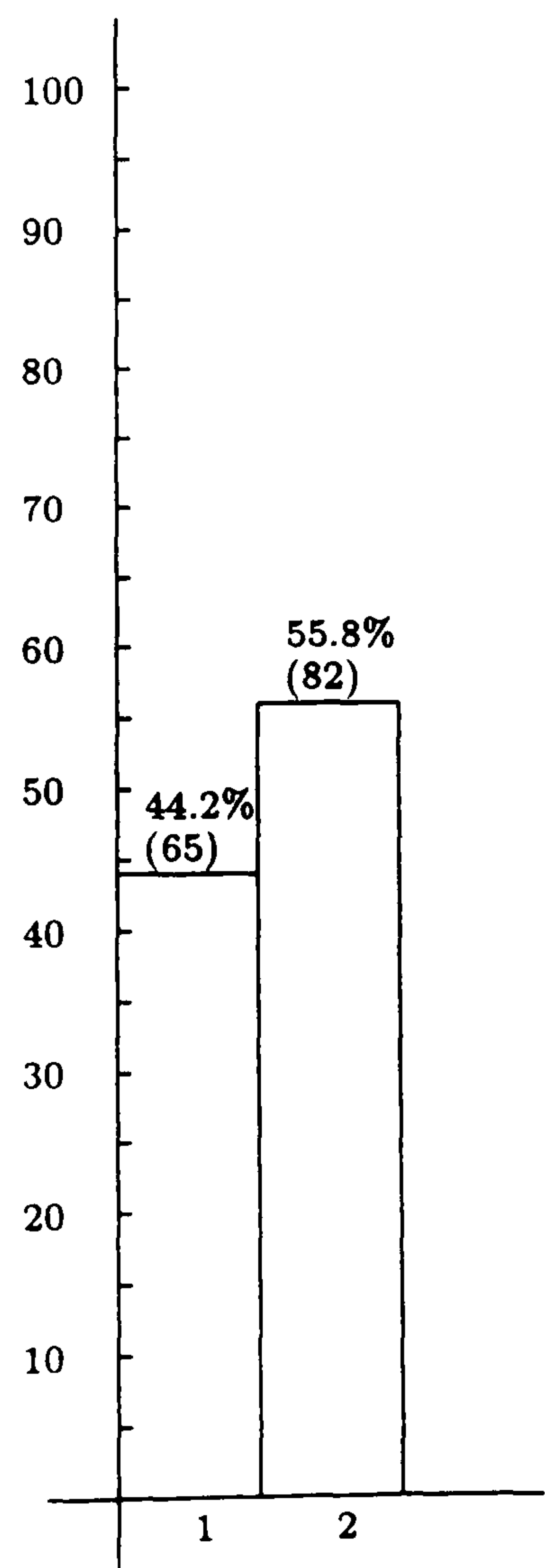
Saint Mathieu			
	men		women
15-24	8.8%	(13)	12.9% (19)
25-44	13.6%	(20)	15.6% (23)
45-60	6.8%	(10)	9.5% (14)
60+	12.2%	(18)	20.4% (30)



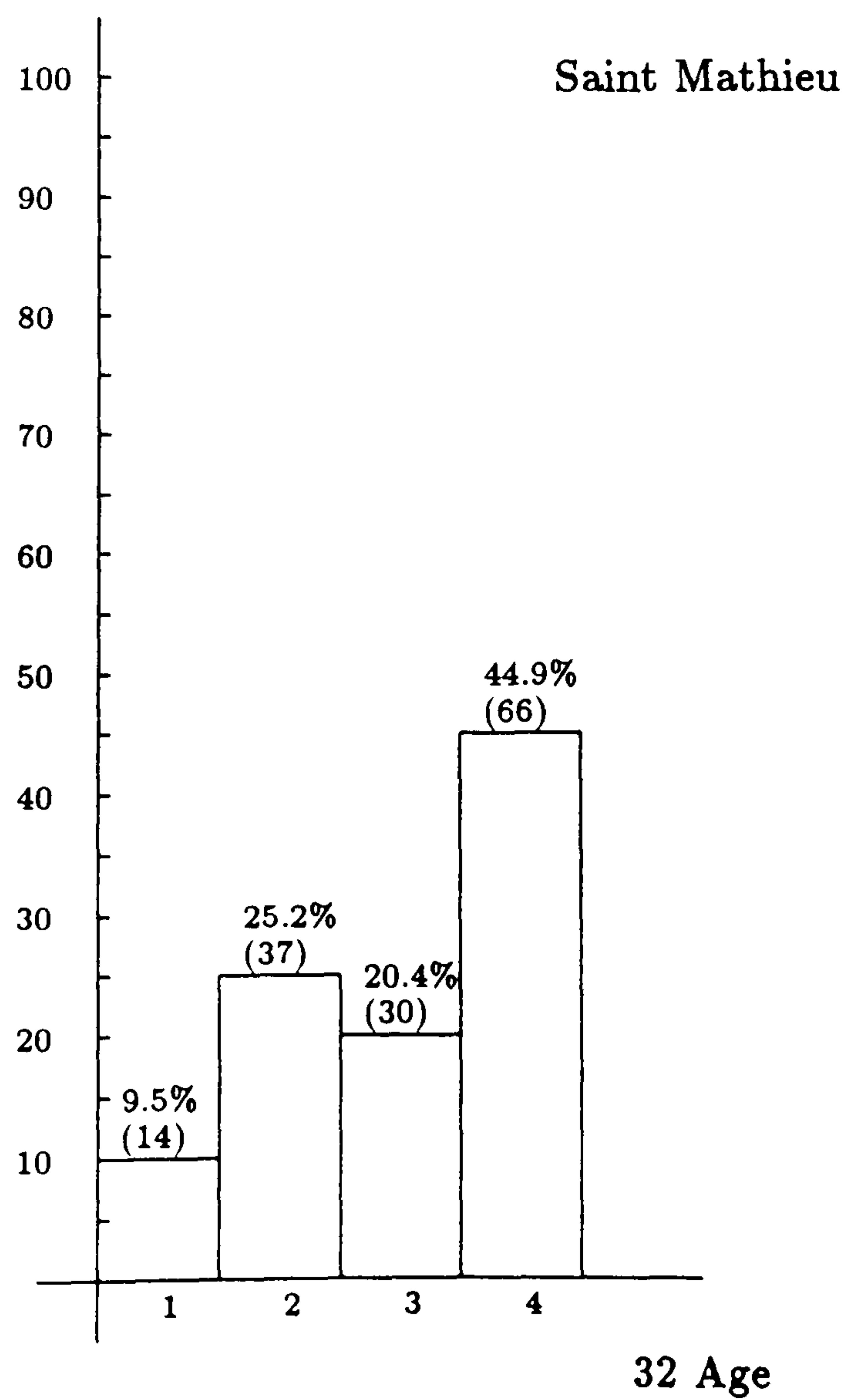
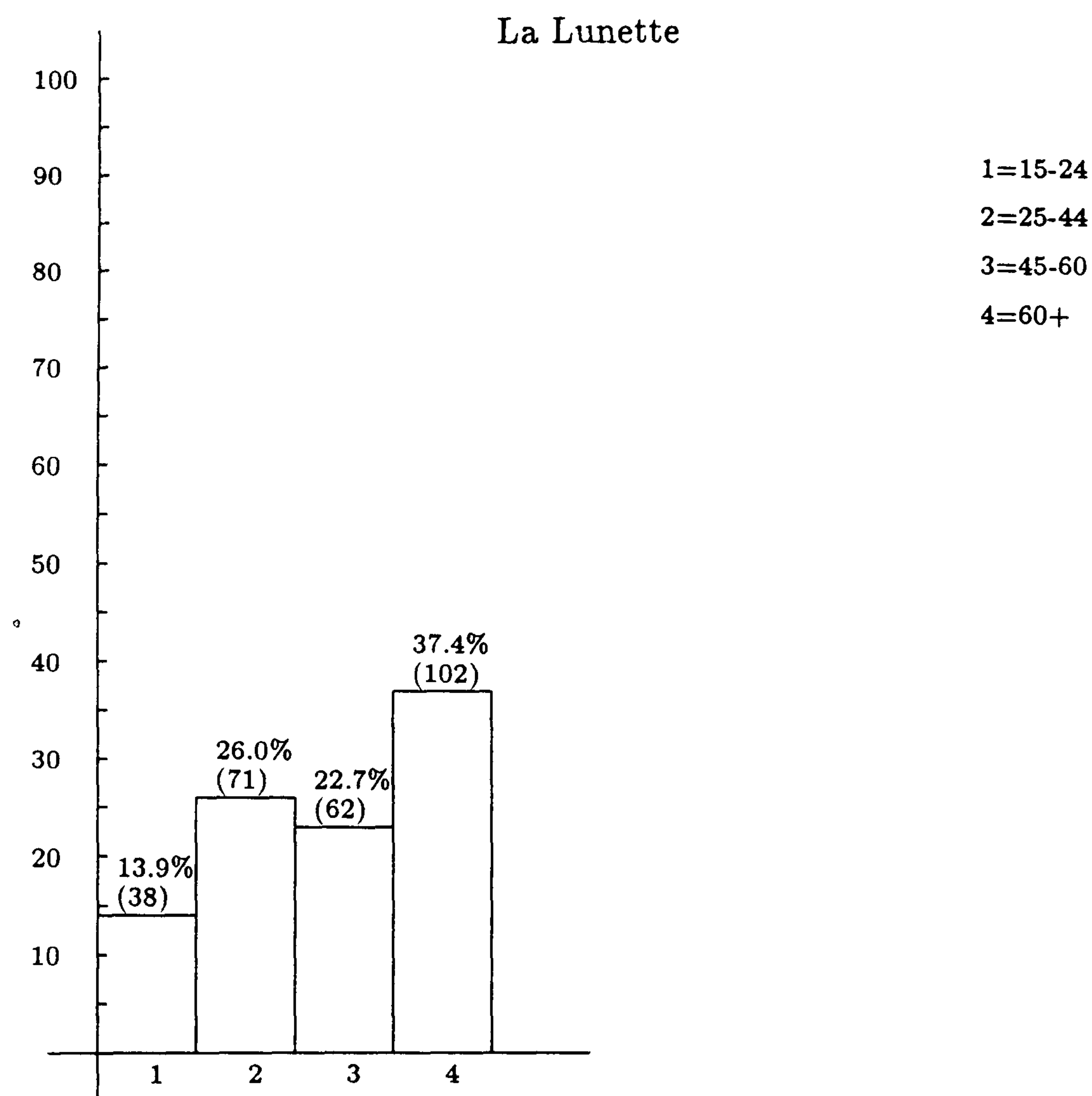
La Lunette



Saint Mathieu









Socioprofessional Category

La Lunette

profession	quota	interviewed
landowning farmworkers	0.6	1
traders, artisans	15	17
liberal professions	20	30
intermediate professions	23	20
employees	30	34
workers	14	8
retired	65	77
no profession	93	86

Saint Mathieu

profession	quota	interviewed
landowning farmworkers	0.6	0
traders, artisans	11	18
liberal professions	6	2
intermediate professions	10	8
employees	21	18
workers	27	11
retired	41	42
no profession	59	48

Details of socioprofessional categories.

These categories are ones used by INSEE in the 1982 census, at the lowest level of detail (level 8). The full titles, in French, of these eight categories are as follows:

1. Agriculteurs exploitants.
2. Artisans, commerçants, chefs d’entreprise.
3. Cadres, professions intellectuelles supérieures.
4. Professions intermédiaires.
5. Employés.
6. Ouvriers (y compris agricoles).
7. Retraités
8. Autres sans activité professionnelle.

The above table is different from histogram 40 below, as the table includes category seven - retired people. However, during interviewing retirement



was not taken into account, and informants were classed according to their former profession. Thus category seven here simply takes all the informants of 60+, except *femmes au foyer* who were already in category eight.

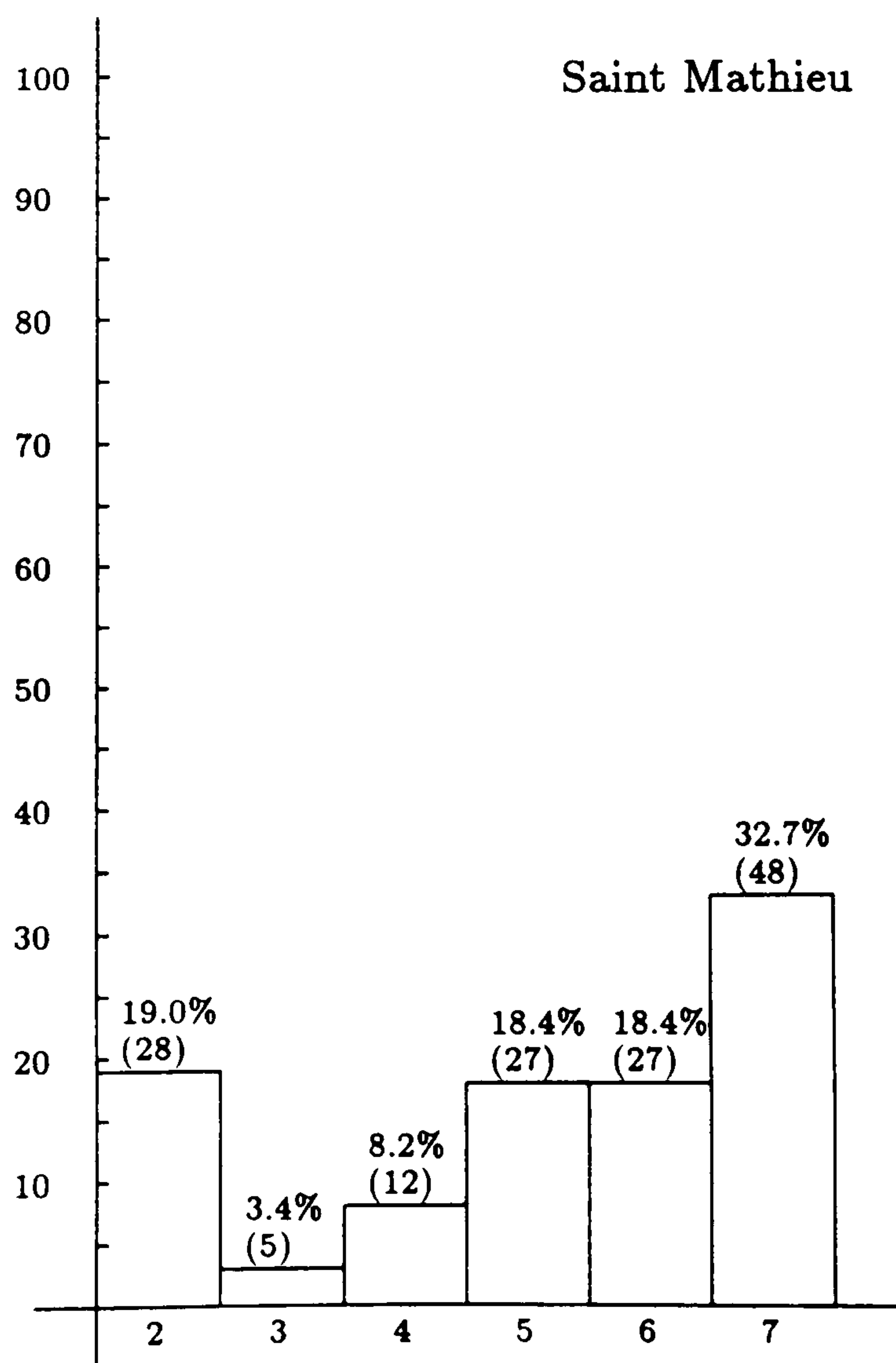
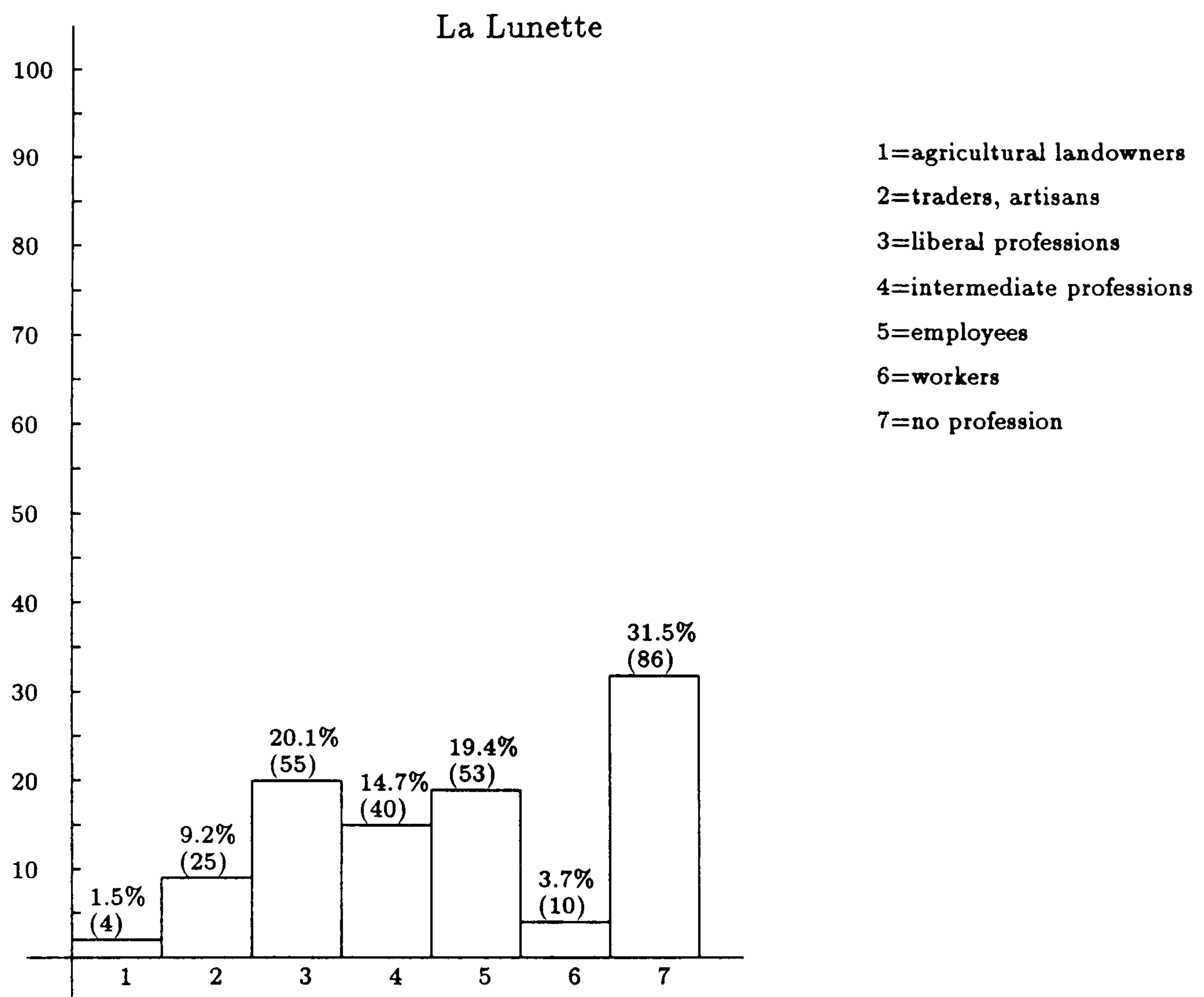
Even when retired people are not taken into account, the following histogram shows that the largest category is of informants with no profession in both *quartiers*. This is almost the only similarity between the two, as there are clearly very different patterns of employment. The only other category where the percentages are similar is the rather vague "employees". All the other categories are completely different from one *quartier* to the other, the biggest differences being in categories three and six. "Liberal professions" constitutes the largest group of active informants in La Lunette, whilst in Saint Mathieu it is the smallest. At the other extreme, manual workers represent the same percentage as employees in Saint Mathieu, but in La Lunette represent the second smallest category. These responses are entirely what would be expected from a sample taken from two such differing social districts.

Variations in male and female employment can be seen following these general differences in employment patterns. Again the clearest examples are at the two extremes of the socioprofessional ladder. As mentioned above, the percentage of informants claiming to practise a liberal profession is much higher in La Lunette than in Saint Mathieu, and the number of men in this category is four times higher than women, whereas in Saint Mathieu the difference between the sexes is only 0.2% - in favour of women. The reverse is true of manual workers: there is a difference of 21.8% between men and women in Saint Mathieu, whilst in La Lunette it is only 5.8%, and the proportion of female workers is very low.

In both *quartiers* there is a higher percentage of women without a profession: primarily housewives, and some students. In Saint Mathieu the gap between male and female is considerably reduced, due to a higher level of male unemployment. Most of the males without a profession in La Lunette were actually students, whereas in Saint Mathieu there were several unemployed young men.

The breakdown by age makes it clear how many of the informants without a profession must be students, as the youngest age group has an extremely high percentage of this category. It would appear that there are a higher number of informants with high socioeconomic status in the third age group, in both *quartiers*, although inevitably fewer in Saint Mathieu. In Saint Mathieu it is also noticeable that the highest percentage of manual workers is in group four.





40 Socioprofessional category



Socioprofessional Category: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
Agricultural landowners	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)
Traders, artisans etc.	9.7% (11)	8.8% (14)
Liberal professions	36.3% (41)	8.8% (14)
Intermediate professions	18.6% (21)	11.9% (19)
Employees	13.3% (15)	23.8% (38)
Workers	7.1% (8)	1.3% (2)
No profession	13.3% (15)	44.4% (71)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
Traders, artisans etc.	24.6% (15)	15.1% (13)
Liberal professions	3.3% (2)	3.5% (3)
Intermediate professions	9.8% (6)	7.0% (6)
Employees	4.9% (3)	27.9% (24)
Workers	31.1% (19)	9.3% (8)
No profession	26.2% (16)	37.2% (32)

Socioprofessional category: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
agric. landowners		1.4% (1)		2.9% (3)
traders,artisans	2.6% (1)	14.1% (10)	9.7% (6)	7.8% (8)
liberal professions		16.9% (12)	29.0% (18)	24.5% (25)
intermediate	2.6% (1)	15.5% (11)	12.9% (8)	19.6% (20)
employees	7.9% (3)	28.2% (20)	17.7% (11)	18.6% (19)
workers	7.9% (3)	2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	2.0% (2)
no profession	78.9% (30)	21.1% (15)	25.8% (16)	24.5% (25)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
traders,artisans	3.1% (1)	27.9% (12)	20.8% (5)	20.8% (10)
liberal professions			8.3% (2)	6.3% (3)
intermediate	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)	16.7% (4)	8.3% (4)
employees	12.5% (4)	25.6% (11)	12.5% (3)	18.8% (9)
workers	3.1% (1)	16.3% (7)	12.5% (3)	33.3% (16)
no profession	78.1% (25)	23.3% (10)	29.2% (7)	12.5% (6)



5.2.2 Secondary defining factors

This section now takes up other defining factors which were not prerequisites in preparing the quotas. Not all the remaining responses from the section *information personnelle* are presented here, but only those which are particularly relevant in a general analysis of the sample: nationality, origin, place of birth and place of residence throughout life, level of schooling. The first four factors are useful indicators of the ethnic background of the sample, and the last is an indicator of social background.

Nationality

- The following histogram (34), when compared with the figures for the two *quartiers* seen in 3.2.5., shows an over-representation of non-French informants in both *quartiers*. In La Lunette, 7.4% of the sample are of non-French nationality, compared to 5.1% in the whole population of the *quartier*. In Saint Mathieu the figure is 19.6%, compared to 16.4% of foreigners in the *quartier* as a whole. Thus there is an over-representation of 2.3% and 3.2% respectively. However, it should be remembered that in Saint Mathieu the total sample is actually only 4.1% of the population. If the correct proportion of non-French nationals is calculated for a sample of 4.1%, it is seen to be only 28 informants, thus the number of foreigners in Saint Mathieu is exactly right.

The following breakdown of non-French nationals, taken from INSEE census figures, shows where there are too many foreign informants. It will be noted that in several cases there are not enough of a given nationality, but these are compensated for by an over-representation of others, particularly of nationalities not mentioned in the INSEE figures.

La Lunette			
	total in <i>quartier</i>	5.0% of <i>quartier</i>	number interviewed
total	296	15	21
Italian	4	0.2	0
other EC	24	1	4
Spanish	180	9	14
Portuguese	36	2	0
Algerian	12	1	0
Moroccan	16	1	1
other	0	0	2



### Saint Mathieu

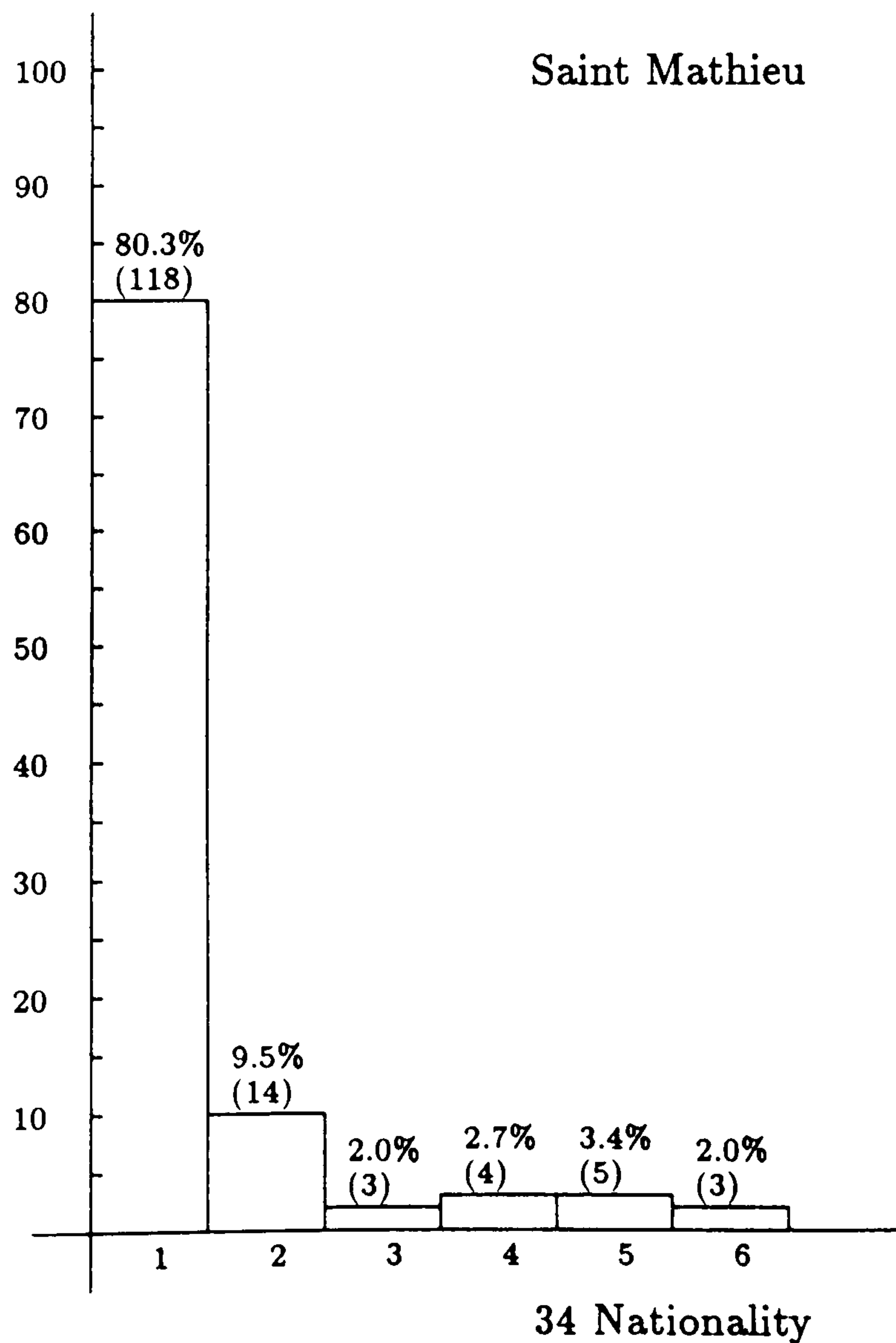
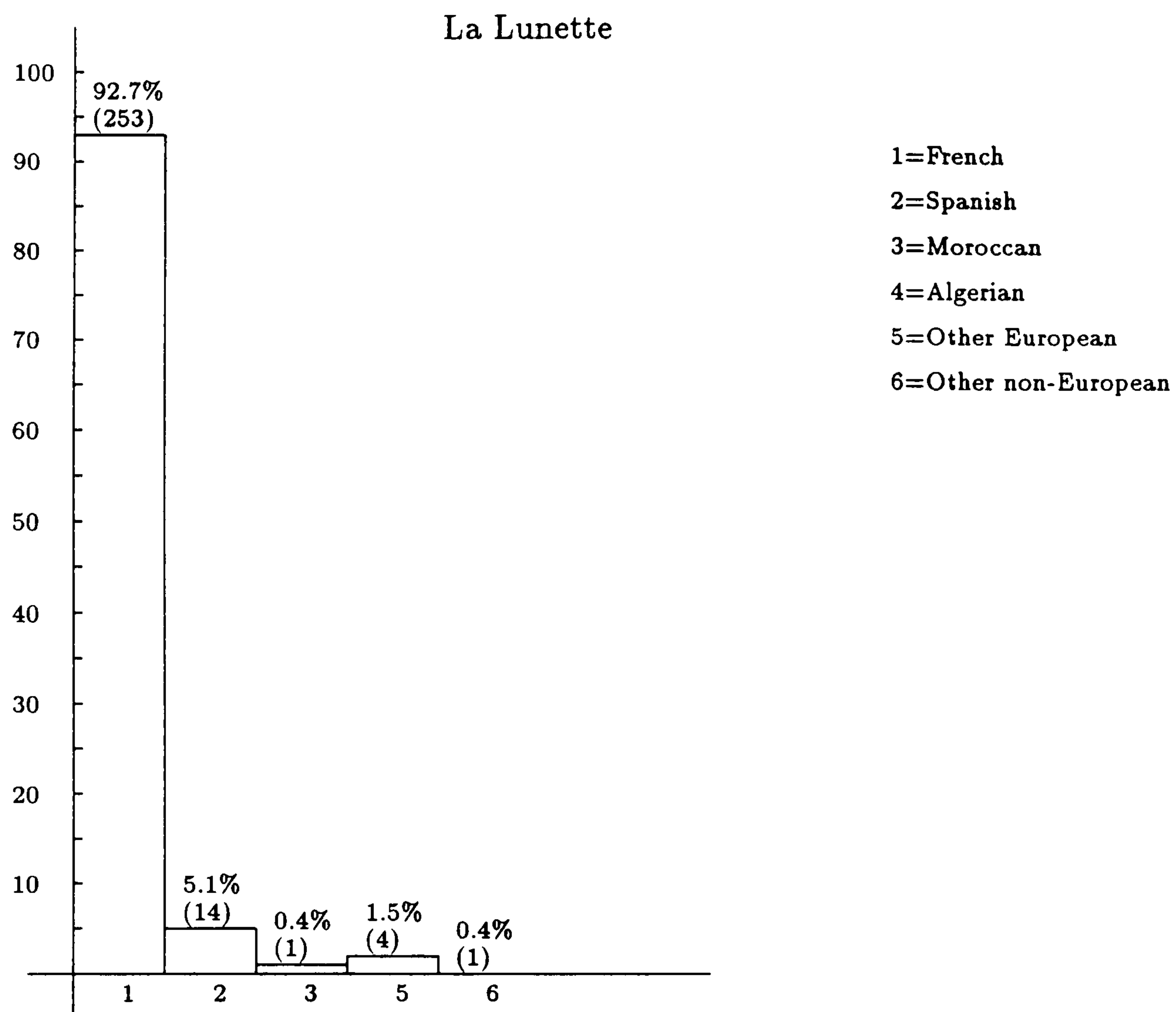
	total in <i>quartier</i>	5.0% of <i>quartier</i>	4.1% of <i>quartier</i>	no. interviewed
total	692	35	28	28
Italian	12	0.6	0.5	0
other EC	8	0.4	0.3	0
Spanish	292	15	12	14
Portuguese	132	7	5	5
Algerian	164	8	7	4
Moroccan	16	1	0.6	3
Tunisian	4	0.2	0.2	0
other	0	0	0	3

There are over twice as many non-French nationals in Saint Mathieu as in La Lunette. Every nationality has a higher number of representatives in Saint Mathieu than in La Lunette, but particularly noticeable is the complete absence of Algerians and virtual absence of other non-Europeans in La Lunette. This reflects the fact that Saint Mathieu is a working-class district with a relatively high proportion of immigrant workers.

In the breakdown by sex a noticeable difference emerges between the two *quartiers*: in Saint Mathieu there are considerably more male foreigners, whereas in La Lunette the numbers are relatively evenly divided between male and female, the only exception being for Spanish, where the percentage of women is almost double that of men. As far as non-Europeans are concerned, the reason for this difference lies in the fact that a large number of immigrant workers come alone to Perpignan, leaving their wives in their home country. Such workers tend to be very low-paid and are thus obliged to settle in the poorer parts of the town, such as Saint Mathieu.

The breakdown by age reveals another difference between the two *quartiers*: whereas the number of French nationals is fairly constant across the age groups in La Lunette, there is a clear decline in numbers among older informants in Saint Mathieu. The lowest number of French nationals - in both *quartiers* - is found in the third age group, but this is the only common factor. The majority of these middle-aged foreigners in La Lunette are Spanish, and a large percentage of the foreigners in the two older age groups in Saint Mathieu are Spanish too: these informants are usually immigrants who fled to France after the Spanish Civil War. Most of the older people have stayed in the poorer areas where they first settled, and some younger ones now live in the more prestigious districts of Perpignan. The other important group of middle-aged immigrants in Saint Mathieu are the North Africans, who came during the fifties and sixties and have generally been unable to move to the more desirable parts of town.







Nationality: breakdown by sex

La Lunette		
	men	women
French	92.9% (105)	92.5% (148)
Spanish	3.5% (4)	6.3% (10)
Moroccan		0.6% (1)
Other European	2.7% (3)	0.6% (1)
Other non-European	0.9% (1)	

Saint Mathieu		
	men	women
French	72.1% (44)	86.0% (74)
Spanish	11.5% (7)	8.1% (7)
Moroccan	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)
Algerian	4.9% (3)	1.2% (1)
Other European	3.3% (2)	3.5% (3)
Other non-European	4.9% (3)	

Nationality: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
French	92.1% (35)	93.0% (66)	91.9% (57)	93.1% (95)
Spanish	5.3% (2)	4.2% (3)	6.5% (4)	4.9% (5)
Moroccan		1.4% (1)		
other European	2.6% (1)	1.4% (1)		2.0% (2)
other			1.6% (1)	

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
French	81.3% (26)	86.0% (37)	75.0% (18)	77.1% (37)
Spanish	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	20.8% (10)
Moroccan	6.3% (2)		4.2% (1)	
Algerian		4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)
other European	9.4% (3)	4.7% (2)		
other		2.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	



This question was intended to determine how many informants of French nationality had a different identity. If these histograms are compared with the previous ones it can be seen that 26.0% (71) of informants in La Lunette and 21.1% (31) in Saint Mathieu, although of French nationality, claim to have a different origin. In a great number of cases, the informants in question are second-generation immigrants (Spanish, Arab or Portuguese) and therefore possibly consider themselves totally French, but have non-French parents. Those who gave their origin as *pieds-noirs* have always considered themselves French, but distinct from other French citizens, because they were born and brought up in North Africa.

The largest category of informants claiming non-French origin is Catalan. A certain number of these are immigrants from South Catalonia (especially in Saint Mathieu), but many are French citizens who are proud to be Catalan.

The breakdown by sex reveals quite a different situation from the one seen in the breakdown for nationality: the gap noted between men and women of Spanish nationality is reduced to nothing and in Saint Mathieu the relative numbers are reversed.

Marginally higher percentages of men in both *quartiers* claimed Catalan origin, perhaps suggesting that women are more aware than men of the social stigma attached to being Catalan (mentioned in 2.1.6.), and prefer to see themselves simply as French.

A higher percentage of men claimed to be *pieds-noirs*, especially in La Lunette, but not a single man claimed Arab origin. This is simply because all the Arab men interviewed actually had Algerian or Moroccan nationality, whereas several of the female informants were *beurs* (second-generation Arab immigrants) and so had French nationality.

The number of *pieds-noirs* does not seem to correspond to the responses for place of birth and where childhood and youth were spent. Seven men in La Lunette claim to be *pieds-noirs*, and seven men were born in North Africa. However, only four women claimed to be *pieds-noirs*, yet eleven non-Arabs were born in North Africa and nine of them spent their youth there. This could indicate simply that they do not consider *pieds-noirs* as an origin distinct from French, or that they do not wish to associate themselves with *pieds-noirs* for some reason.

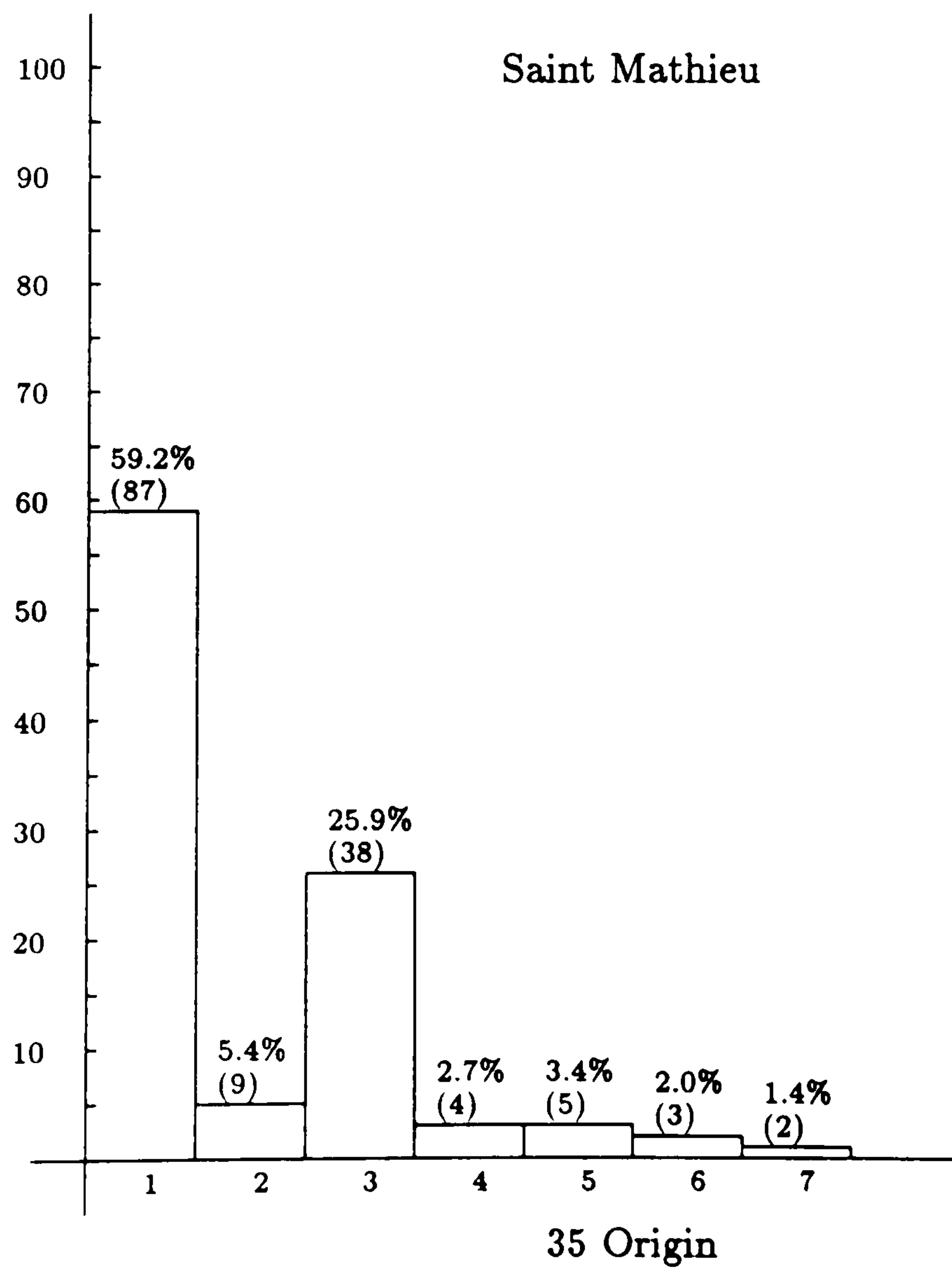
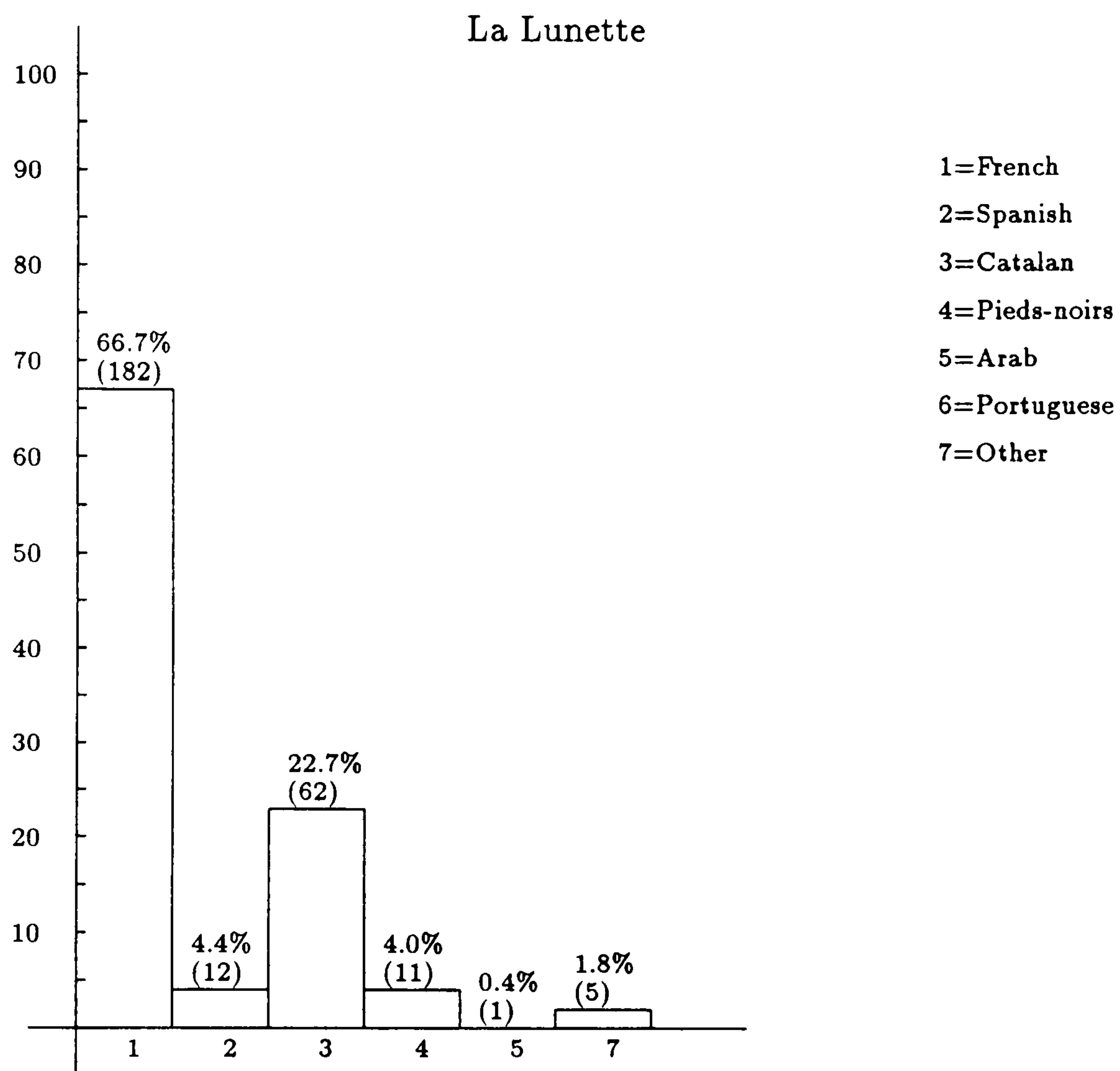
The breakdown by age shows that very few young people in La Lunette have a non-French origin, whereas in Saint Mathieu there is a great variety. This would seem to be a logical consequence of the higher number of non-French nationals in the older age groups of Saint Mathieu, whose children would normally acquire French nationality, but be of other origin.



Interestingly a relatively high number of young informants in La Lunette claimed Catalan origin, compared to Saint Mathieu. However, in both *quartiers* the number of informants with Catalan origin increases with age.

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Origin: breakdown by sex

La Lunette			
	men		women
not applicable	64.6%	(73)	68.1% (109)
Spanish	4.4%	(5)	4.4% (7)
Catalan	23.0%	(26)	22.5% (36)
Pieds-Noirs	6.2%	(7)	2.5% (4)
Arab			0.6% (1)
Other	1.8%	(2)	1.9% (3)

Saint Mathieu			
	men		women
not applicable	63.9%	(39)	54.6% (47)
Spanish	1.6%	(1)	9.3% (8)
Catalan	26.2%	(16)	25.6% (22)
Pieds-Noirs	3.3%	(2)	2.3% (2)
Arab			5.8% (5)
Portuguese	1.6%	(1)	2.3% (2)
Other	3.3%	(2)	

Origin: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	81.6% (31)	67.6% (48)	62.9% (39)	62.7% (64)
Spanish	2.6% (1)	7.0% (5)	3.2% (2)	3.9% (4)
Catalan	15.8% (6)	19.7% (14)	21.0% (13)	28.4% (29)
Pieds-noirs		1.4% (1)	9.7% (6)	3.9% (4)
Arab		1.4% (1)		
other		2.8% (2)	3.2% (2)	1.0% (1)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	65.6% (21)	74.4% (32)	45.8% (11)	47.9% (23)
Spanish	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)	12.5% (3)	4.2% (2)
Catalan	6.3% (2)	14.0% (6)	37.5% (9)	43.8% (21)
Pieds-noirs	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)		4.2% (2)
Arab	9.4% (3)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	
Portuguese	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)		
other	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)		



## Place of birth

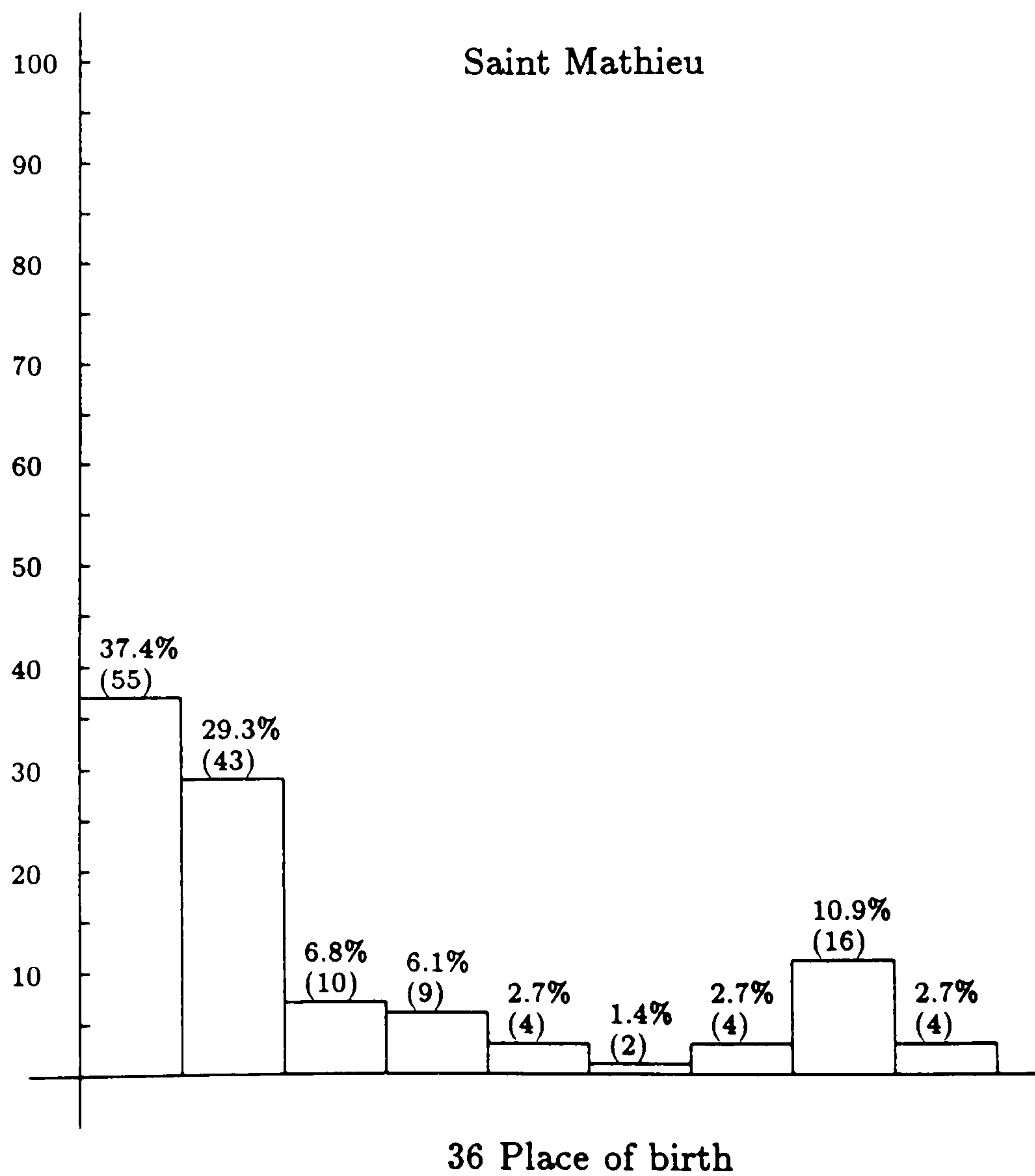
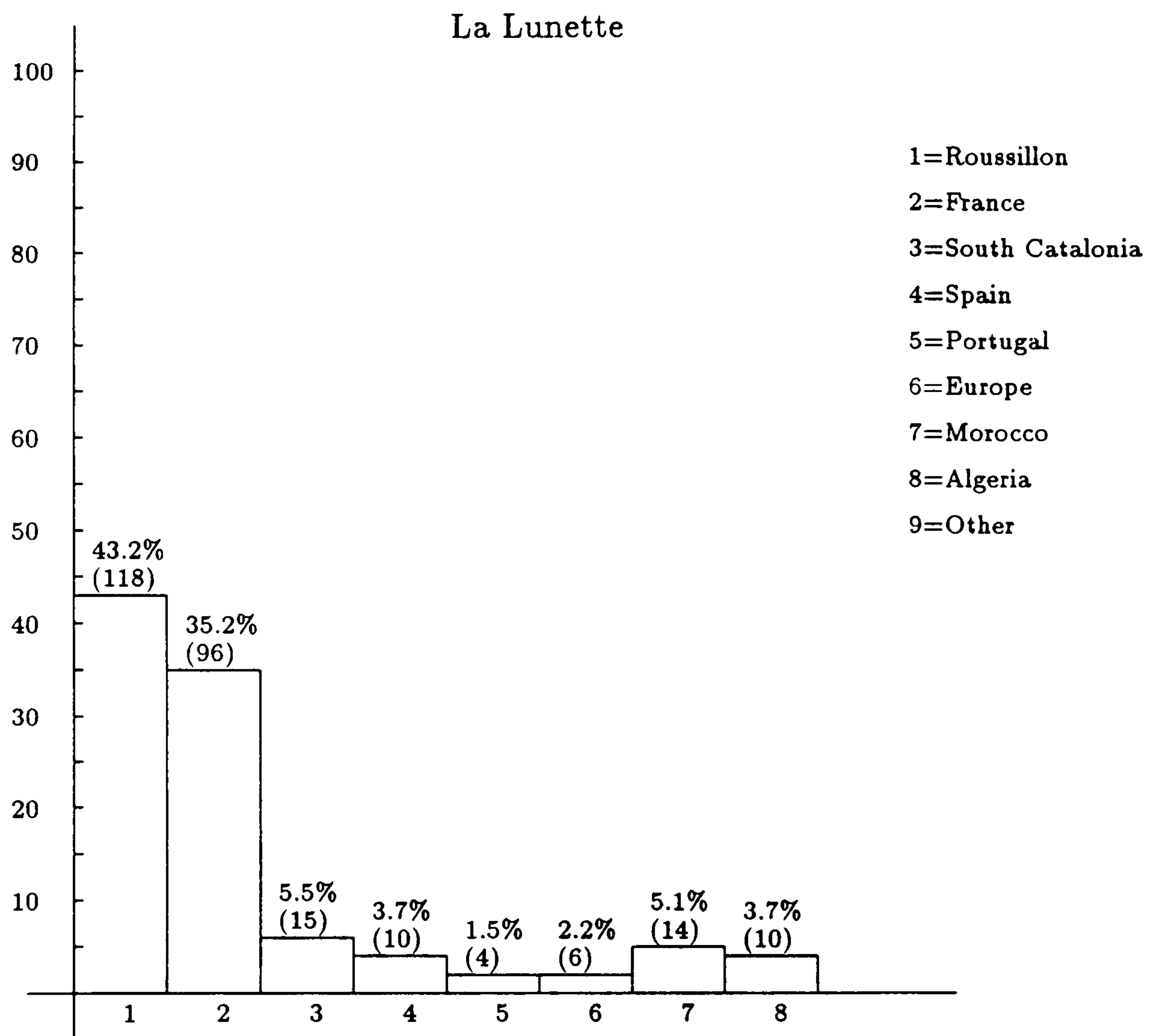
Although this question is of interest inasmuch as it serves to define the sample further, its real interest can only be seen in relation to specific informants. For example, when looking at Catalan speakers, whether or not they were born in Catalonia would be a relevant question. Thus the real significance of this question can best be seen in chapters nine and ten, where it is examined in relation to speakers of specific languages.

In both *quartiers* the majority of informants were born in France, and over half of them were actually born in the region. It may be noted that the percentages of informants born in the region and elsewhere in France are higher in La Lunette, which is to be expected, as it has already been seen that Saint Mathieu contains a higher number of immigrants.

The difference between male and female informants is minimal in La Lunette, and although there are some slightly wider differences in Saint Mathieu they never exceed 8.0%.

The age breakdown reveals that place of birth differs quite substantially according to age: in both *quartiers* the numbers of informants born in North Africa is highest in the middle two age groups, although in Saint Mathieu a relatively high number of young informants were born there. The greatest variety of place of birth seems to be among the oldest informants and also the second group in both *quartiers*, but the majority in every case were born somewhere in France.







Place of birth: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
Roussillon	42.5% (48)	43.8% (70)
France	35.4% (40)	35.0% (56)
South Catalonia	5.3% (6)	5.6% (9)
Spain	3.5% (4)	3.8% (6)
Europe	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)
Morocco	0.9% (1)	3.1% (5)
Algeria	6.2% (7)	4.4% (7)
Other	4.4% (5)	3.1% (5)

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Saint Mathieu

	men	women
Roussillon	32.8% (20)	40.7% (35)
France	31.1% (19)	27.9% (24)
South Catalonia	8.2% (5)	5.8% (5)
Spain	6.6% (4)	5.8% (5)
Portugal	1.6% (1)	3.5% (3)
Europe	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1)
Morocco	3.3% (2)	2.3% (2)
Algeria	9.8% (6)	11.6% (10)
Other	4.9% (3)	1.2% (1)



Place of birth: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
Roussillon	52.6% (20)	42.3% (30)	32.3% (20)	47.1% (48)
France	36.8% (14)	32.4% (23)	38.7% (24)	34.3% (35)
South Catalonia	2.6% (1)	7.0% (5)	4.8% (3)	3.9% (4)
Spain	2.6% (1)	2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	3.9% (4)
Europe	2.6% (1)	1.4% (1)		2.0% (2)
Morocco		4.2% (3)	3.2% (2)	1.0% (1)
Algeria		5.6% (4)	8.1% (5)	4.9% (5)
Other	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)	6.5% (4)	2.0% (2)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
Roussillon	37.5% (12)	32.6% (14)	45.8% (11)	37.5% (18)
France	40.6% (13)	37.2% (16)	12.5% (3)	22.9% (11)
South Catalonia	3.1% (1)		8.3% (2)	14.6% (7)
Spain		2.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	12.5% (6)
Portugal	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)		
Europe	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)		
Morocco	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	
Algeria	6.3% (2)	14.0% (6)	12.5% (3)	10.4% (5)
Other		2.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	2.1% (1)

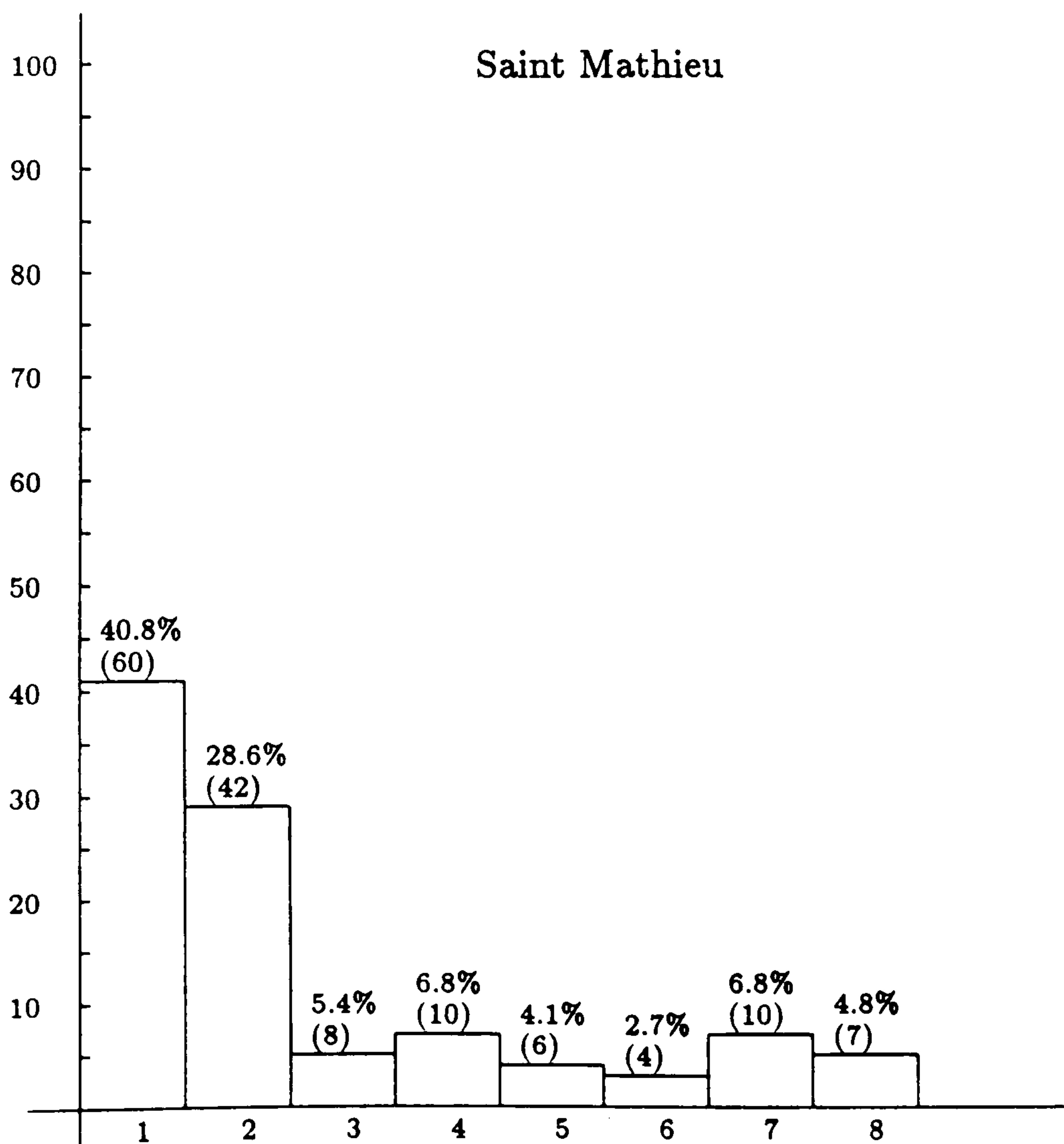
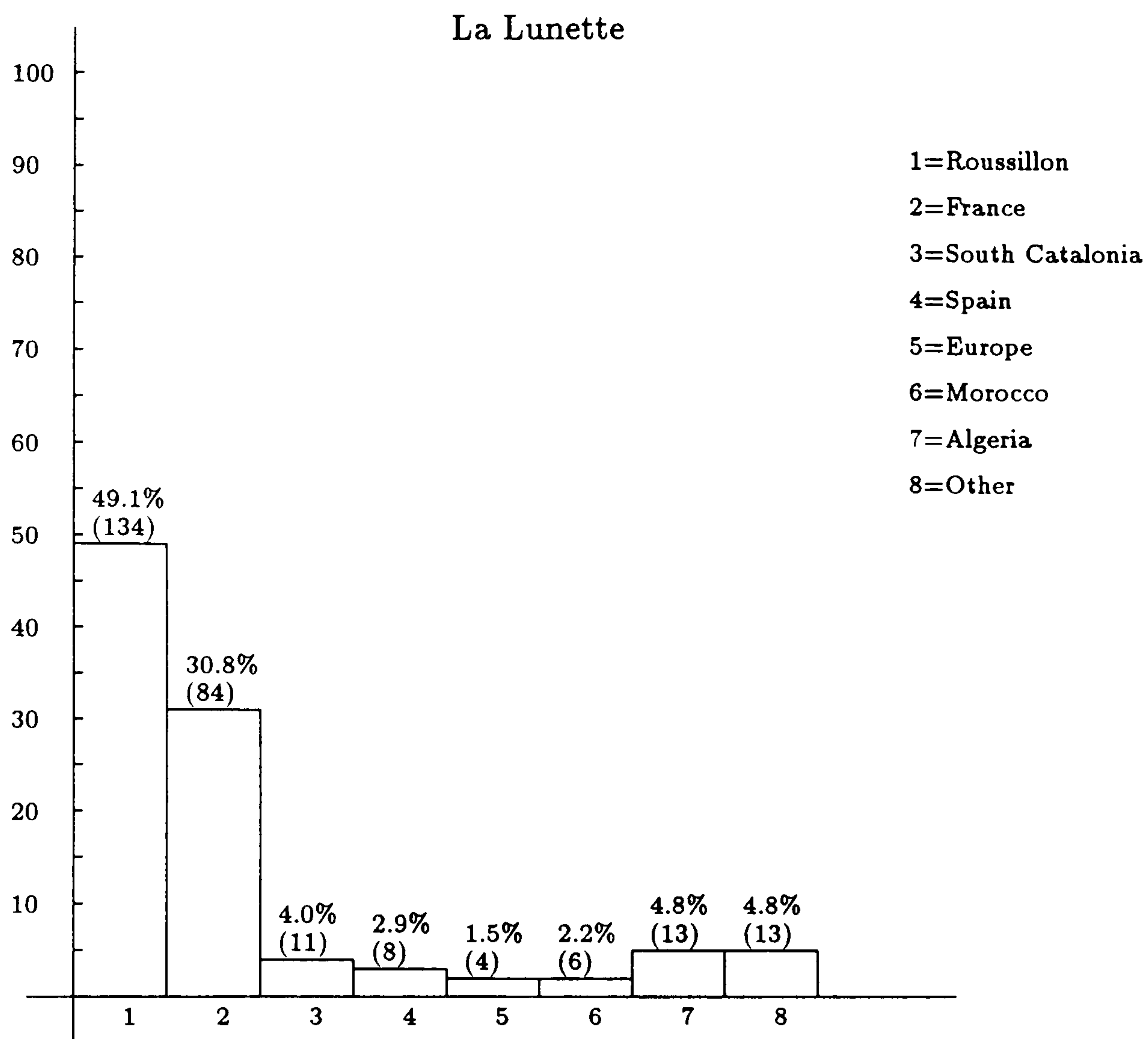


Where informants have lived during their lives

As with question 36, the real interest of this one lies in its relation to languages used by the informant, and is of very limited interest in itself. Thus it is taken up for the relevant informants when discussing the situation of Catalan (chapter nine) and other minority languages (chapter ten).

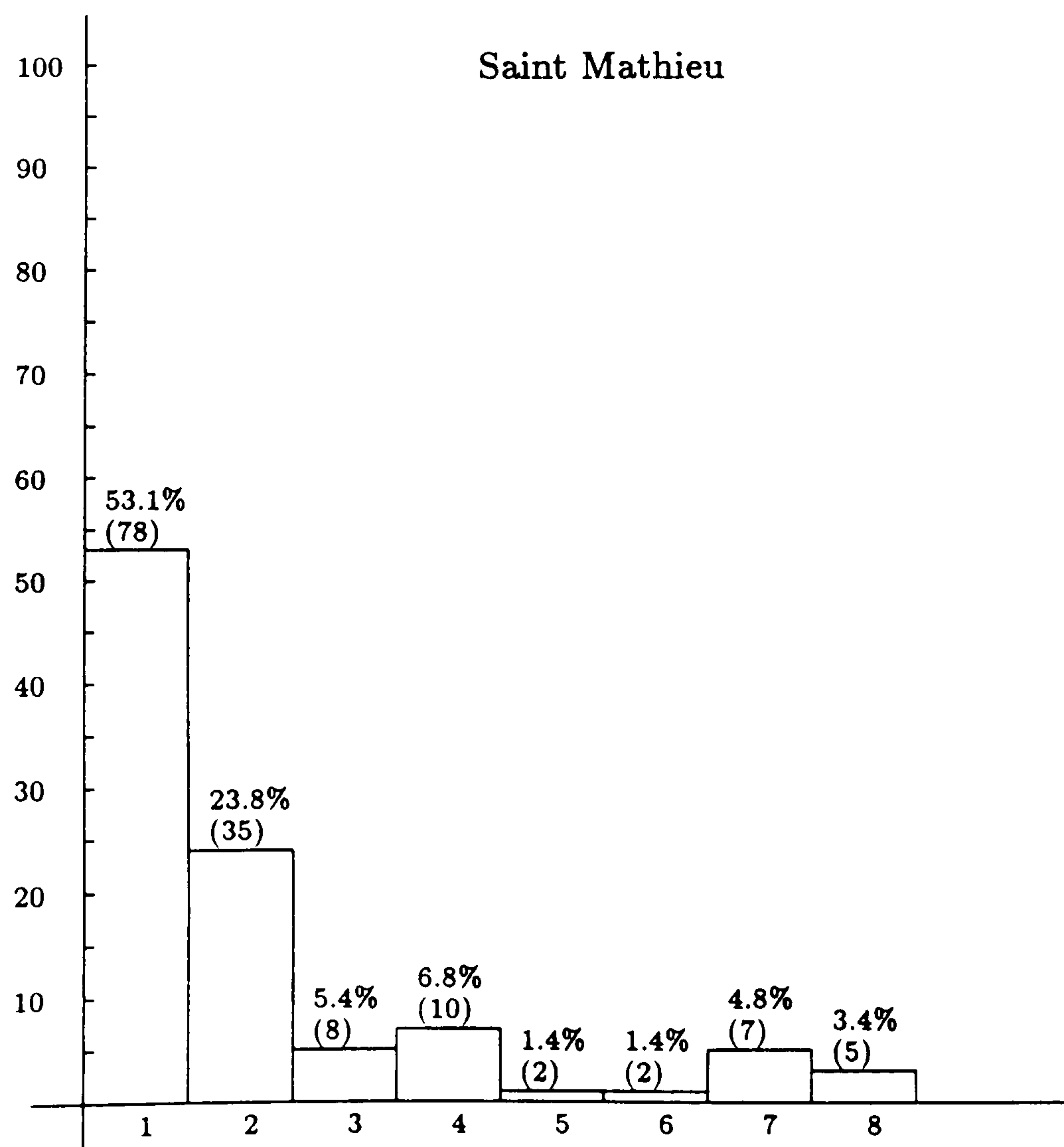
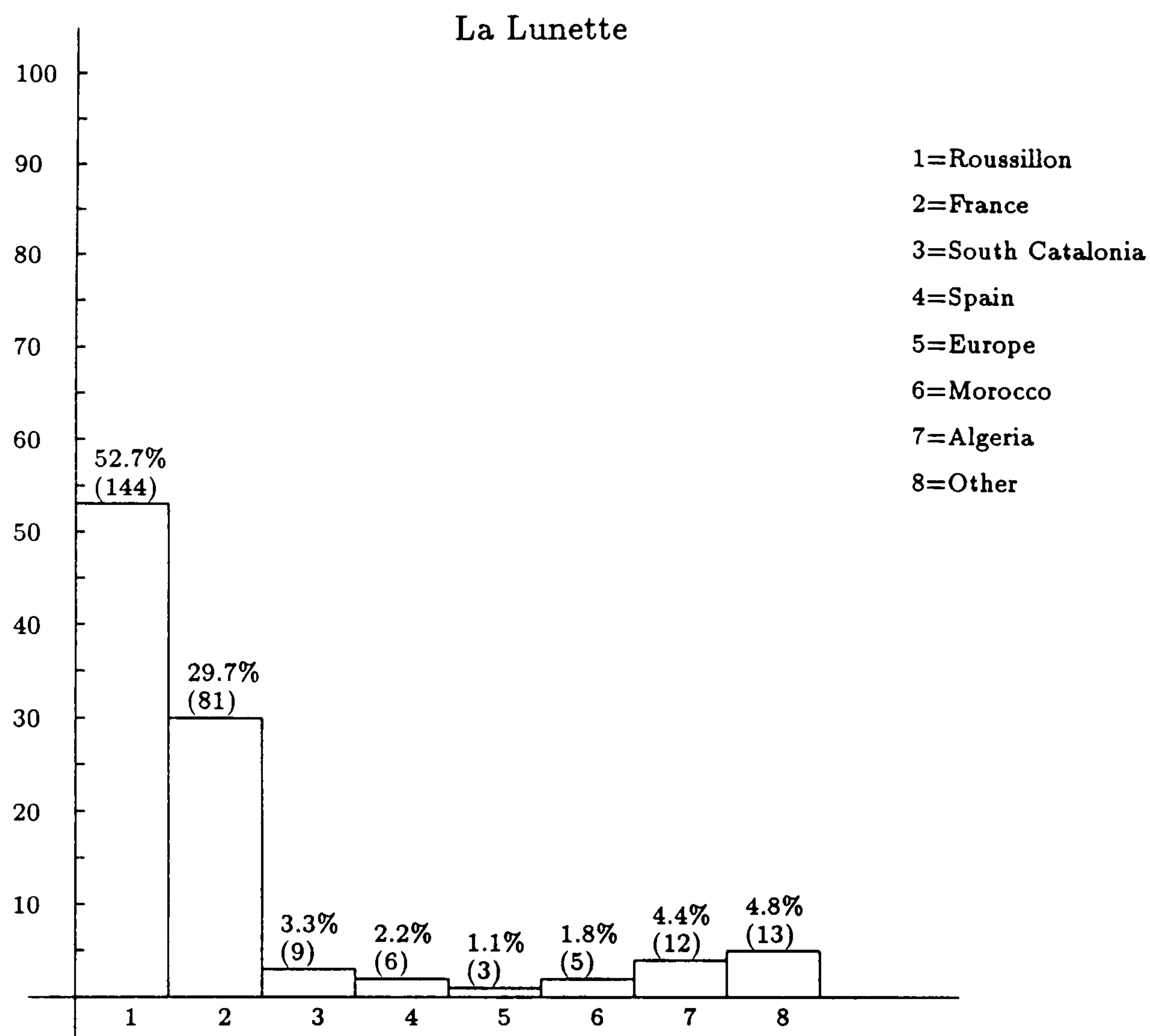
Inevitably with each successive histogram the number of informants in Roussillon increases, until under the heading "retirement" the only two possibilities are "Roussillon" and "not applicable". For this reason there are no tables corresponding to "retirement" broken down by sex and age.





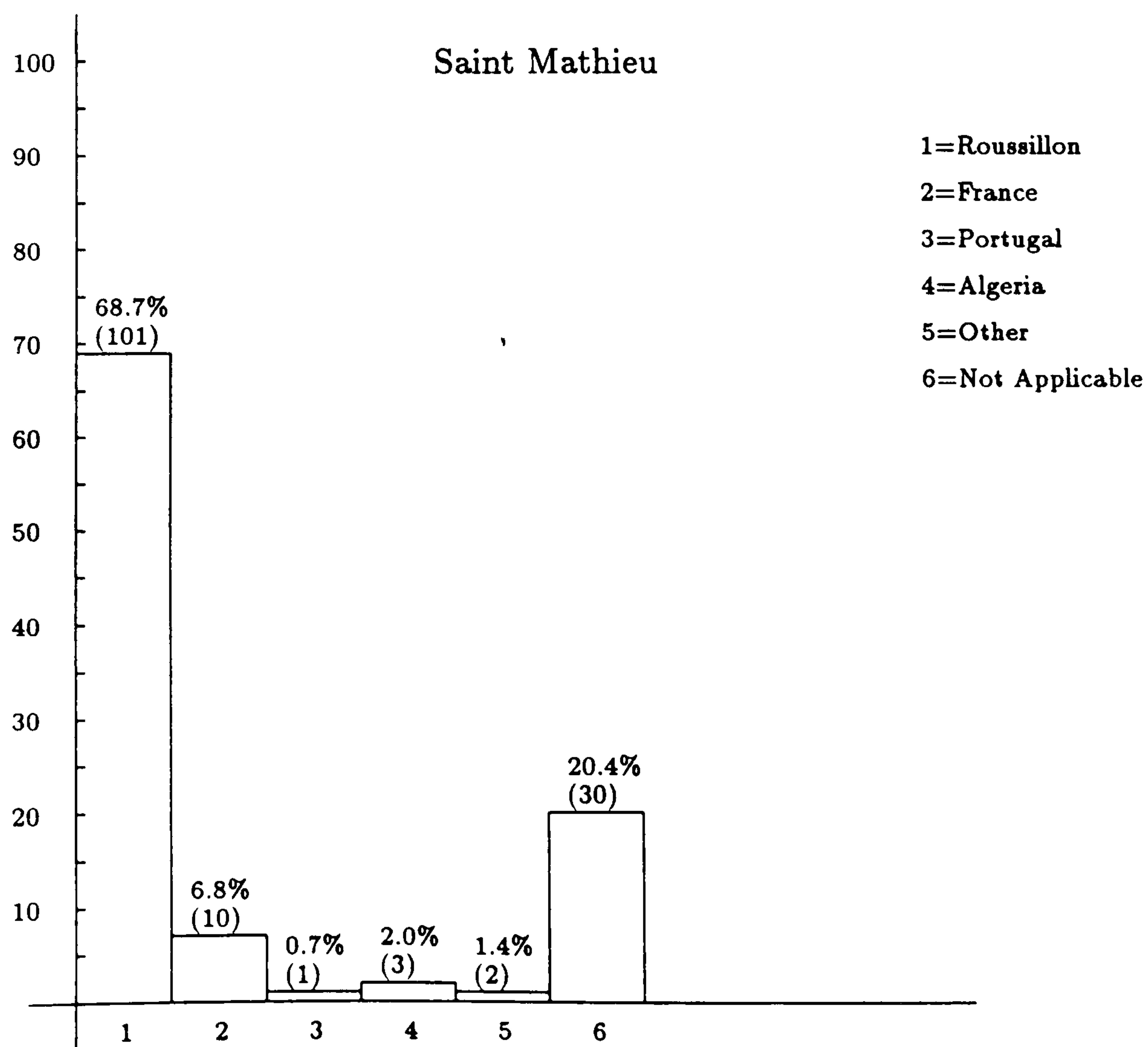
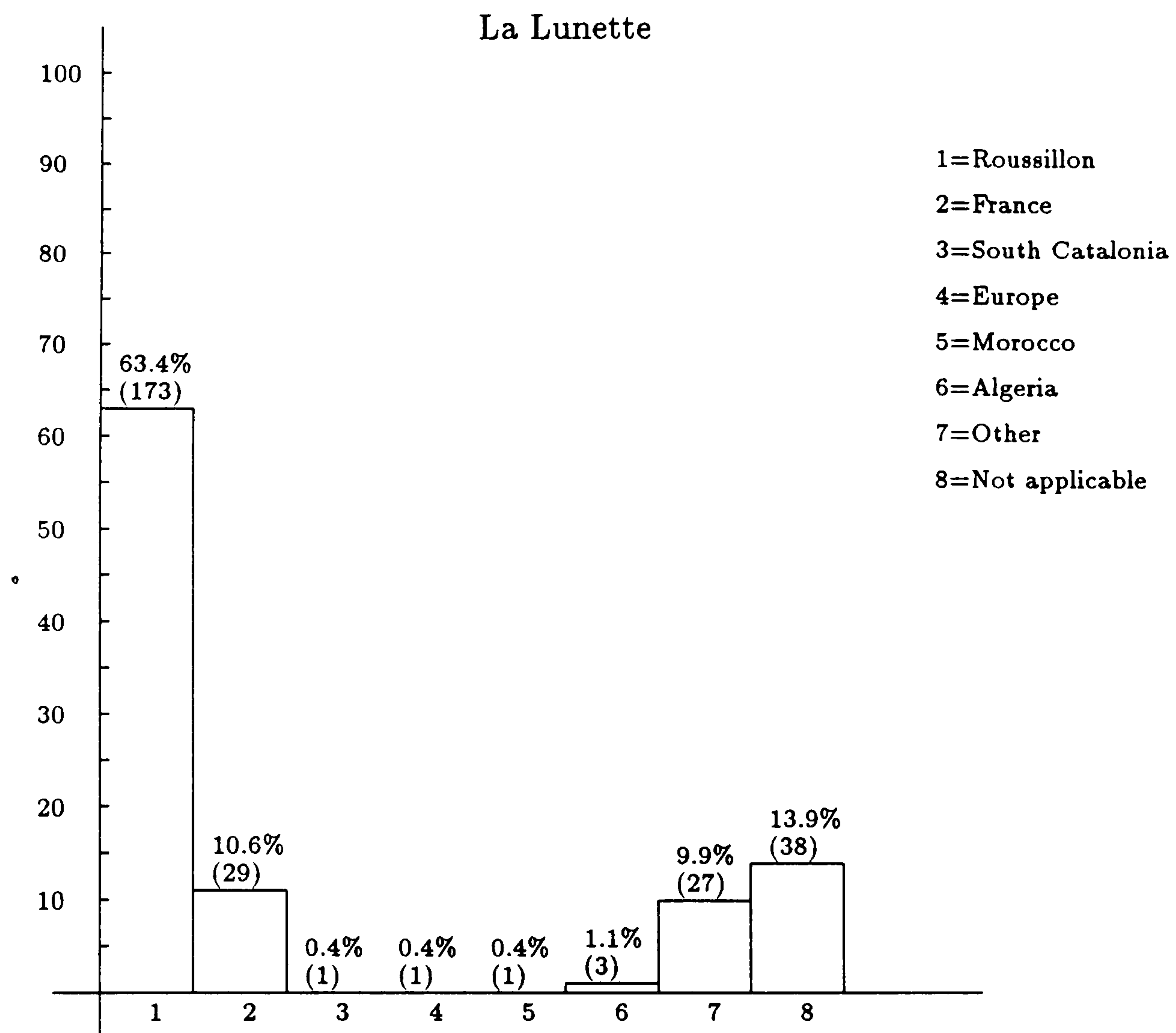
45.1 Where informants lived during childhood





45.2 Where informants lived during youth





45.3 Where informants lived during working life

La Lunette

Roussillon	38.5%	(105)
not applicable	61.5%	(168)

Saint Mathieu

Roussillon	34.7%	(51)
not applicable	65.3%	(96)

45.4 Where informants live in retirement.



Where informants lived in childhood: breakdown by sex

La Lunette			
	men		women
Roussillon	51.3%	(58)	47.5% (76)
France	27.4%	(31)	33.1% (53)
South Catalonia	4.4%	(5)	3.8% (6)
Spain	3.5%	(4)	2.5% (4)
Europe	1.8%	(2)	1.3% (2)
Morocco	0.9%	(1)	3.1% (5)
Algeria	5.3%	(6)	4.4% (7)
Other	5.3%	(6)	4.4% (7)

Saint Mathieu			
	men		women
Roussillon	36.1%	(22)	44.2% (38)
France	32.8%	(20)	25.6% (22)
South Catalonia	6.6%	(4)	4.7% (4)
Spain	8.2%	(5)	5.8% (5)
Portugal	1.6%	(1)	3.5% (3)
Europe	1.6%	(1)	1.2% (1)
Morocco	1.6%	(1)	3.5% (3)
Algeria	6.6%	(4)	7.0% (6)
Other	4.9%	(3)	4.7% (4)

Where informants lived during youth: breakdown by sex

La Lunette			
	men		women
Roussillon	54.9%	(62)	51.3% (82)
France	24.8%	(28)	33.1% (53)
South Catalonia	2.7%	(3)	3.8% (6)
Spain	2.7%	(3)	1.9% (3)
Europe	1.8%	(2)	0.6% (1)
Morocco	0.9%	(1)	2.5% (4)
Algeria	5.3%	(6)	3.8% (6)
Other	7.1%	(8)	3.1% (5)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
Roussillon	47.5% (29)	57.0% (49)
France	23.0% (14)	24.4% (21)
South Catalonia	4.9% (3)	5.8% (3)
Spain	9.8% (6)	4.7% (4)
Portugal	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1)
Morocco	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1)
Algeria	6.6% (4)	3.5% (3)
Other	4.9% (3)	2.3% (2)

Where informants lived during working life: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
Roussillon	62.8% (71)	63.8% (102)
France	9.7% (11)	11.3% (18)
South Catalonia		0.6% (1)
Europe		0.6% (1)
Morocco		0.6% (1)
Algeria	1.8% (2)	0.6% (1)
Other	10.6% (12)	9.4% (15)
Not applicable	15.0% (17)	13.1% (21)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
Roussillon	70.5% (43)	67.4% (58)
France	4.9% (3)	8.1% (7)
Portugal		1.2% (1)
Algeria	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)
Other	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1)
Not applicable	19.7% (12)	20.9% (18)



Where informants lived in childhood: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
Roussillon	71.1% (27)	46.5% (33)	37.1% (23)	50.0% (51)
France	21.1% (8)	32.4% (23)	33.9% (21)	31.4% (32)
South Catalonia	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)	6.5% (4)	2.9% (3)
Spain		2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	2.9% (3)
Europe	2.6% (1)	1.4% (1)		2.0% (2)
Morocco		4.2% (3)	3.2% (2)	1.0% (1)
Algeria		4.2% (3)	8.1% (5)	4.9% (5)
Other	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)	6.5% (4)	4.9% (5)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
Roussillon	43.8% (14)	32.6% (14)	45.8% (11)	43.8% (14)
France	34.4% (11)	39.5% (17)	16.7% (4)	20.8% (10)
South Catalonia	3.1% (1)		4.2% (1)	12.5% (6)
Spain		2.3% (1)	12.5% (3)	12.5% (6)
Portugal	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)		
Europe	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)		
Morocco	3.1% (1)	4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	
Algeria		7.0% (3)	8.3% (2)	10.4% (5)
Other	9.4% (3)	4.7% (2)	8.3% (2)	

Where informants lived during youth: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
Roussillon	89.5% (34)	53.5% (38)	40.3% (25)	46.1% (47)
France	5.3% (2)	33.8% (24)	33.9% (21)	33.3% (34)
South Catalonia	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)	4.8% (3)	2.0% (2)
Spain		1.4% (1)	3.2% (2)	2.9% (3)
Europe	2.6% (1)			2.0% (2)
Morocco		2.8% (2)	3.2% (2)	1.0% (1)
Algeria		1.4% (1)	9.7% (6)	4.9% (5)
Other		2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	7.8% (8)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
Roussillon	84.4% (27)	39.5% (17)	50.0% (12)	45.8% (22)
France	12.5% (4)	39.5% (17)	16.7% (4)	20.8% (10)
South Catalonia			8.3% (2)	12.5% (6)
Spain		4.7% (2)	8.3% (2)	12.5% (6)
Portugal		4.7% (2)		
Morocco		2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	
Algeria		4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	8.3% (4)
Other	3.1% (1)	4.7% (2)	8.3% (2)	

Where informants lived during working life: breakdown by age

.

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
Roussillon	5.3% (2)	91.5% (65)	85.5% (53)	52.0% (53)
France		2.8% (2)	11.3% (7)	19.6% (20)
South Catalonia				1.0% (1)
Europe				1.0% (1)
Morocco				1.0% (1)
Algeria				2.9% (3)
Other		2.8% (2)	3.2% (2)	22.5% (23)
Not applicable	94.7% (36)	2.8% (2)		

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
Roussillon	12.5% (4)	93.0% (40)	87.5% (21)	75.0% (36)
France		2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	16.7% (8)
Portugal		2.3% (1)		
Algeria				6.3% (3)
Other			4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)
Not applicable	87.5% (28)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	



## Level of schooling

The major differences between the two *quartiers* can be seen in the two "extremes" of the educational scale: a substantial number of informants in Saint Mathieu have little or no formal education - 26.5%, compared to only 6.9% in La Lunette. At the opposite end of the scale, 22.3% of La Lunette informants claimed to have *études supérieures* compared to only 4.1% in Saint Mathieu, and the totality of informants with any post-*baccalauréat* education is only 10.9% in Saint Mathieu, whereas it is 40.6% in La Lunette.

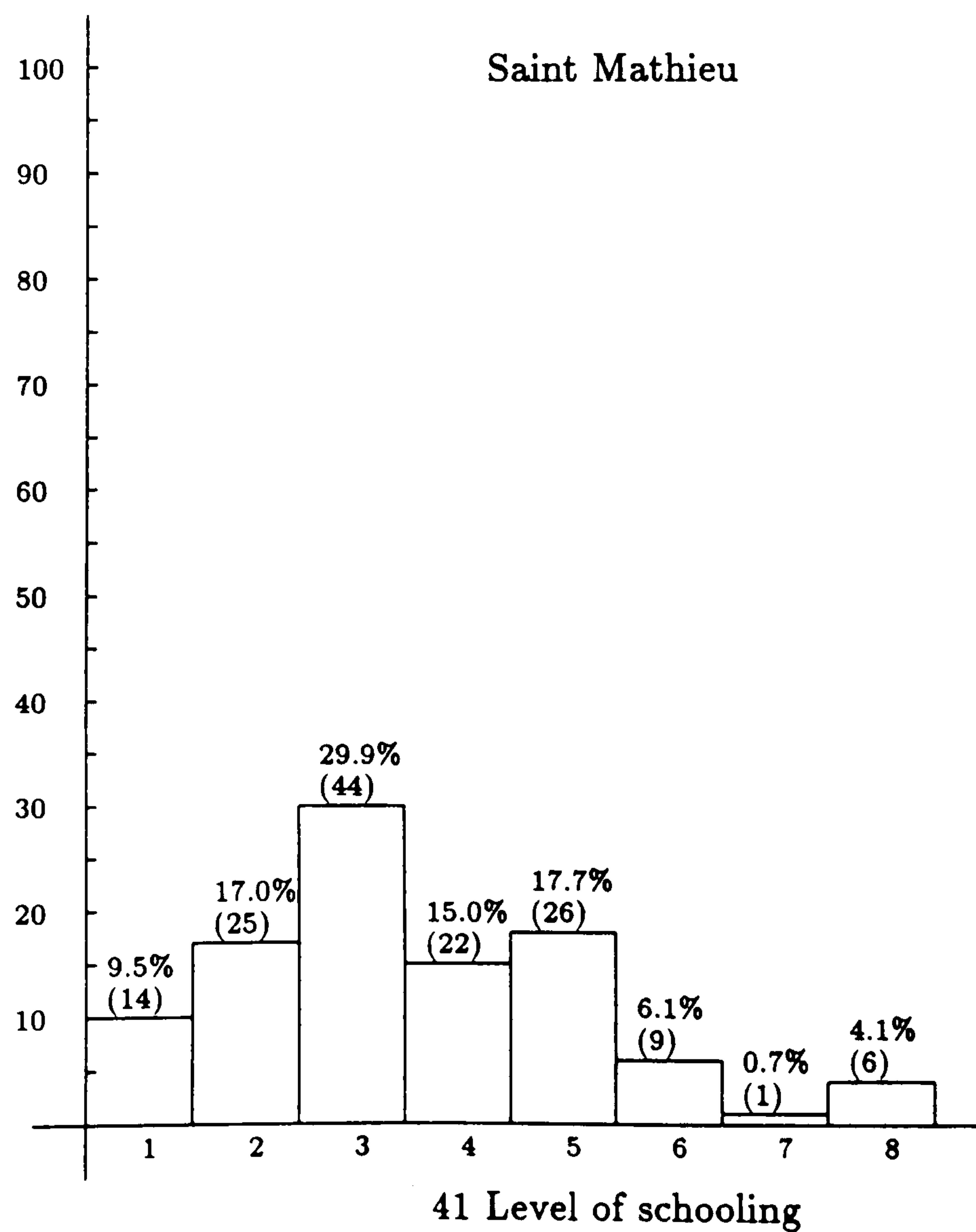
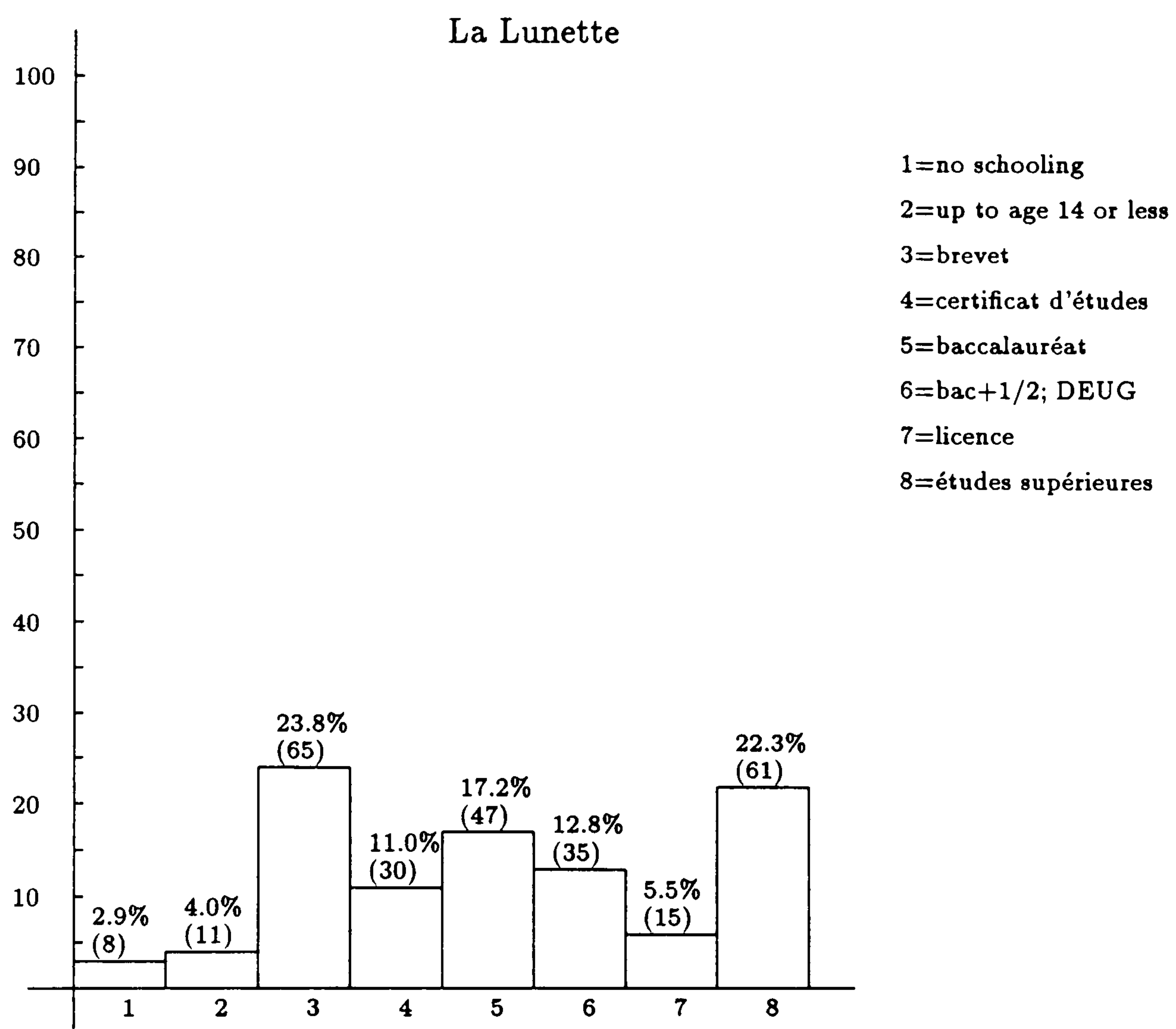
These results are not really surprising, given that Saint Mathieu is a working-class district with a relatively high proportion of illiterate or semi-literate immigrants, whereas La Lunette is a bourgeois suburb with a large percentage of professional people, active or retired.

As a general comment on the breakdown by sex, it would seem that in La Lunette it is the men who are better educated, and in Saint Mathieu the reverse is true. In La Lunette this tendency is rather more clear-cut: 50.0% of women do not have the *baccalauréat*, whereas only 30.0% of men have not attained this level. Although a slightly higher percentage of women claim to have the *licence*, the percentage of men with *études supérieures* is almost double that of women. One female informant in La Lunette refused to respond to this question, which accounts for the missing 0.4%.

In Saint Mathieu the percentage of women with no qualification is lower than for men, and the percentage of women with a basic qualification is higher. Although more men than women claim to have the *baccalauréat*, more women than men have a post-*bac* diploma (11.6% of women compared to 9.9% of men).

These differences could be due to simple sociological differences between the two *quartiers*. The higher level of education among women in Saint Mathieu could be attributed to the fact that there are a higher number of uneducated male immigrant workers in the *quartier*. In La Lunette on the other hand, the level of education is perhaps exceptionally high among men, as many of them have a relatively high socioeconomic position, whereas a very high number of women are housewives and possibly were not encouraged to pursue their studies.

In both *quartiers* the percentage of informants with the *baccalauréat* is highest in the youngest age groups, and the younger informants are generally better educated, although there are fewer with a very advanced level, simply because they are so young and a number of them are still students. Inevitably the highest number of uneducated informants is in the older age groups, due to the fact that education was not as widely available as it is now, and in Saint Mathieu due to the high numbers of illiterate immigrants in the older two groups.





Level of schooling: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
no schooling	0.9% (1)	4.4% (7)
up to 14 years or less	3.5% (4)	4.4% (7)
Brevet	21.2% (24)	25.6% (41)
Certificat d'études	4.4% (5)	15.6% (25)
Baccalauréat	21.2% (24)	14.4% (23)
Bac+1/2;DEUG	13.3% (15)	12.5% (20)
Licence	4.4% (5)	6.3% (10)
études supérieures	31.0% (35)	16.3% (26)
no reply		0.6% (1)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
no schooling	11.5% (7)	8.1% (7)
up to 14 years or less	19.7% (12)	15.1% (13)
Brevet	26.2% (16)	32.6% (28)
Certificat d'études	13.1% (8)	16.3% (14)
Baccalauréat	19.7% (12)	16.3% (14)
Bac+1/2;DEUG	3.3% (2)	8.1% (7)
Licence		1.2% (1)
études supérieures	6.6% (4)	2.3% (2)

Level of schooling: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
none		2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	2.9% (3)
up to age 14			4.8% (3)	7.8% (8)
brevet	23.7% (9)	18.3% (13)	22.6% (14)	28.4% (29)
certificat d'études		2.8% (2)	14.5% (9)	18.6% (19)
baccalauréat	36.8% (14)	22.5% (16)	12.9% (8)	8.8% (9)
bac+1/2, DEUG	31.6% (12)	19.7% (14)	9.7% (6)	2.9% (3)
licence	5.3% (2)	5.6% (4)	8.1% (5)	3.9% (4)
études sup.	2.6% (1)	26.8% (19)	22.6% (14)	26.5% (27)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
none		4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	22.9% (11)
up to age 14	3.1% (1)	9.3% (4)	41.7% (10)	20.8% (10)
brevet	43.8% (14)	34.9% (15)	25.0% (6)	18.8% (9)
certificat d'études		16.3% (7)	16.7% (4)	22.9% (11)
baccalauréat	46.9% (15)	16.3% (7)	4.2% (1)	6.3% (3)
bac+1/2,DEUG	6.3% (2)	14.0% (6)		2.1% (1)
licence		2.3% (1)		
études sup.		2.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	6.3% (3)



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## Chapter 6: Analysis of linguistic ability

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### 6.1 Languages known and used in Perpignan

The first set of histograms shows the responses to questions one and two: column one represents the responses to the question "Est-ce que vous avez une autre langue à part le français?" The other columns all represent responses to the subsequent question "Laquelle?" Each column is a percentage of the total sample, and columns two to seven do not add up to the total of column one, as many people know more than one language and are therefore represented in more than one column.

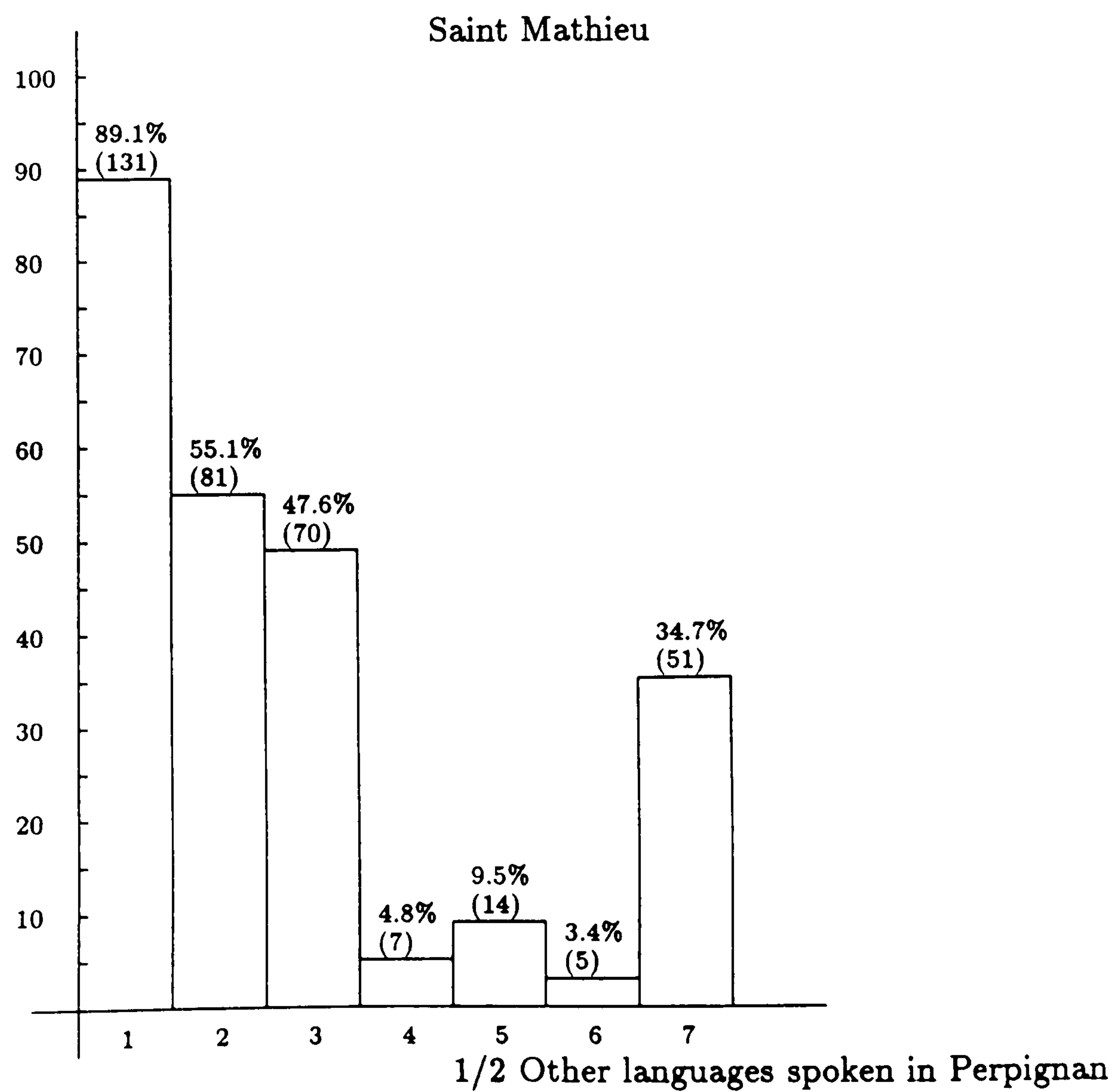
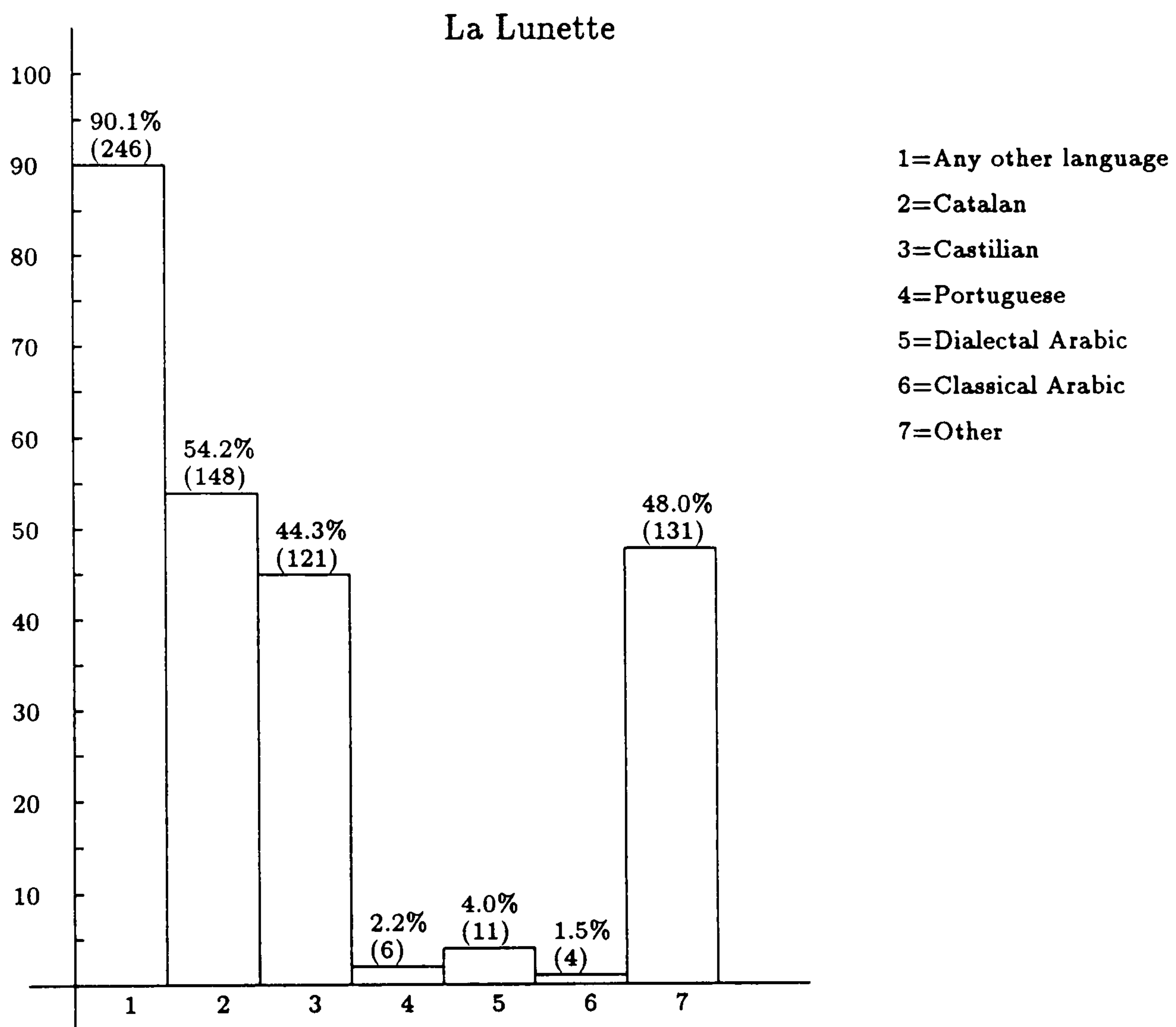
The overall percentage of those who know a language other than French is clearly almost identical and appears to be extremely high, in the two *quartiers*. The relative distribution among the different languages is similar too, although there are more people who know "immigrant" languages in Saint Mathieu, and more who know "other" (mainly school-learned) languages in La Lunette.

There is a higher percentage of men than of women for every language in La Lunette, although in some cases the difference is minimal. This would not seem to be due to a higher number of non-native French women - in fact the opposite is true in the case of Spanish: 6.3% of women in La Lunette are Spanish compared to only 2.7% of men, yet the percentage of men who know Castilian is 5.3% higher for men than for women. It could, however, be related to the difference in the level of schooling: on the whole, men in La Lunette have a higher level of education than women, and therefore are more likely to have learnt a foreign language at school.

In Saint Mathieu it would appear that overall more women than men know another language, but their predominance seems to be primarily in Catalan. In most other languages there are more men than women, which can usually be attributed to the higher number of male immigrants in the *quartier*.

The age breakdown reveals that "other" languages are much more widely known by young informants, reflecting the fact that young people are obliged to learn a language at school, whereas many older informants only mentioned languages they know through "natural" situations.

There will only be a limited commentary on the majority of histograms and tables in this chapter, as the information contained in them will be discussed in much more detail in later chapters (Catalan in chapter nine and the other languages in chapter ten).





Languages known and used in Perpignan broken down by sex

La Lunette			
	men		women
Any other	92.9%	(104)	88.8% (142)
Catalan	58.4%	(66)	51.3% (82)
Castilian	46.9%	(53)	42.5% (68)
Portuguese	3.5%	(4)	1.3% (2)
Arabic (D)	4.4%	(5)	3.8% (6)
Arabic (C)	1.8%	(2)	1.3% (2)
Other	47.8%	(54)	48.1% (77)

Saint Mathieu			
	men		women
Any other	83.6%	(51)	93.0% (80)
Catalan	44.3%	(27)	62.8% (54)
Castilian	49.2%	(30)	46.5% (40)
Portuguese	3.3%	(2)	5.8% (5)
Arabic (D)	9.8%	(6)	8.1% (7)
Arabic (C)	4.9%	(3)	2.3% (2)
Other	44.3%	(27)	27.9% (24)

Languages known and used in Perpignan broken down by age

La Lunette					
	15-24		25-44		45-60
any other language	94.7%	(36)	91.4%	(64)	93.5% (58)
Catalan	36.8%	(14)	52.1%	(37)	48.4% (30)
Castilian	55.3%	(21)	50.7%	(36)	43.5% (27)
Portuguese			5.6%	(4)	2.0% (2)
Dialectal Arabic			2.8%	(2)	4.8% (3)
Classical Arabic			1.4%	(1)	2.9% (3)
other	71.1%	(27)	57.7%	(41)	48.4% (30)

Saint Mathieu					
	15-24		25-44		45-60
any other language	87.5%	(28)	81.4%	(35)	95.8% (23)
Catalan	25.0%	(8)	37.2%	(16)	70.8% (17)
Castilian	59.4%	(19)	41.9%	(18)	45.8% (11)
Portuguese	9.4%	(3)	9.3%	(4)	
Dialectal Arabic	12.5%	(4)	7.0%	(3)	16.7% (4)
Classical Arabic	6.3%	(2)	2.3%	(1)	4.2% (2)
other	62.5%	(20)	34.9%	(15)	25.0% (6)



## 6.2 Languages known and means of language acquisition

The following six sets of histograms and tables show the responses to questions two, three and four. In each case the first histogram combines questions two and three, thus showing the percentage of the population that knows any given language, and what their abilities are in that language. The second histogram of each set represents the responses to question four for the relevant language, thus showing how it was learnt.

In some cases bars are divided into two sections: this is to differentiate between informants who claimed only a slight ability, and the others.

### 6.2.1 French

The first set of this series reveals that only a very tiny percentage of informants know no French at all - in La Lunette the figure is less than half of one percent. There is, however, a noticeable degree of French illiteracy in Saint Mathieu, which may be explained by the higher number of non-native speakers, and in particular speakers who have only acquired French through living in France. This is shown clearly in the second histogram (4.1).

In La Lunette it is interesting to note that, whilst the only person who claims not to speak and understand French is a man, the percentage of illiteracy in French is higher for women than for men. This is undoubtedly linked to two facts: the slightly higher percentage of non-French women, and the considerably lower level of education among women in the *quartier*.

In Saint Mathieu however, the percentage of women is higher for all language skills, although it is a very slight difference. Again, this can be explained by the responses to questions 34 and 40: there are fewer non-French women, and the general level of education is higher among women than men.

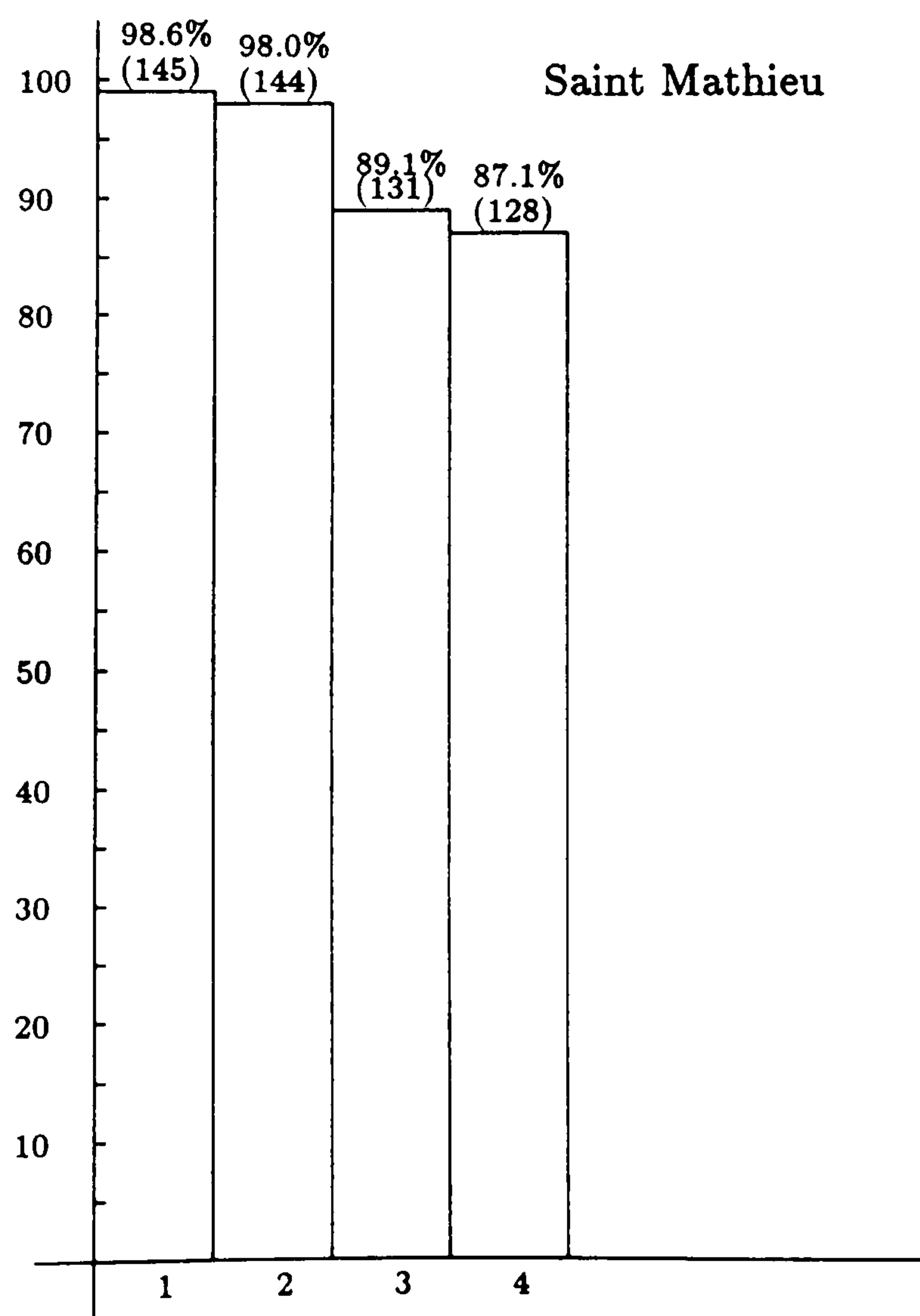
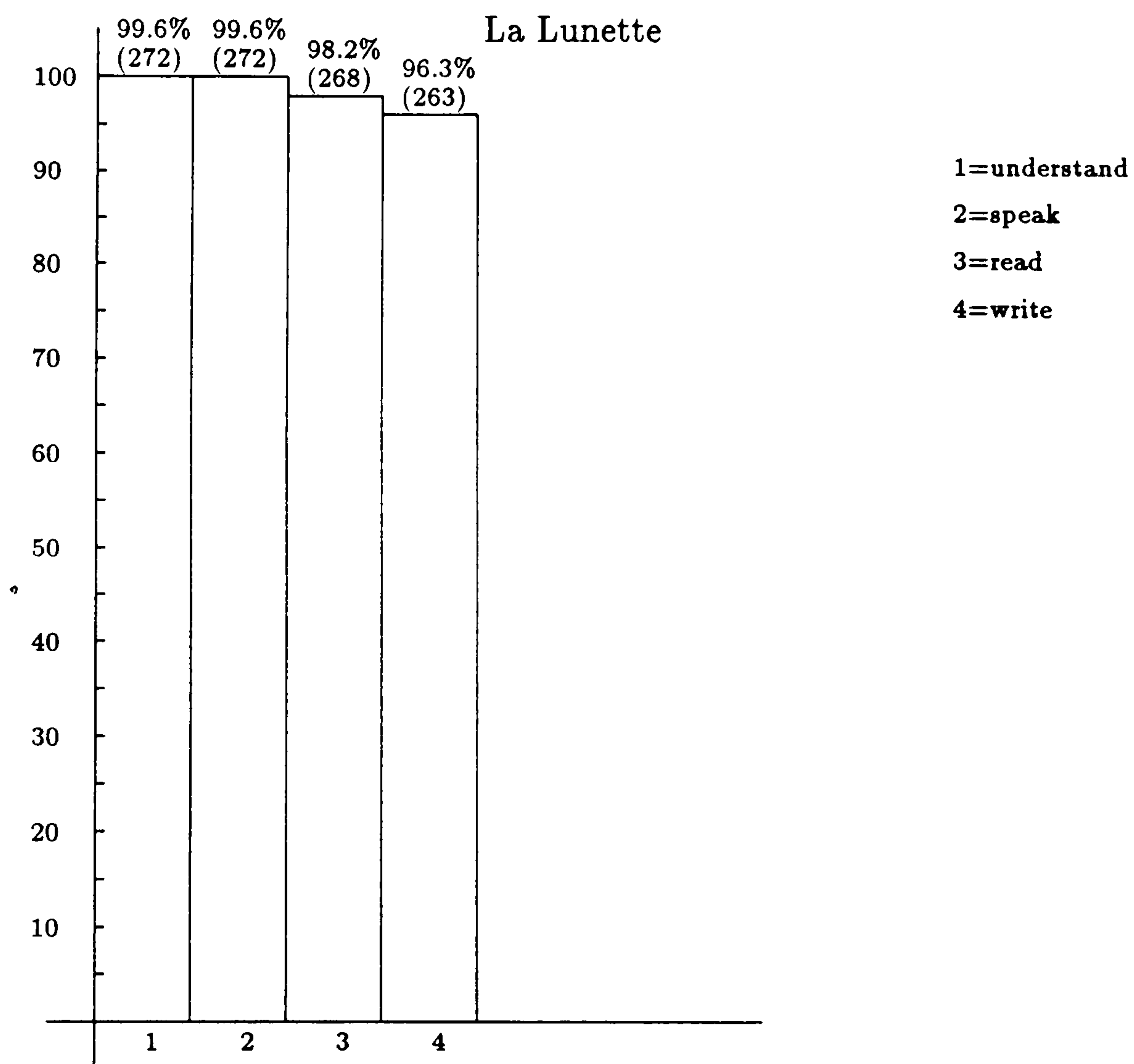
The age breakdown reveals that it is primarily older people who are illiterate in French: in both *quartiers* there is 100.0% French literacy among younger people, and an extremely low level of illiteracy in the second age group. In La Lunette the highest level of inability in French occurs in the third age group, whereas in Saint Mathieu it is in the oldest group, corresponding to where the highest numbers of immigrants are.

There are noticeably more women than men who learnt French somewhere other than at school: the majority of these women are of Spanish origin, and were born in Spain. There are also five women in each *quartier* for whom Catalan is the mother tongue, and who only learnt French at school. Also in Saint Mathieu are several women of Algerian and Portuguese origin, who learnt French either at school or through living in France. The men too, in smaller numbers, are predominantly of Spanish origin, with five French Catalans in Saint Mathieu and two in La Lunette. There are also a number

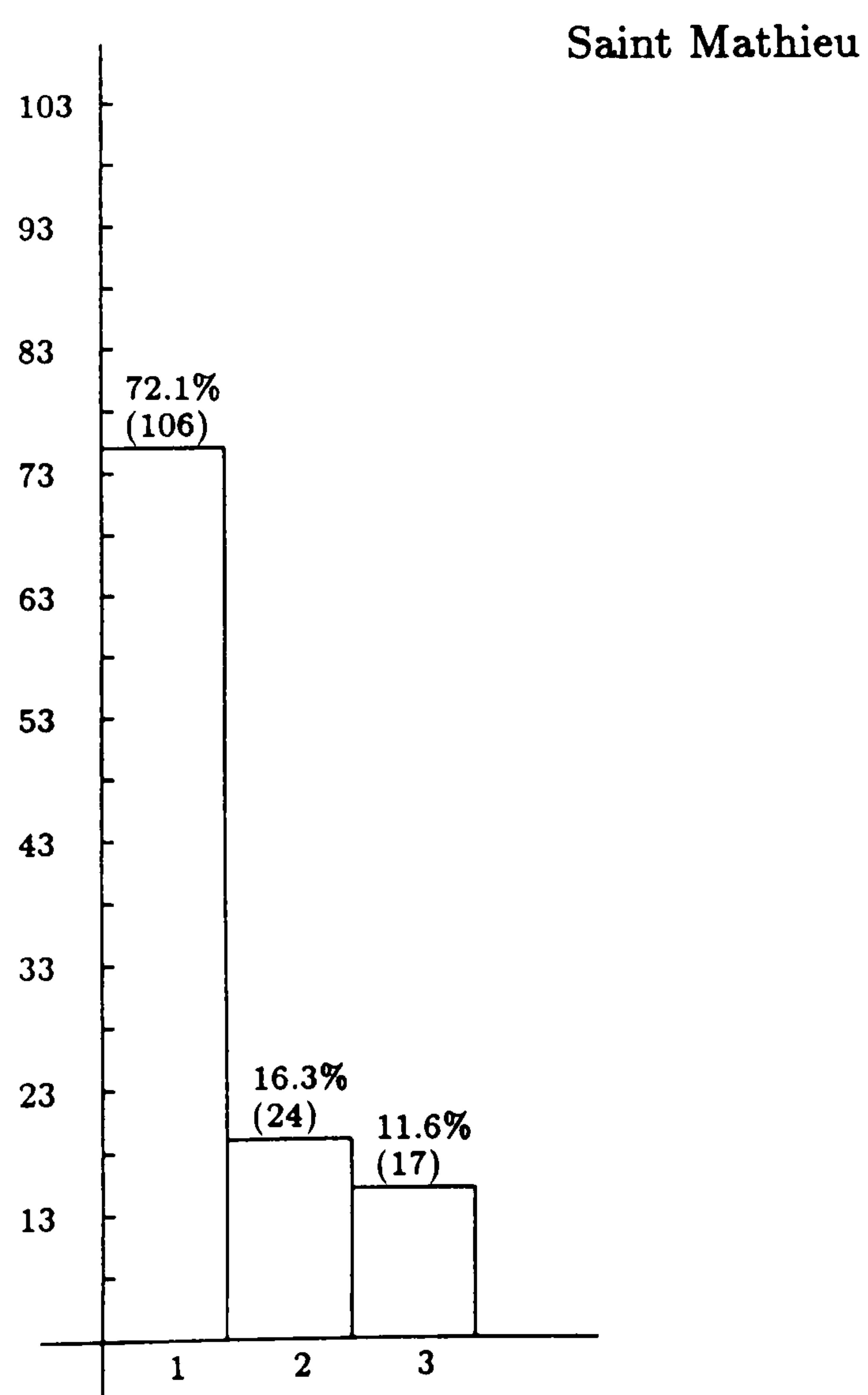
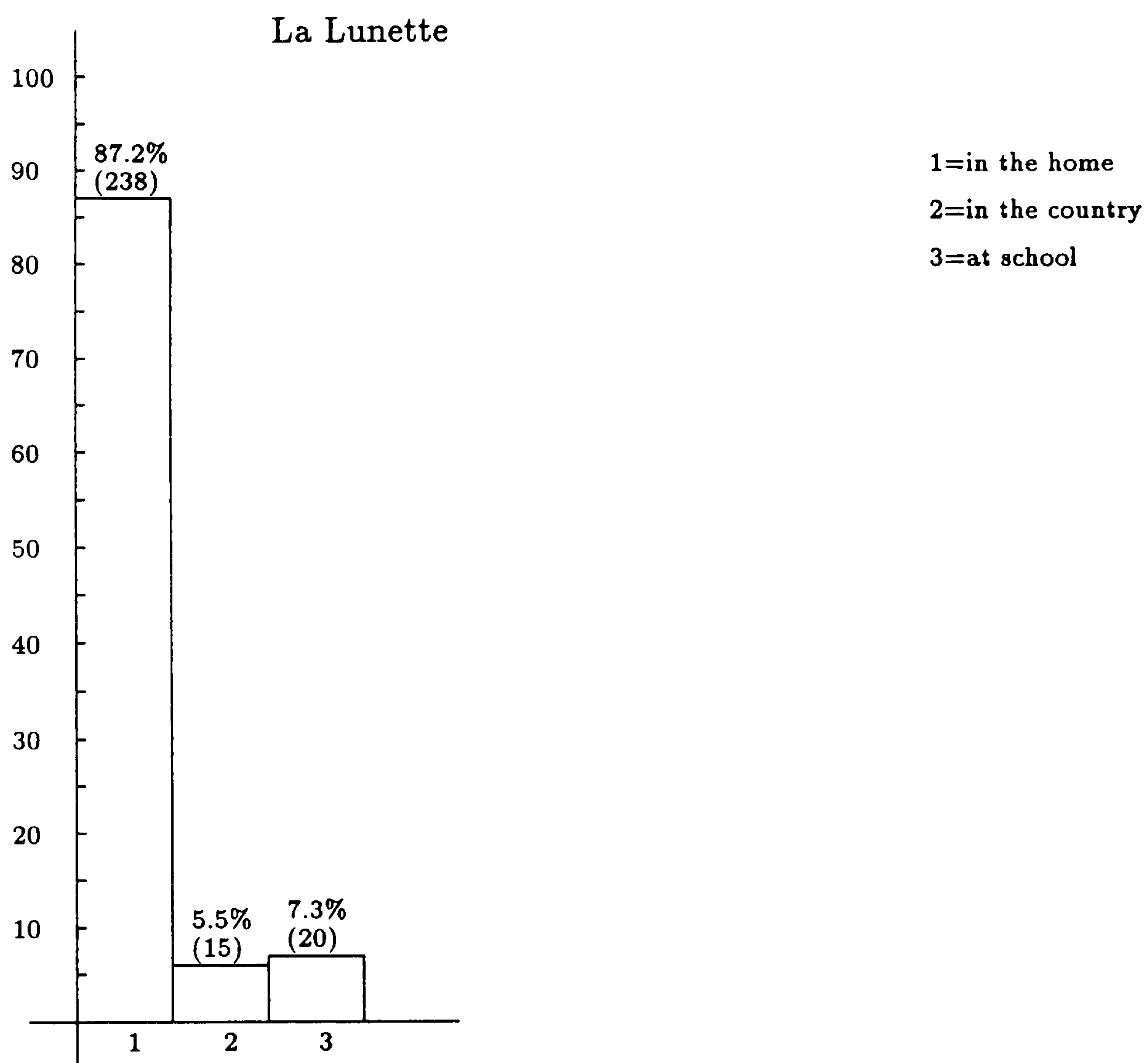


of other foreigners, especially in Saint Mathieu, from a variety of origins, who were obliged to learn French in the country.

The age breakdown reveals that these informants are predominantly older. All the French informants who claimed to have learnt French at school are in the fourth age group: because of their experience the majority of every subsequent generation in Perpignan has been brought up in French to avoid the shame of Catalan, as has been seen in 2.1.6. The majority of Spanish informants who learnt French by living in France (or in some cases did not learn it) are in the fourth age group too, although there are some in the younger groups, indicating that immigration from Spain to France is not altogether a thing of the past. Many of the younger informants in Saint Mathieu who did not learn French in the home are of Algerian or Portuguese origin, whereas in La Lunette they are mostly of Spanish origin.







Knowledge of French: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
understand	99.1% (112)	100.0% (160)
speak	99.1% (112)	100.0% (160)
read	99.1% (112)	97.5% (156)
write	98.2% (111) 0.9% (1)	95.0% (152) 1.3% (2) *

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
understand	98.4% (60)	98.8% (85)
speak	96.7% (59) 1.6% (1)	98.8% (85) 1.2% (1)
read	88.5% (54) 8.2% (5)	89.5% (77) 7.0% (6)
write	86.9% (53) 9.8% (6)	87.2% (75) 9.3% (8)

\* The second row every time indicates those who claimed to be able to understand, speak, read or write with difficulty or only a little.

La Lunette

	men	women
In the home	88.5% (100)	86.3% (138)
In the country	1.8% (2)	8.1% (13)
At school	9.7% (11)	5.6% (9)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
In the home	73.8% (45)	70.9% (61)
In the country	18.0% (11)	15.1% (13)
At school	8.2% (5)	14.0% (12)



Knowledge of French: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
understand	100.0% (38)	100.0% (71)	98.4% (61)	100.0% (102)
speak	100.0% (38)	100.0% (71)	98.4% (61)	100.0% (102)
read	100.0% (38)	100.0% (71)	93.5% (58)	99.0% (101)
write	100.0% (38)	98.6% (70)	91.9% (57) 1.6% (1)	96.1% (98) 2.0% (2)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
understand	100.0% (32)	100.0% (43)	100.0% (24)	95.8% (46)
speak	100.0% (32)	100.0% (43)	100.0% (24)	93.8% (45) 2.1% (1)
read	100.0% (32)	93.0% (40) 4.7% (2)	91.7% (22) 4.2% (1)	77.1% (37) 4.2% (2)
write	100.0% (32)	90.7% (39) 4.7% (2)	87.5% (21) 4.2% (1)	75.0% (36) 4.2% (2)

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	92.1% (35)	85.9% (61)	85.5% (53)	87.3% (89)
in the country	5.3% (2)	2.8% (2)	6.5% (4)	6.9% (7)
at school	2.6% (1)	11.3% (8)	8.1% (5)	5.9% (6)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	87.5% (28)	83.7% (36)	50.0% (12)	62.5% (30)
in the country	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)	25.0% (6)	29.2% (14)
at school	9.4% (3)	9.3% (4)	25.0% (6)	8.3% (4)

### 6.2.2 Catalan

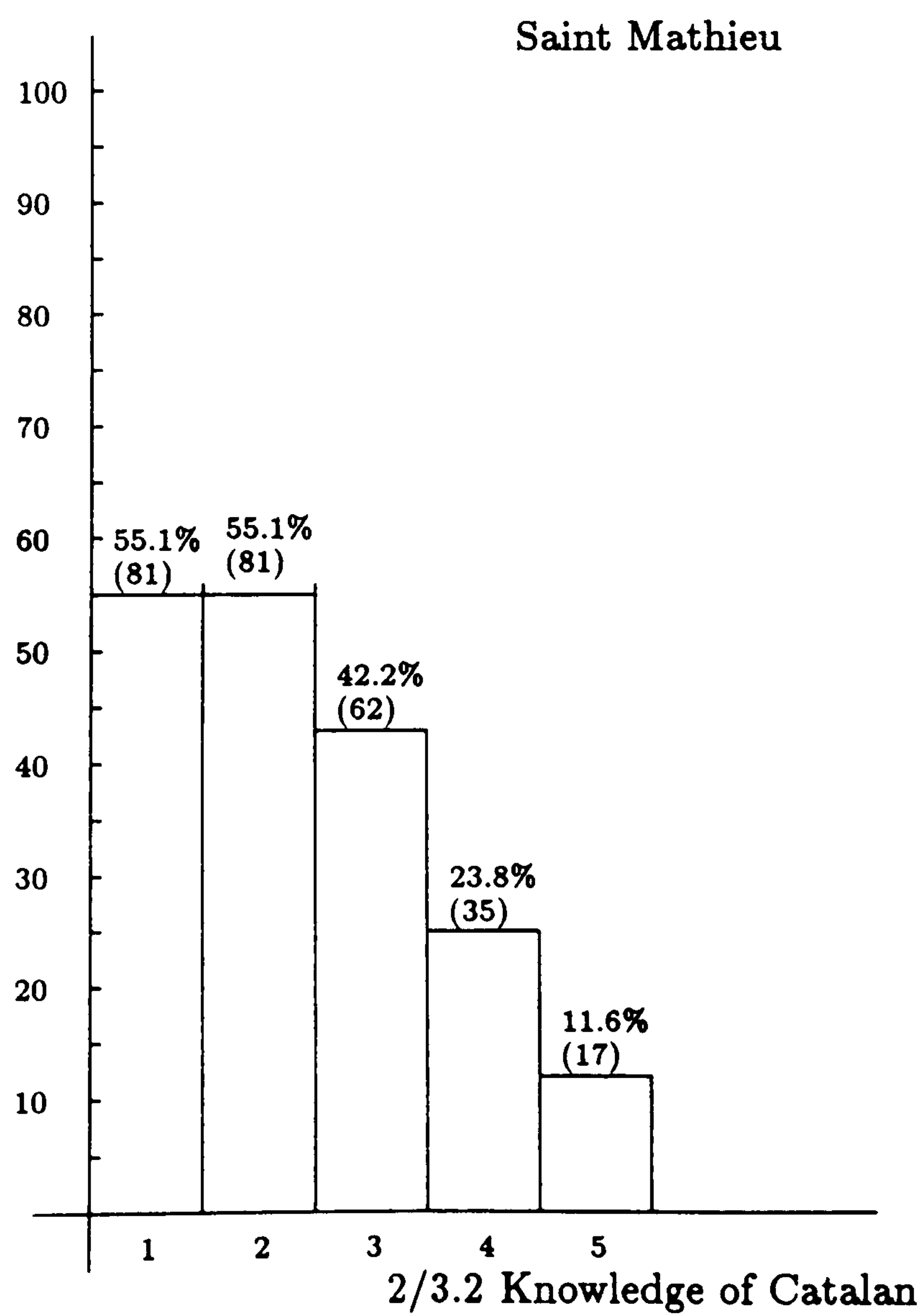
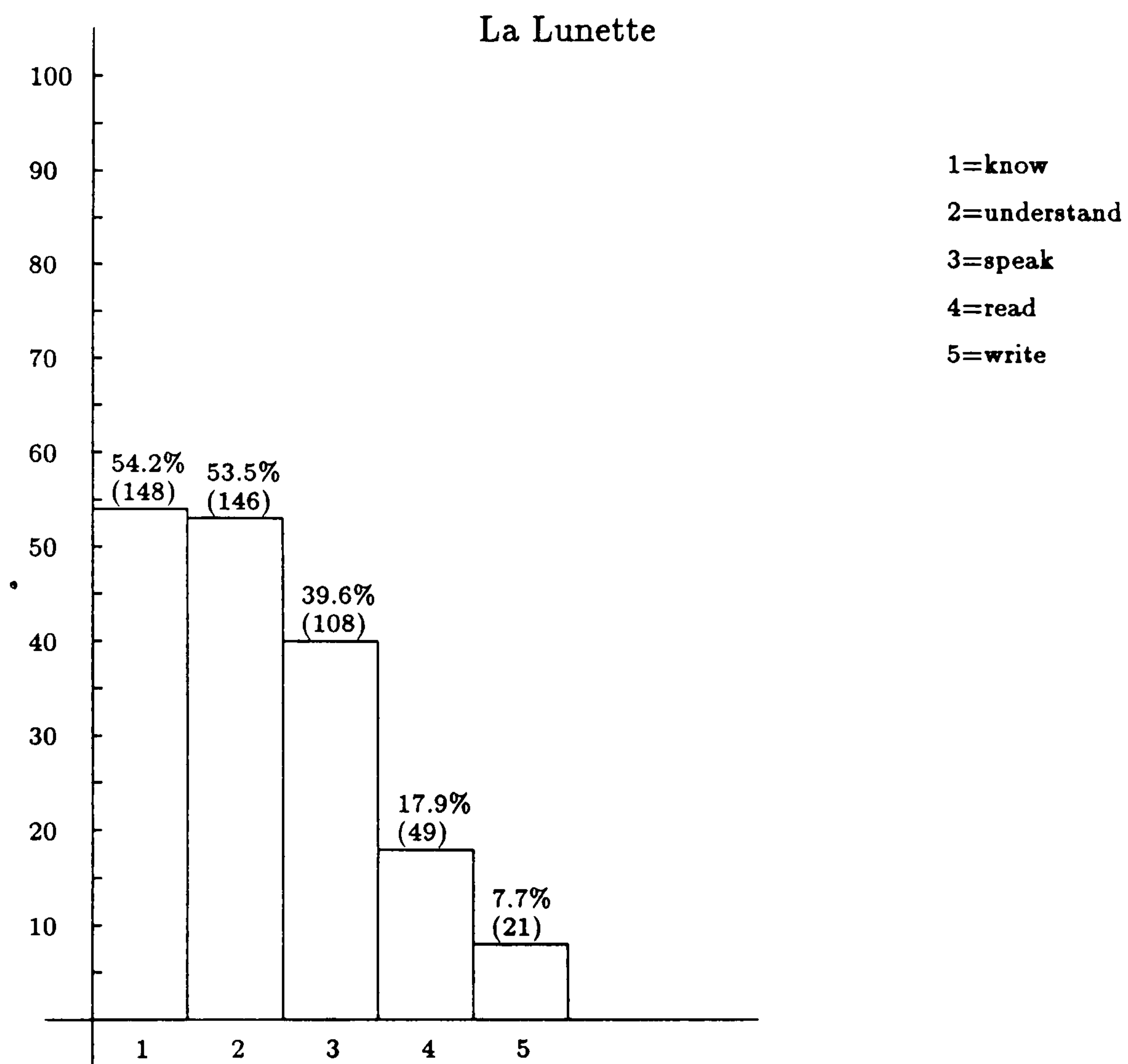
The percentages of those who claim to know and understand Catalan is very similar in both *quartiers*, with the figure in La Lunette being slightly lower. In the case of speaking, reading and writing, however, this figure is considerably lower, suggesting a much more passive knowledge of the language.

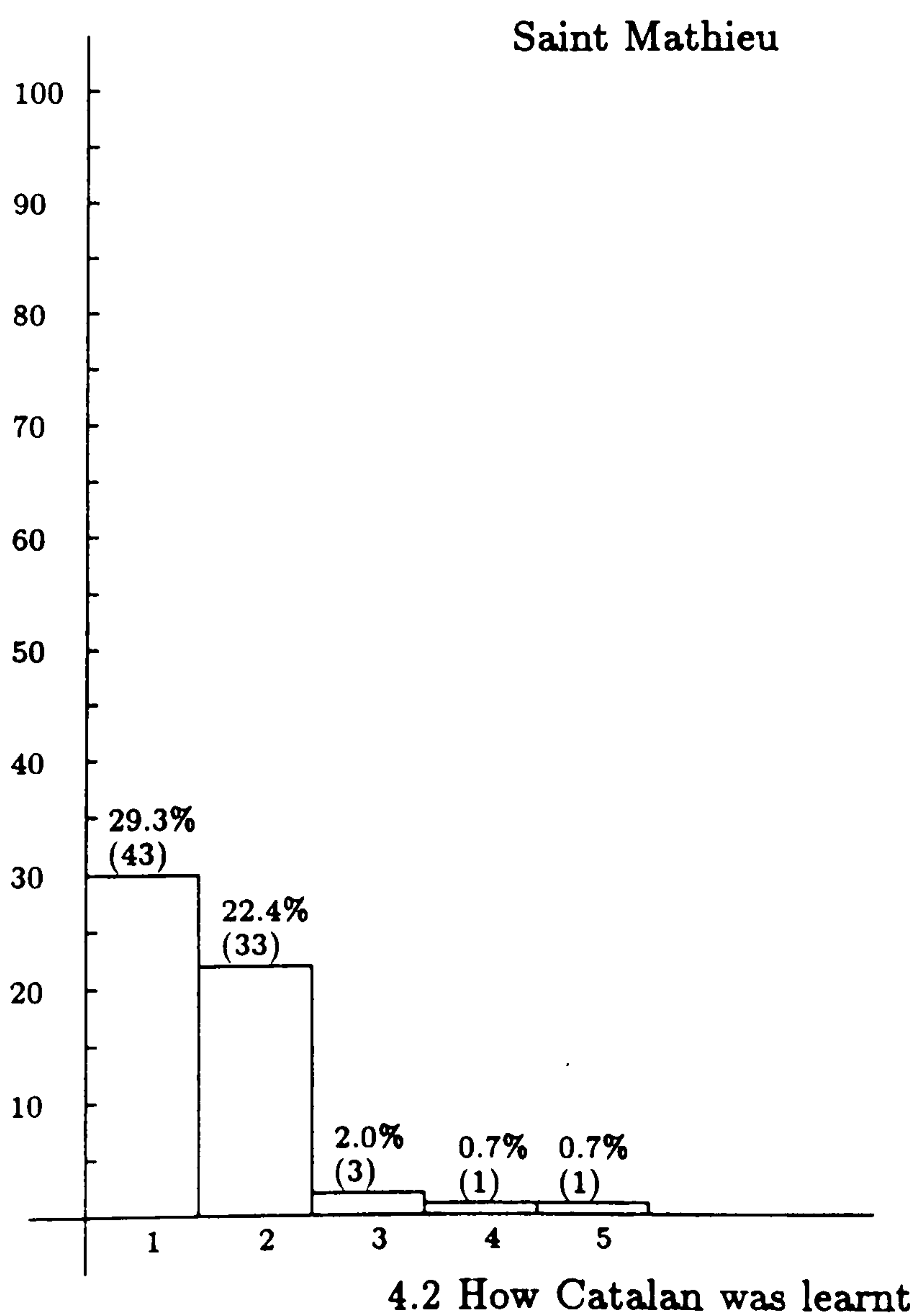
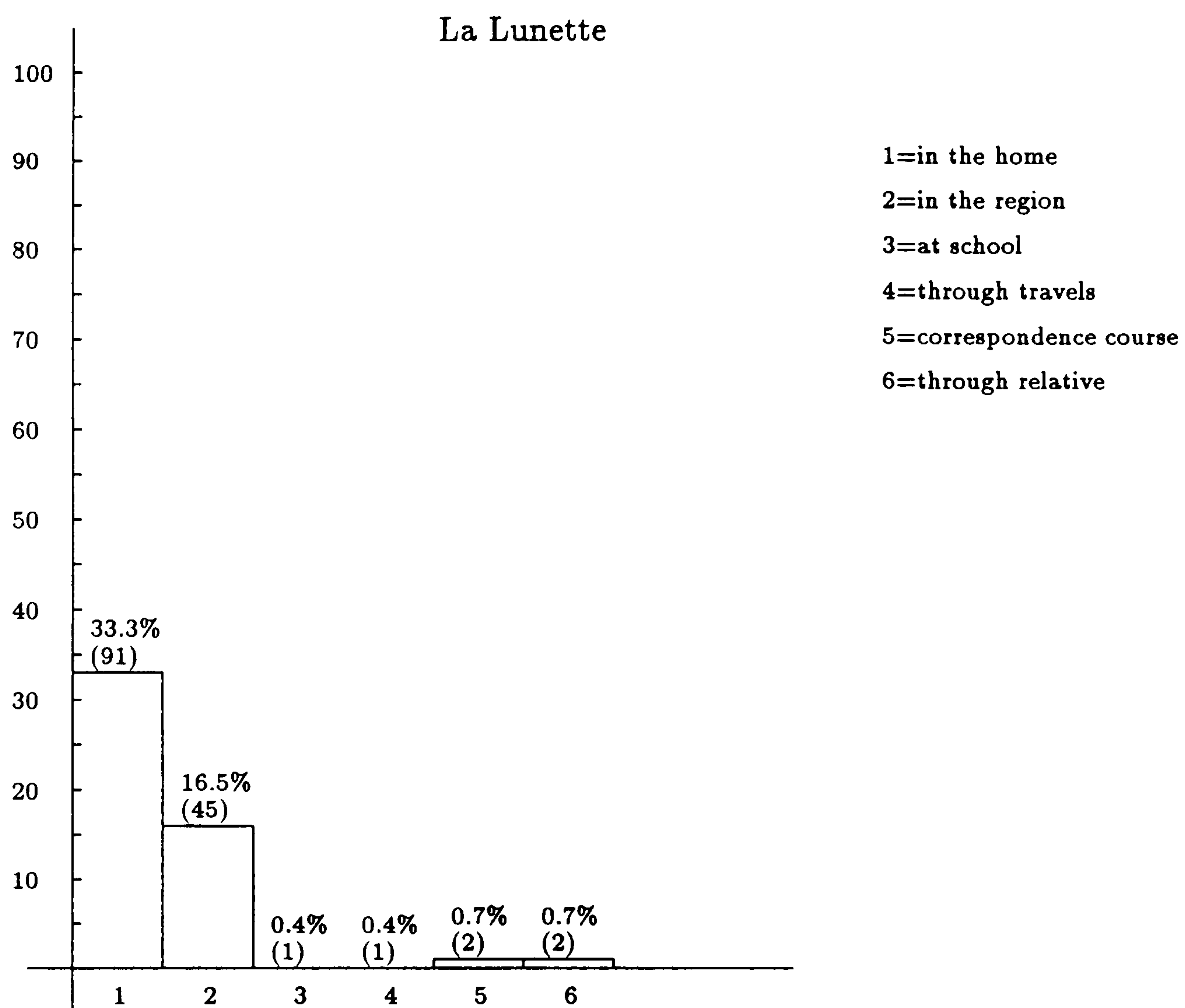
The second set of histograms (as with all the series representing question four) represents only that section of the sample who claim to have a knowledge of Catalan. In Saint Mathieu 44.2% and in La Lunette 48.0% do not claim to know Catalan at all.

Clearly the most common means of acquisition was in the home, with a fairly high percentage, especially in Saint Mathieu, learning casually in the region. This fact would seem to suggest that Catalan is still a domestic language rather than an academically learnt one.

A more detailed analysis of informants who know Catalan may be found in chapter nine, which deals exclusively with this subsample.









Knowledge of Catalan: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
know	58.4% (66)	51.3% (82)
understand	57.5% (65) 0.9% (1)	56.6% (81) 1.9% (3)
speak	45.1% (51) 4.4% (5)	35.6% (57) 5.6% (9)
read	22.1% (25) 6.2% (7)	15.0% (24) 6.3% (10)
write	9.7% (11) 4.4% (5)	6.3% (10) 2.5% (4)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
know	44.3% (27)	62.8% (54)
understand	44.3% (27)	62.8% (54)
speak	41.0% (25) 1.6% (1)	43.0% (37) 4.7% (4)
read	26.2% (16) 4.9% (3)	22.1% (19) 3.5% (3)
write	18.0% (11) 4.9% (3)	7.0% (6) 1.2% (1)

La Lunette

	men	women
In the home	34.5% (39)	32.5% (52)
In the country	18.6% (21)	15.0% (24)
At school	0.9% (1)	
Through travels/war	0.9% (1)	
Correspondence course	0.9% (1)	0.6% (1)
Through a relative		1.3% (2)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
In the home	23.0% (14)	33.7% (29)
In the country	18.0% (11)	25.5% (22)
At school	1.6% (1)	3.5% (3)
Correspondence course	1.6% (1)	
Through a relative		1.2% (1)

Knowledge of Catalan: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	36.8% (14)	52.1% (37)	48.4% (30)	65.7% (67)
understand	36.8% (14)	49.3% (35) 2.8% (2)	50.0% (31)	64.7% (66) 2.0% (2)
speak	18.4% (7) 2.6% (1)	39.4% (28) 7.0% (5)	33.9% (21) 3.2% (2)	51.0% (52) 5.9% (6)
read	5.3% (2) 5.3% (2)	15.5% (11) 2.8% (2)	21.0% (13) 6.5% (4)	22.5% (23) 8.8% (9)
write	5.3% (2) 5.3% (2)	8.5% (6)	4.8% (3) 3.2% (2)	9.8% (10) 4.9% (5)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	25.0% (8)	37.2% (16)	70.8% (17)	83.3% (40)
understand	25.0% (8)	37.2% (16)	70.8% (17)	83.3% (40)
speak	15.6% (5) 3.1% (1)	25.6% (11) 4.7% (2)	54.2% (13)	68.8% (33) 4.2% (2)
read	12.5% (4)	11.6% (5) 2.3% (1)	50.0% (12)	29.2% (14) 10.4% (5)
write	12.5% (4)	4.7% (2) 2.3% (1)	12.5% (3) 4.2% (1)	16.7% (8) 4.2% (2)

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	15.8% (6)	33.8% (24)	22.6% (14)	46.1% (47)
in the country	10.5% (4)	12.7% (9)	24.2% (15)	16.7% (17)
at school		1.4% (1)		
through travel/war		1.4% (1)		
correspondence course	5.3% (2)			
with relative			3.2% (2)	

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	9.4% (3)	20.9% (9)	33.3% (8)	47.9% (23)
in the country	3.1% (1)	16.3% (7)	33.3% (8)	35.4% (17)
at school	9.4% (3)			
correspondence course			4.2% (1)	
with relative	3.1% (1)			



### 6.2.3 Castilian

Castilian is evidently an important language in Perpignan, with almost 50.0% in both *quartiers* claiming some knowledge of it. The percentage is higher in Saint Mathieu, not surprisingly, given the higher number of Spanish immigrants there.

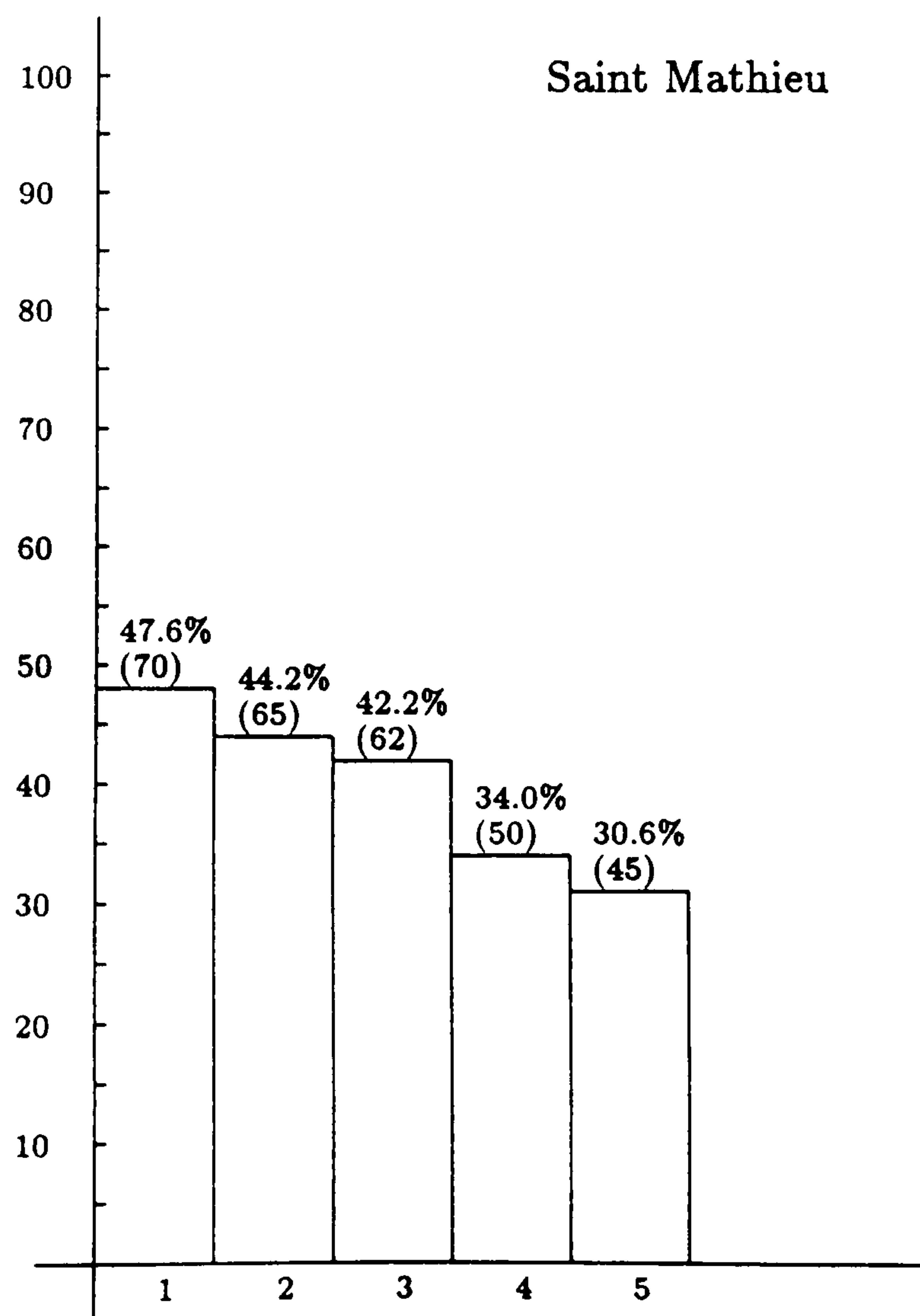
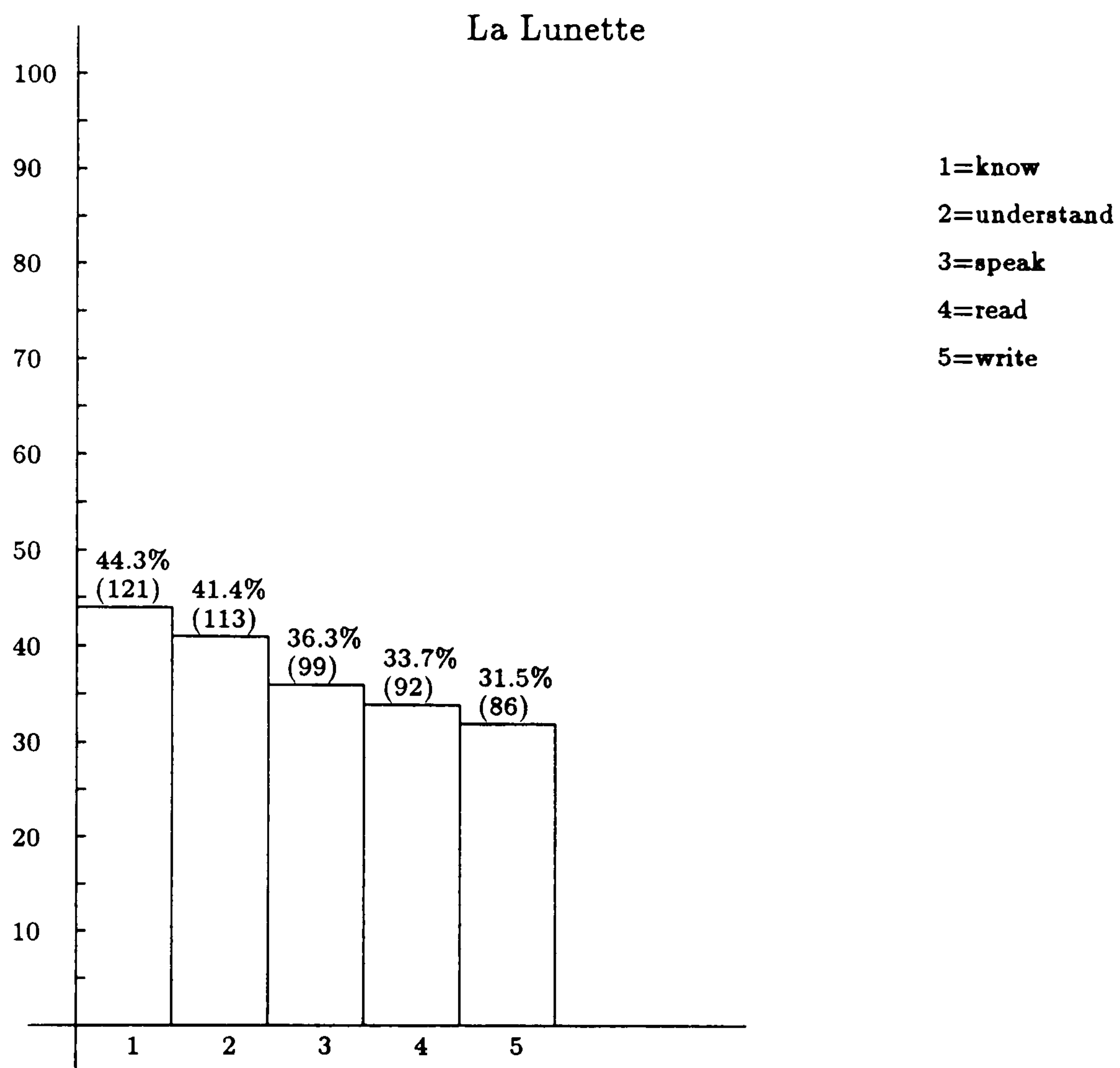
Whilst the immigrant population is very important, native speakers do not constitute the largest group of informants who know Castilian. In both *quartiers* the most common means of acquiring Castilian was at school. It is perhaps surprising, in the light of this fact, that there are considerably more informants who claim to understand and speak, than to read and write.

- In La Lunette there is a higher percentage of men who claim to know Castilian, and the percentage of women remains lower for all language skills, although the gap narrows for reading and writing, suggesting that more men are illiterate in this language: this would seem logical, given the relatively higher percentage of men who learnt Castilian in the home, or through visiting Spain.

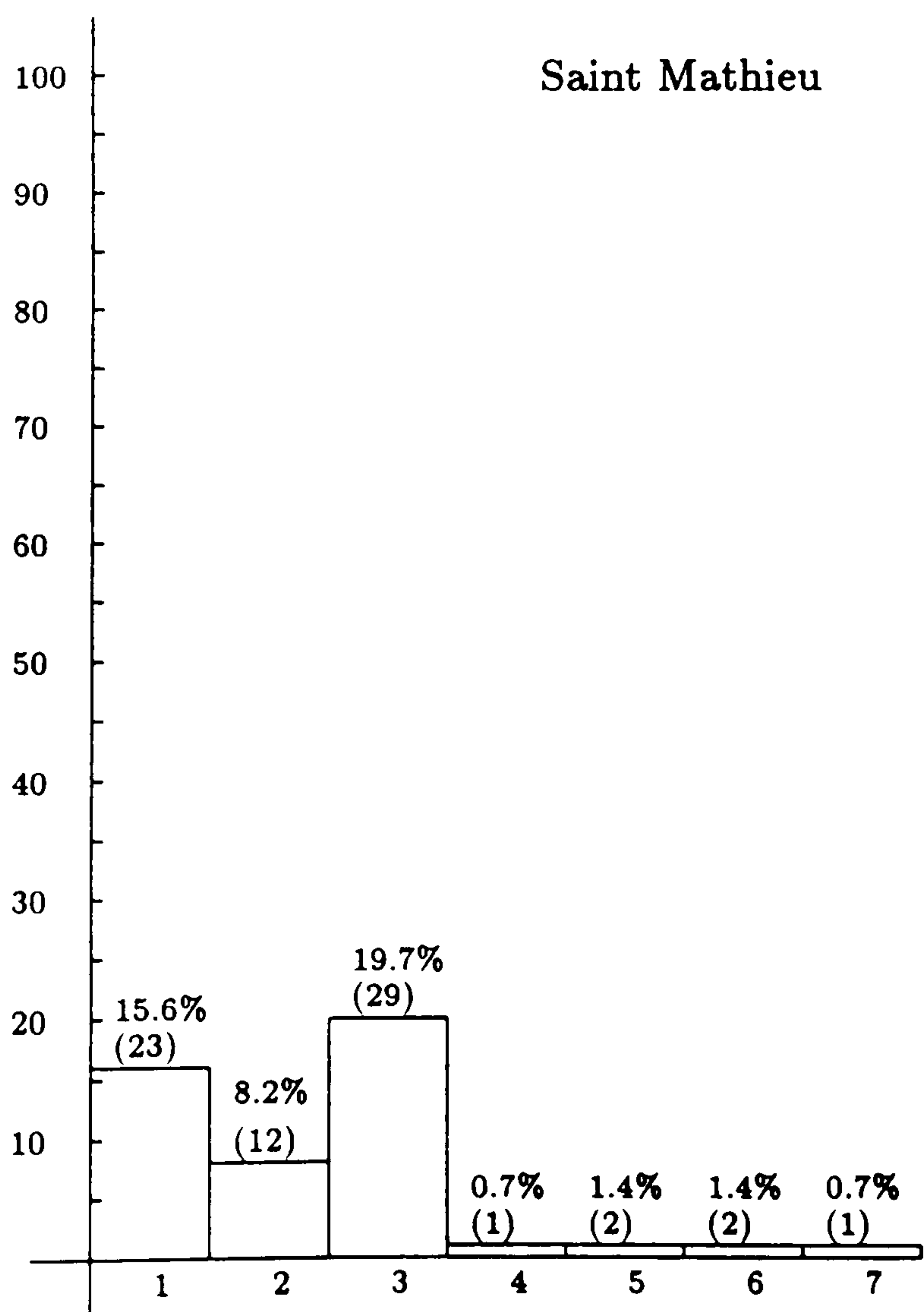
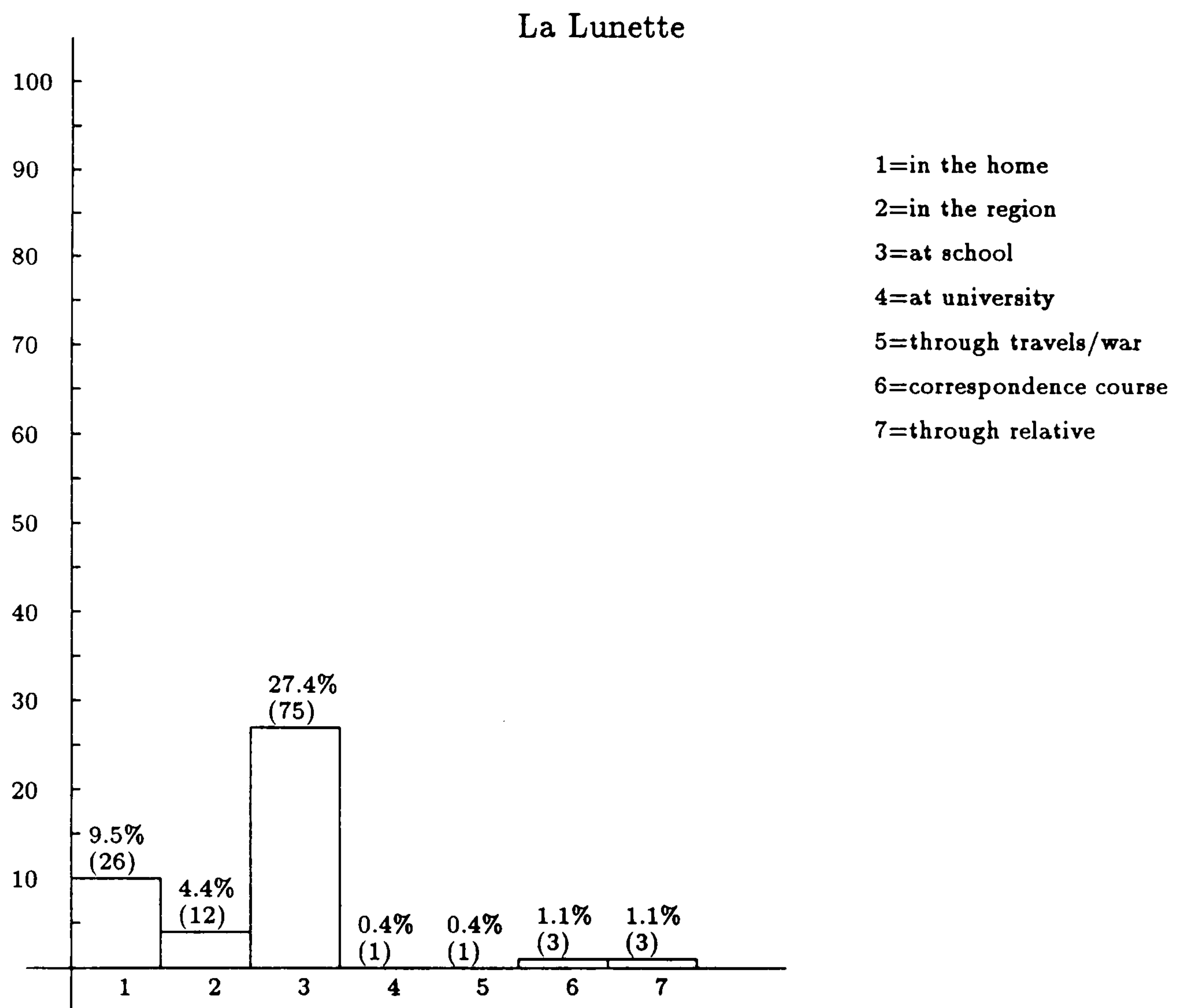
In Saint Mathieu there is a higher percentage of women who speak and understand, but a higher percentage of men who read and write (in each case the difference is minimal). The explanation can be found in the fact that marginally more women learnt Castilian in the home, compared to a higher percentage of men who learnt it at school.

The age breakdown reveals that the percentage of young informants who claim to know Castilian is higher in both *quartiers* than the percentage of older informants, and in literacy skills the difference is even greater. Noticeably higher numbers of young informants learnt Castilian at school, but in Saint Mathieu the percentage who learnt in the home is highest among young informants too, which is perhaps less expected.

A more detailed discussion of Castilian in Perpignan can be found in 10.2.







4.3 How Castilian was learnt

Knowledge of Castilian: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
know	46.9% (53)	42.5% (68)
understand	45.1% (51)	38.8% (62)
	1.8% (2)	3.8% (6)
speak	39.8% (45)	33.8% (54)
	4.4% (5)	6.3% (10)
read	35.4% (40)	32.5% (52)
	4.4% (5)	4.4% (7)
write	33.6% (38)	30.0% (48)
	3.5% (4)	5.0% (8)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
know	49.2% (30)	46.5% (40)
understand	42.6% (26)	45.3% (39)
	1.6% (1)	
speak	41.0% (25)	43.0% (37)
	1.6% (1)	
read	34.4% (21)	33.7% (29)
	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1)
write	32.8% (20)	29.1% (25)
	1.6% (1)	

La Lunette

	men	women
In the home	11.5% (13)	8.1% (13)
In the country	7.1% (8)	2.5% (4)
At school	23.9% (27)	30.0% (48)
At university	0.9% (1)	
Through travels/war	0.9% (1)	
Correspondence course	1.8% (2)	0.9% (1)
Through a relative	0.9% (1)	1.3% (2)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
In the home	14.8% (9)	16.3% (14)
In the country	9.8% (6)	6.9% (6)
At school	21.3% (13)	18.6% (16)
At university		1.2% (1)
Through travels/war	3.3% (2)	
Correspondence course		2.3% (2)
Through a relative		1.2% (1)



Knowledge of Castilian: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	55.3% (21)	50.7% (36)	43.5% (27)	36.3% (37)
understand	47.4% (18) 7.9% (3)	47.9% (34) 2.8% (2)	40.3% (25) 3.2% (2)	35.3% (36) 1.0% (1)
speak	42.1% (16) 7.9% (3)	45.1% (32) 4.2% (3)	33.9% (21) 4.8% (3)	29.4% (30) 5.9% (6)
read	39.5% (15) 10.5% (4)	40.8% (29) 2.8% (2)	32.3% (20) 4.8% (3)	27.5% (28) 2.9% (3)
write	39.5% (15) 10.5% (4)	39.4% (28) 2.8% (2)	25.8% (16) 4.8% (3)	26.5% (27) 2.9% (3)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	59.4% (19)	41.9% (18)	45.8% (11)	45.8% (22)
understand	50.0% (16) 3.1% (1)	39.5% (17)	45.8% (11)	43.8% (21)
speak	50.0% (16) 3.1% (1)	34.9% (15)	45.8% (11)	41.7% (20)
read	46.9% (15) 3.1% (1)	23.3% (10) 2.3% (1)	45.8% (11)	29.2% (14)
write	43.8% (14) 3.1% (1)	23.3% (10)	37.5% (9)	25.0% (12)

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	5.3% (2)	11.3% (8)	12.9% (8)	7.8% (8)
in the country	5.3% (2)	2.8% (2)	6.5% (4)	3.9% (4)
at school	39.5% (15)	33.8% (24)	21.0% (13)	22.5% (23)
at university	2.6% (1)			
through travel/war				1.0% (1)
correspondence course	2.6% (1)	1.4% (1)		1.0% (1)
with relative		1.4% (1)	3.2% (2)	

Saint Mathieu

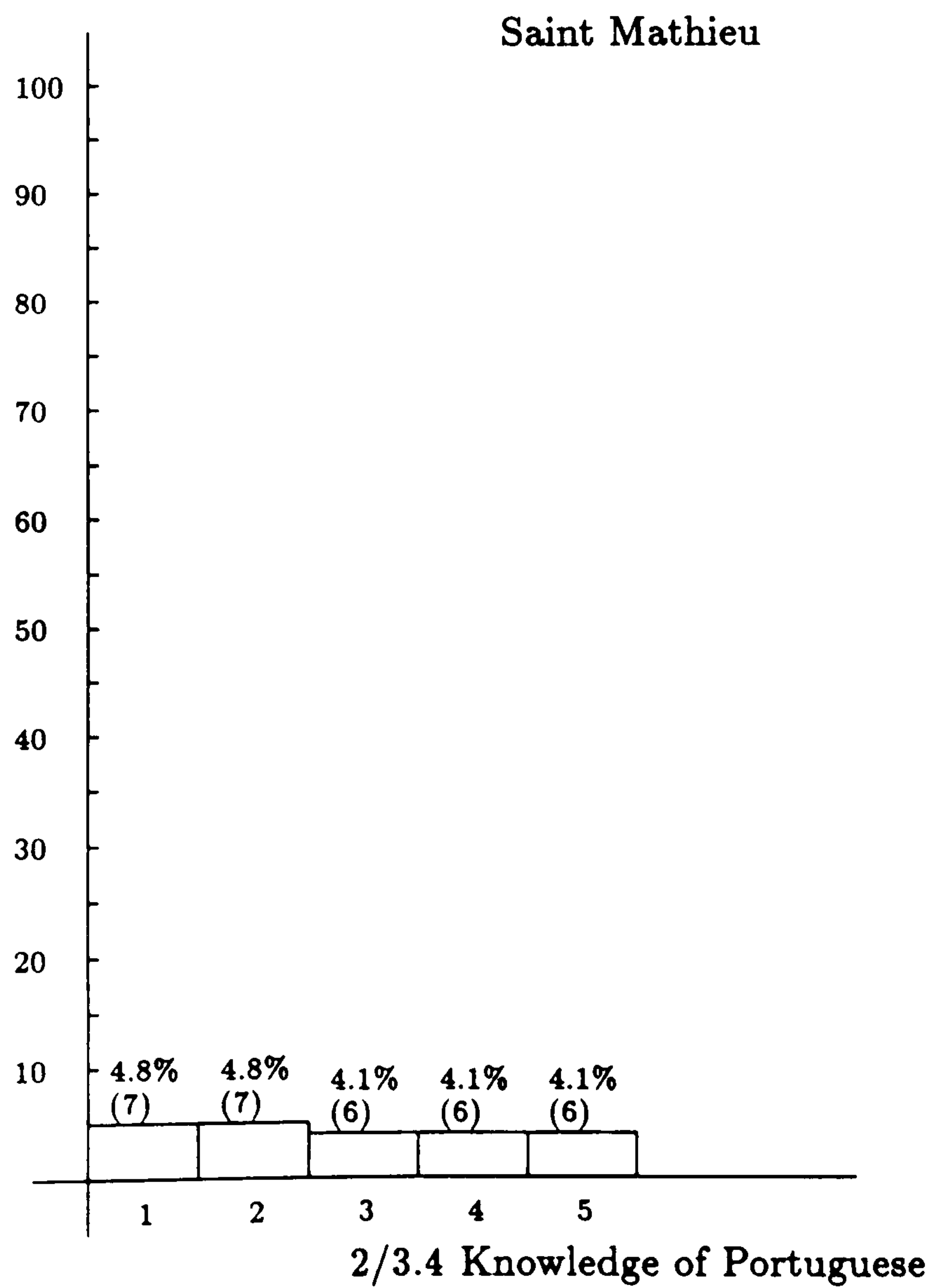
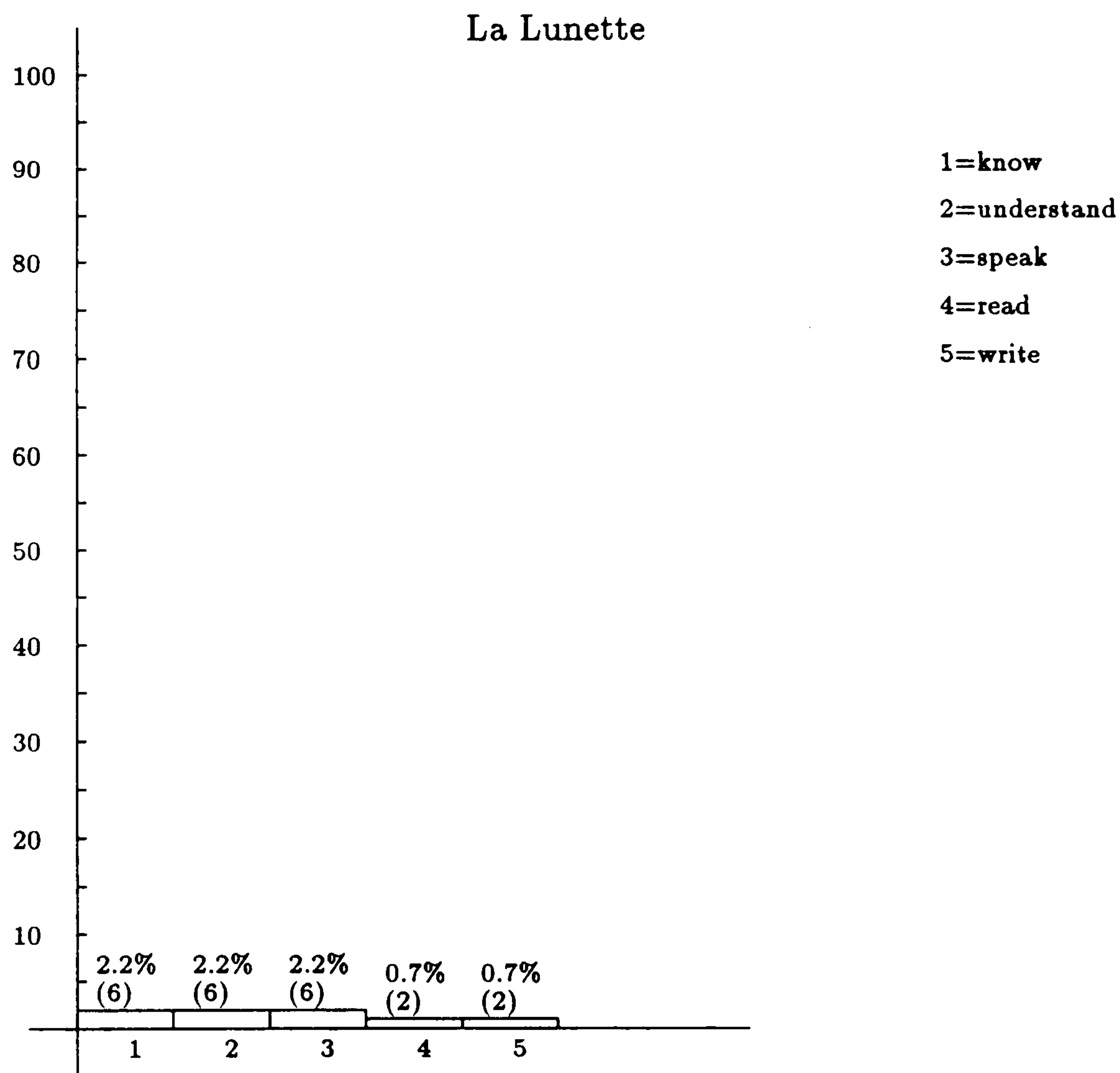
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	21.9% (7)	11.6% (5)	12.5% (3)	16.7% (8)
in the country	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)	12.5% (3)	10.4% (5)
at school	34.4% (11)	20.9% (9)	12.5% (3)	12.5% (6)
at university		2.3% (1)		
through travels/war				4.2% (2)
correspondence course			4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)
with relative			4.2% (1)	

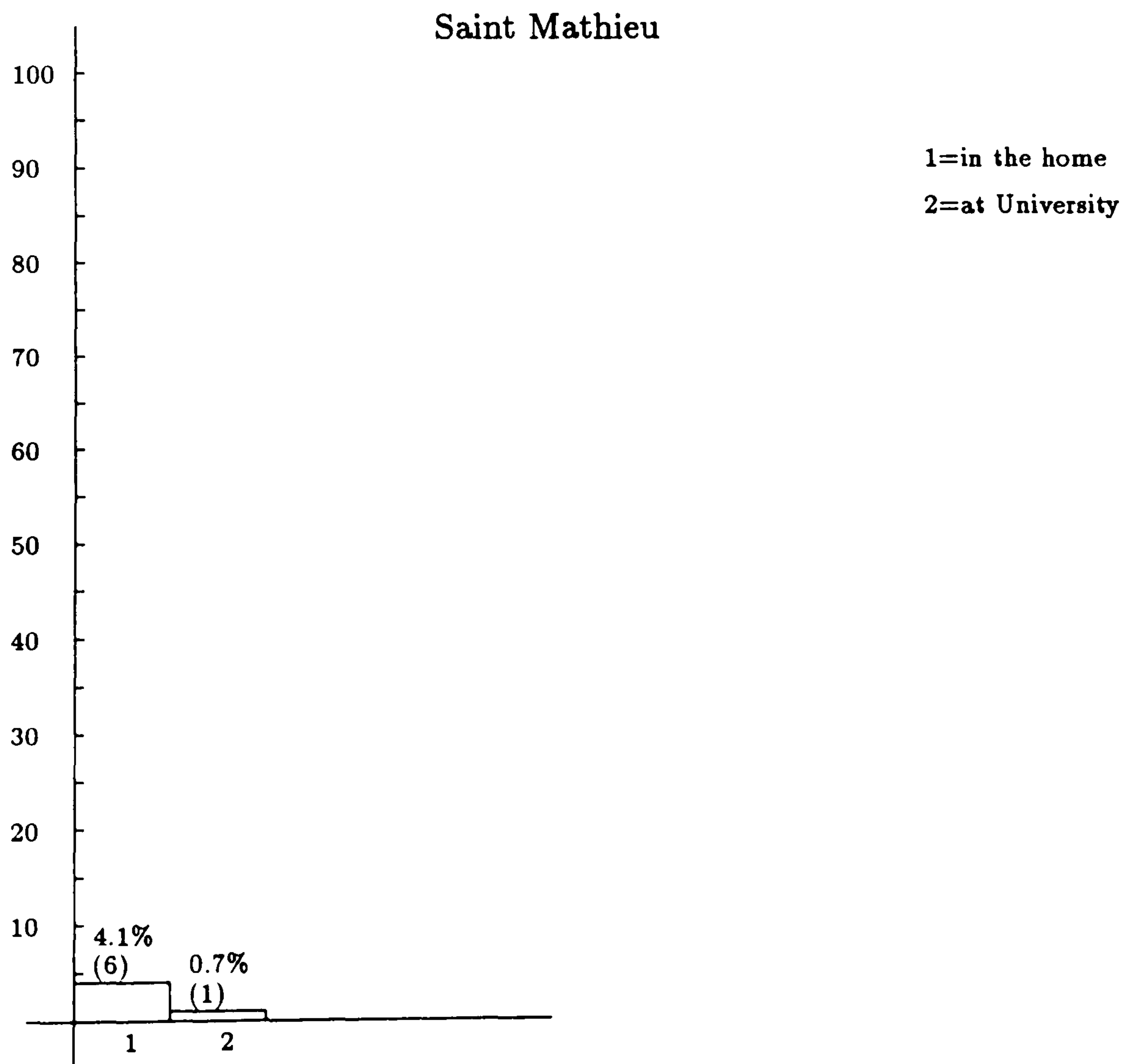
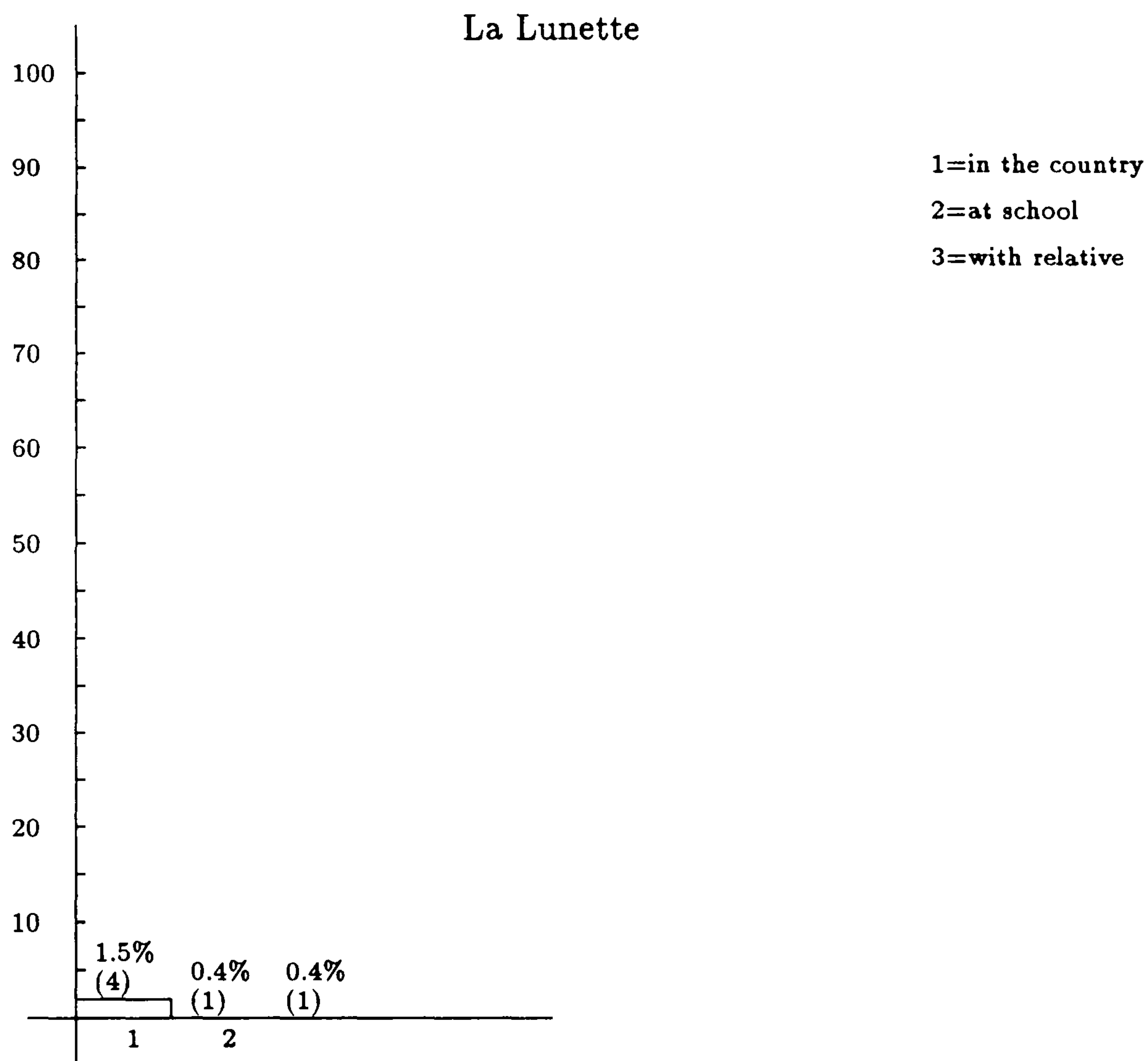
#### 6.2.4 Portuguese

The percentage of informants who know Portuguese is very low in both *quartiers*. It is slightly higher in Saint Mathieu because of the higher immigrant population.

A detailed analysis of this small linguistic group may be found in 10.3.









Knowledge of Portuguese: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
know	3.5% (4)	1.3% (2)
understand	3.5% (4)	1.3% (2) 0.6% (1)
speak	3.5% (4)	1.3% (2)
read	0.9% (1)	0.6% (1)
write	0.9% (1)	0.6% (1)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
know	3.3% (2)	5.8% (5)
understand	3.3% (2)	5.8% (5)
speak	3.3% (2)	4.7% (4)
read	3.3% (2)	4.7% (4) 1.2% (1)
write	3.3% (2)	4.7% (4) 1.2% (1)

La Lunette

	men	women
In the region	2.7% (3)	0.6% (1)
At school	0.9% (1)	
Through a relative		1.2% (1)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
In the home	1.8% (2)	2.5% (4)
At university		1.2% (1)

Knowledge of Portuguese: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know		5.6% (4)		2.0% (2)
understand		5.6% (4)		2.0% (2) 1.0% (1)
speak		5.6% (4)		2.0% (2)
read		2.8% (2)		
write		2.8% (2)		

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	9.4% (3)	9.3% (4)		
understand	9.4% (3)	9.3% (4)		
speak	9.4% (3)	7.0% (3)		
read	9.4% (3)	7.0% (3) 2.3% (1)		
write	9.4% (3)	7.0% (3) 2.3% (1)		

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the country		2.8% (2)		2.0% (2)
with relative		1.4% (1)		
at school		1.4% (1)		

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	9.4% (3)	7.0% (3)		
at university		2.3% (1)		

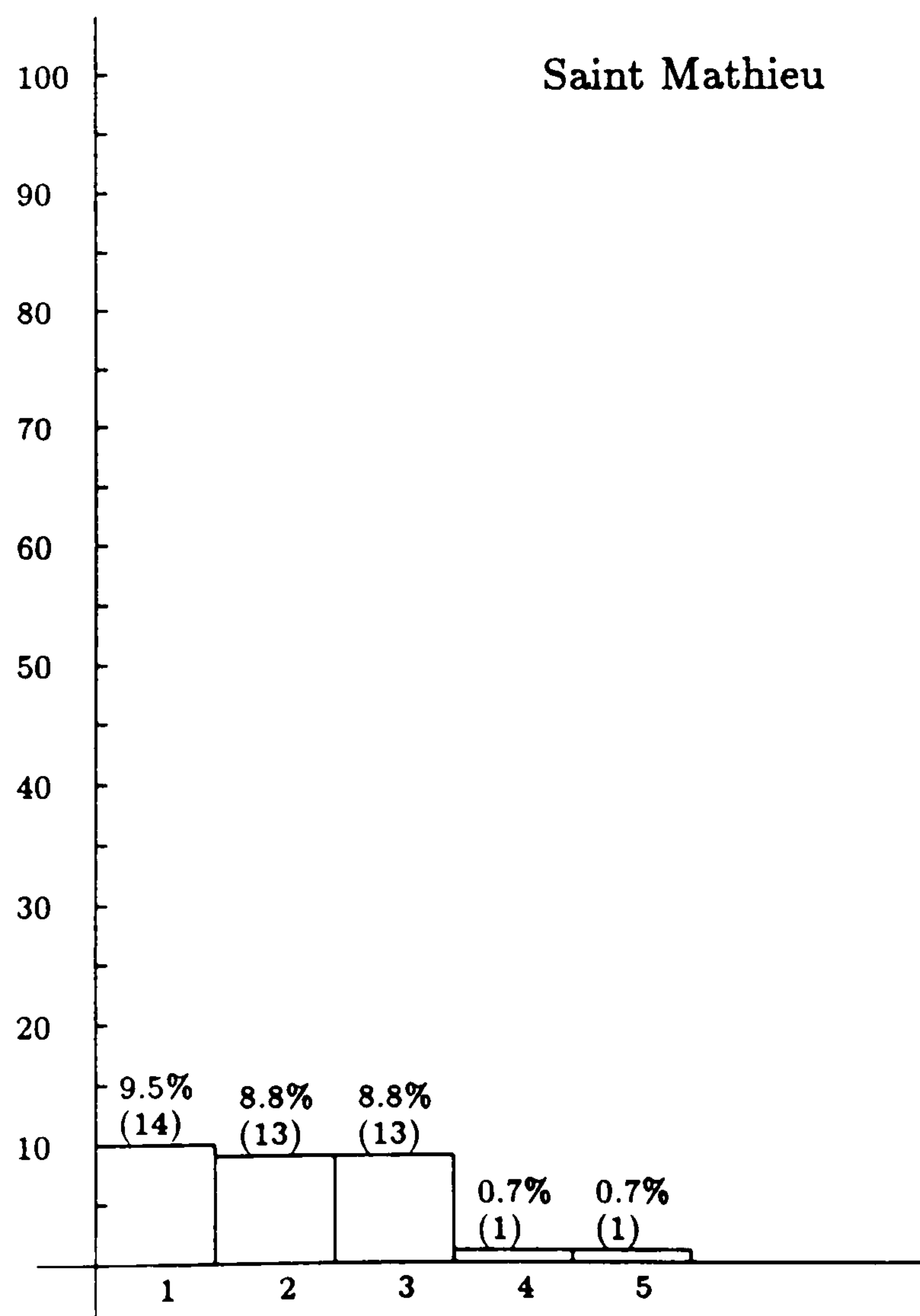
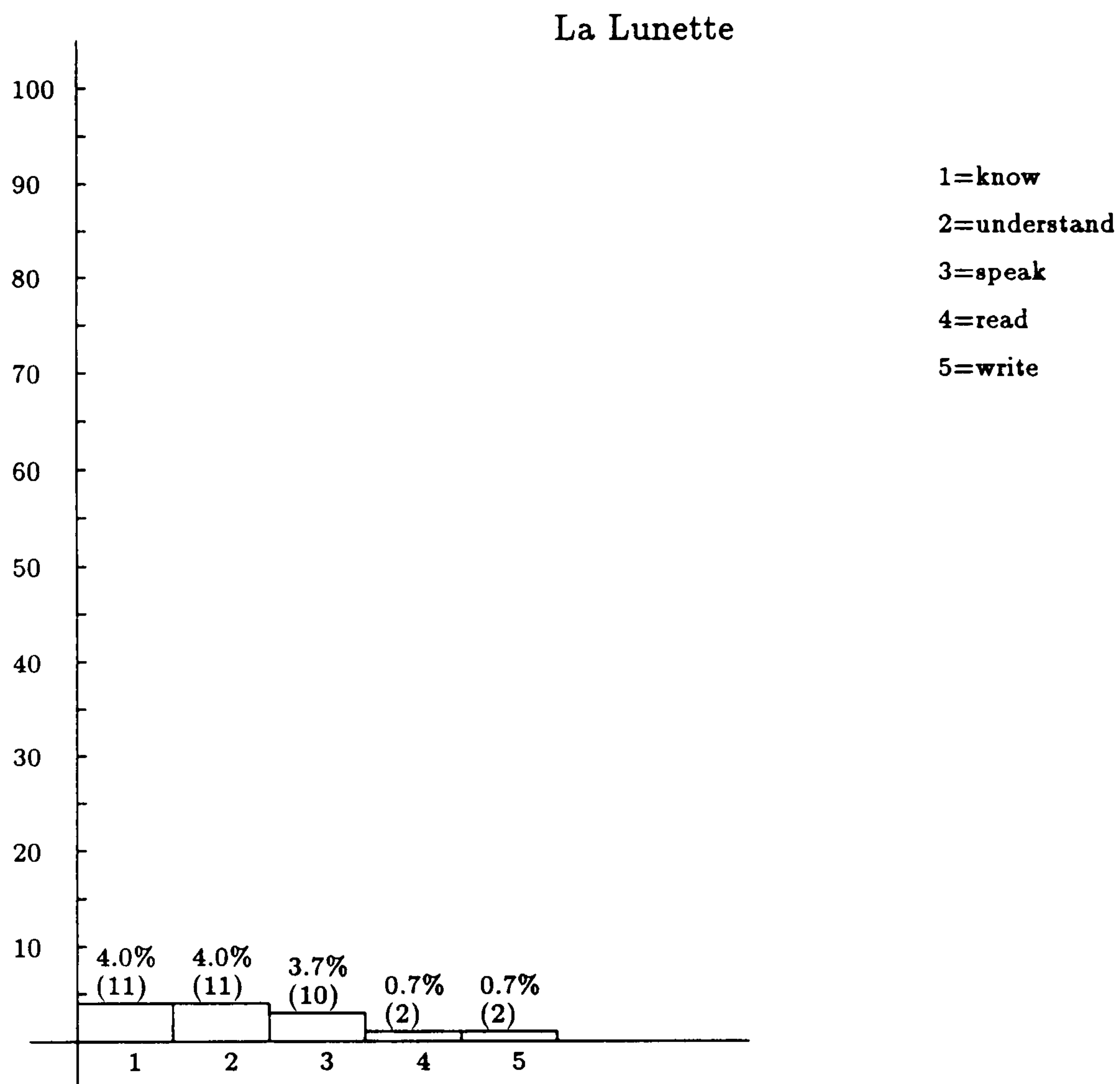


### 6.2.5 Arabic

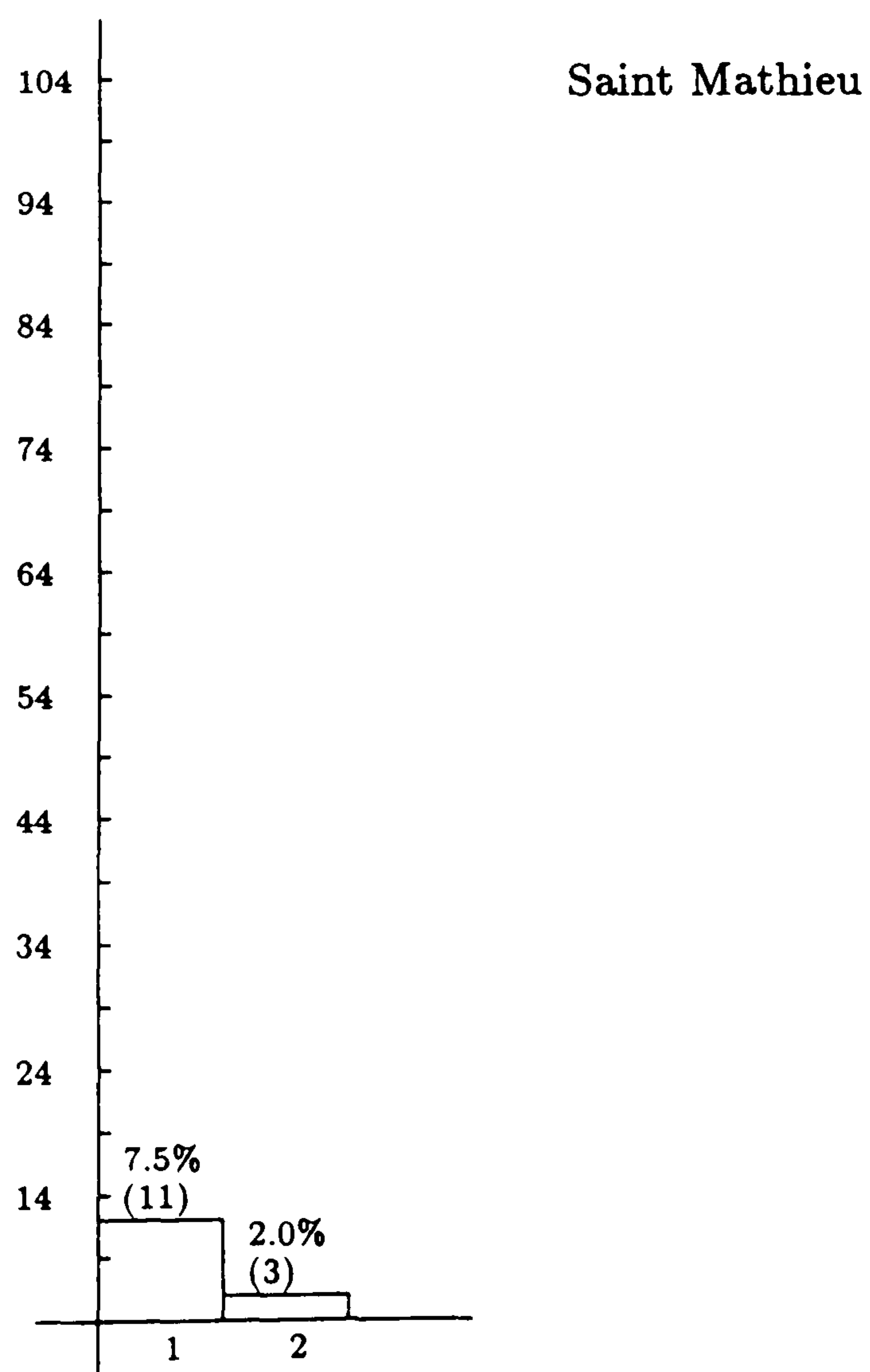
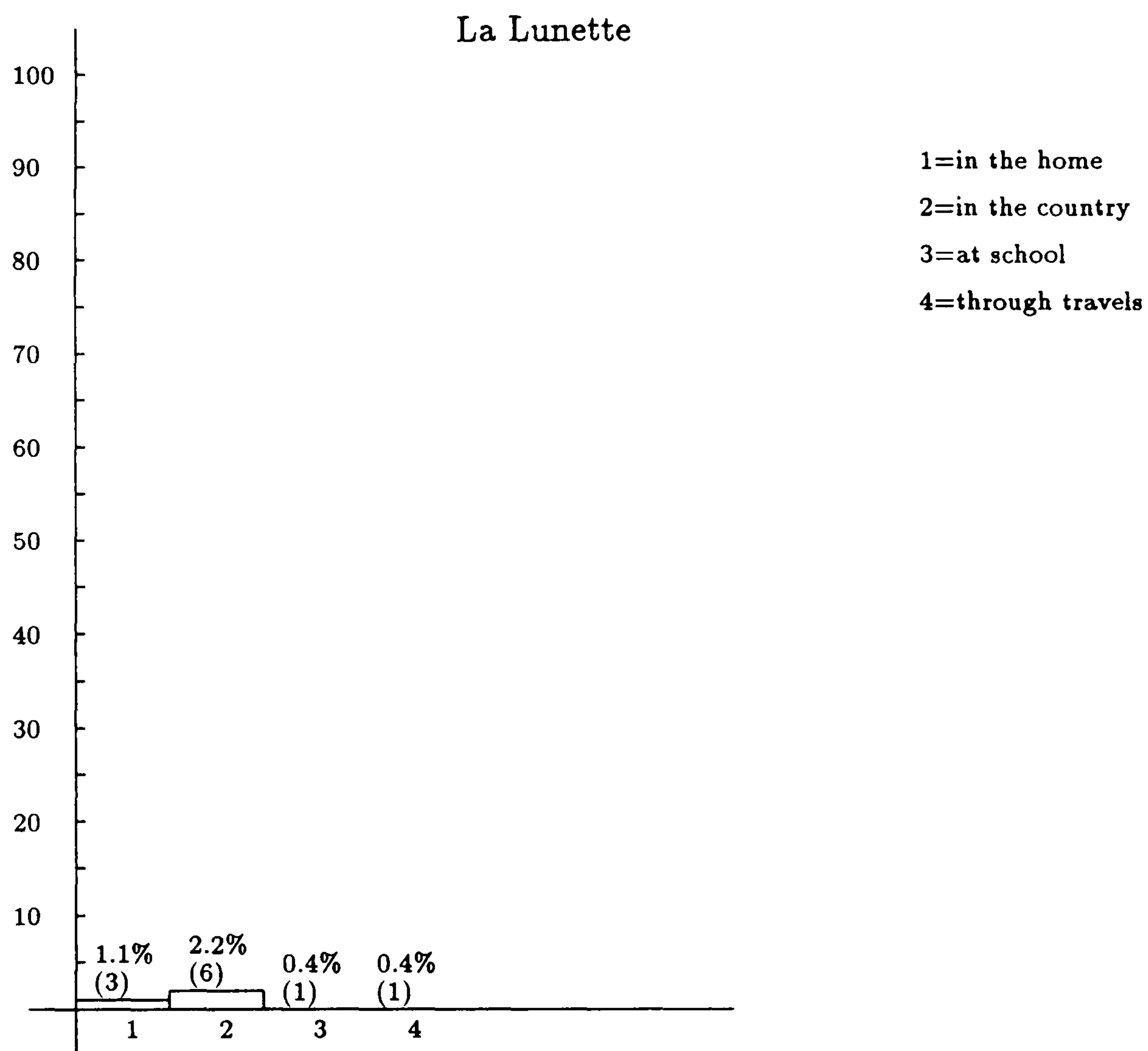
The case of Arabic is somewhat different from that of the other languages mentioned so far, as it is not simply one language. Linguists - and non-Arabic speakers in general - tend to make a distinction between "Classical" and "Dialectal" Arabic, which is what this questionnaire did. "Classical" Arabic is the language of the Qu'ran, and is primarily a written language, although it is also used for news broadcasts. It is the same throughout the Arab-speaking world, and therefore may be used by educated Arabs from any country as a means of communication. "Dialectal" Arabic on the other hand is primarily a spoken language - indeed it does not officially exist in written form. It varies immensely from one Arab country to another, to the point where two dialects may be mutually incomprehensible.

Whilst this distinction is very clear to a non-Arab, it is not always so clear to speakers of the language. Often the word "dialectal" is completely misunderstood, or simply unknown to the speaker, and the word "classique" is misinterpreted as meaning "habituel" or "quotidien". This confusion is not limited simply to illiterate immigrants but is encountered also in students who have learnt Classical Arabic at school in North Africa, without realising it was known as such. To avoid this confusion it would have been necessary to ask informants whether they had learnt Arabic at school, and the degree of ability they had acquired.

Due to this misunderstanding the results are perhaps not fully reliable, but are discussed in some detail in 10.4.







Knowledge of Dialectal Arabic: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
know	4.4% (5)	3.8% (6)
understand	4.4% (5)	3.8% (6)
speak	3.5% (4)	3.8% (6)
read	1.8% (2)	
write	1.8% (2)	

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
know	9.8% (6)	9.3% (8)
understand	9.8% (6)	8.1% (7) 1.2% (1)
speak	9.8% (6)	8.1% (7) 1.2% (1)
read		1.2% (1)
write		1.2% (1)

La Lunette

	men	women
In the home		1.9% (3)
In the country	2.7% (3)	1.9% (3)
At school	0.9% (1)	
Through travels/war	0.9% (1)	

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
In the home	6.6% (4)	8.1% (7)
In the country	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)



Knowledge of Dialectal Arabic: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know		2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	5.9% (6)
understand		2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	5.9% (6)
speak		2.8% (2)	3.2% (1)	5.9% (6)
read				2.0% (2)
write				2.0% (2)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	12.5% (4)	7.0% (3)	16.7% (4)	6.3% (3)
understand	12.5% (4)	7.0% (3)	16.7% (4)	4.2% (2) 2.1% (1)
speak	12.5% (4)	7.0% (3)	16.7% (4)	4.2% (2) 2.1% (1)
read				2.1% (1)
write				2.1% (1)

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home		2.8% (2)	1.6% (1)	
in the country			1.6% (1)	4.9% (5)
at school				1.0% (1)
through travel/war			1.6% (1)	

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	9.4% (3)	7.0% (3)	16.7% (4)	2.1% (1)
in the country	3.1% (1)			4.2% (2)

Classical Arabic

La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
know	1.5%	(4)	know	3.4%	(5)
understand	1.5%	(4)	understand	2.7%	(4)
				0.7%	(1)
speak	1.5%	(4)	speak	2.7%	(4)
				0.7%	(4)
read	1.1%	(3)	read	1.4%	(2)
	0.4%	(1)*		0.7%	(1)
write	0.7%	(2)	write	1.4%	(2)
	0.7%	(2)		0.7%	(1)

9

2/3.6 Knowledge of Classical Arabic.

\* the second row is for informants claiming only a slight ability.

La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
in the country	0.4%	(1)	in the home	1.4%	(2)
at school	0.7%	(2)	in the country	2.0%	(3)
at university	0.4%	(1)			

4.6 How Classical Arabic was learnt



Knowledge of Classical Arabic: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
know	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)
understand	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)
speak	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)
read	0.9% (1) 0.9% (1)	1.3% (2)
write	0.9% (1) 0.9% (1)	0.6% (1) 0.6% (1)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
know	4.9% (3)	2.3% (2)
understand	4.9% (3)	1.2% (1) 1.2% (1)
speak	4.9% (3)	1.2% (1) 1.2% (1)
read	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1) 1.2% (1)
write	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1) 1.2% (1)

La Lunette

	men	women
In the country		0.6% (1)
At school	0.9% (1)	0.6% (1)
At university	0.9% (1)	

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
In the home	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1)
In the country	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)

Knowledge of Classical Arabic: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know		1.4% (1)		2.9% (3)
understand		1.4% (1)		2.9% (3)
speak		1.4% (1)		2.9% (3)
read		1.4% (1)		2.0% (2) 1.0% (1)
write		1.4% (1)		1.0% (1) 2.0% (2)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)		4.2% (2)
understand	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)		2.1% (1) 2.1% (1)
speak	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)		2.1% (1) 2.1% (1)
read	3.1% (1)			2.1% (1) 2.1% (1)
write	3.1% (1)			2.1% (1) 2.1% (1)

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the country				1.0% (1)
at school		1.4% (1)		1.0% (1)
at university				1.0% (1)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)		
in the country	3.1% (1)			4.2% (2)



### 6.2.6 Other languages

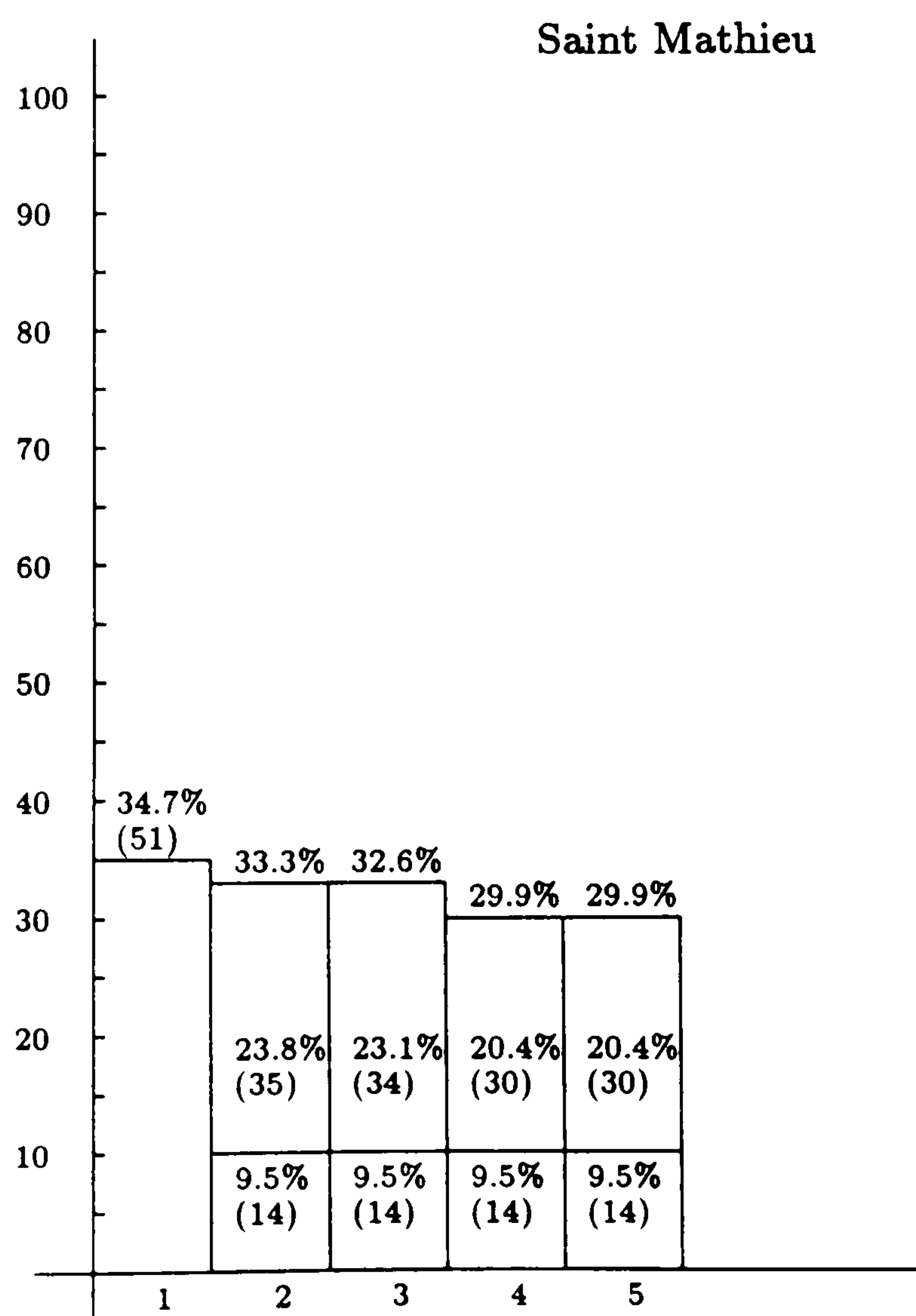
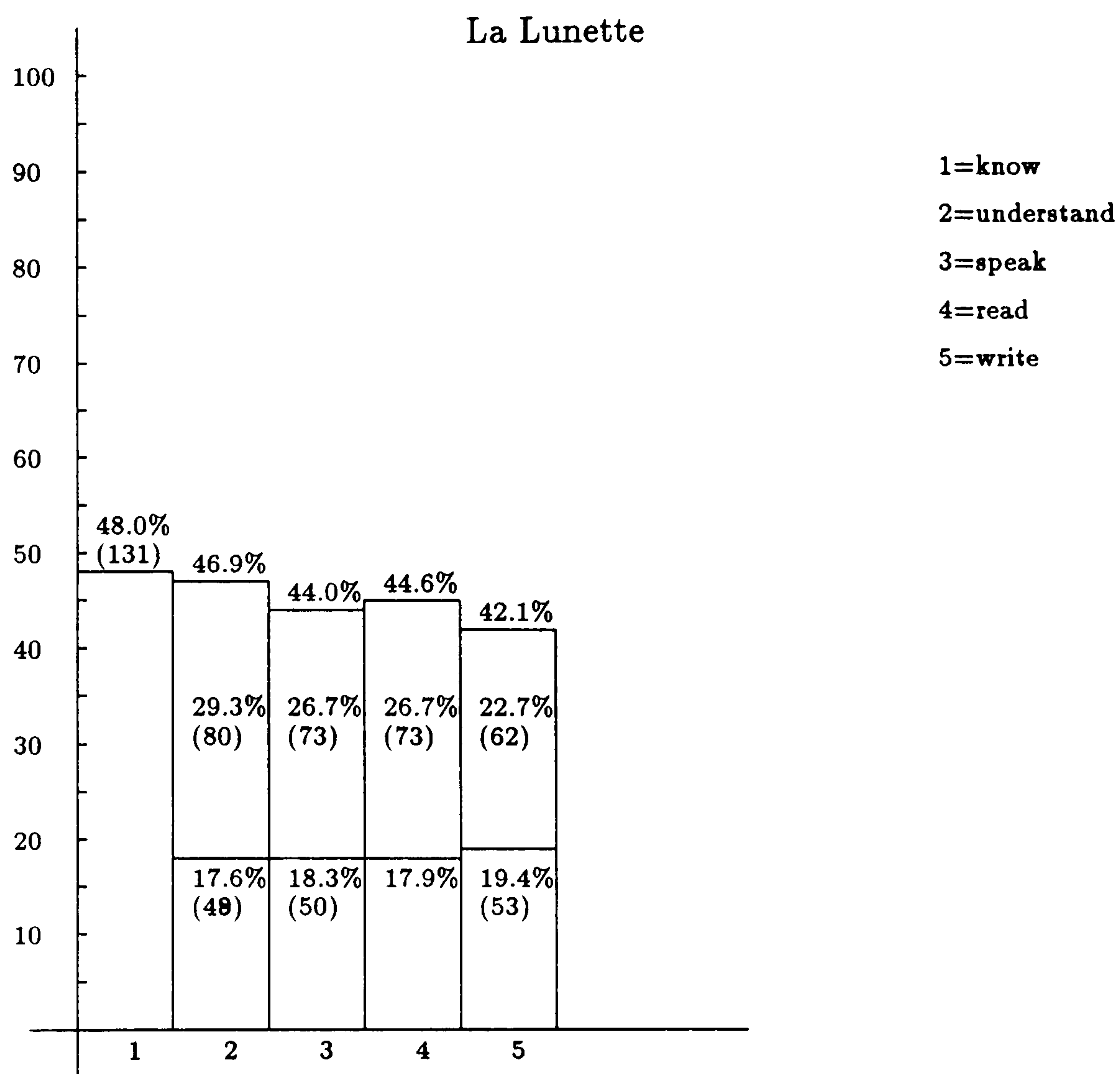
The following set of histograms shows that there are noticeably more “other” languages known in La Lunette than in Saint Mathieu, and that the vast majority of these, in both cases, are school-learned languages. For this reason, it is probably fair to suppose that in a majority of cases these languages are rarely, if ever, used. This matter will be discussed in 10.6.

Where there are two sections to a column, the lower part represents those informants who claimed to have only a slight ability in the given language skill.

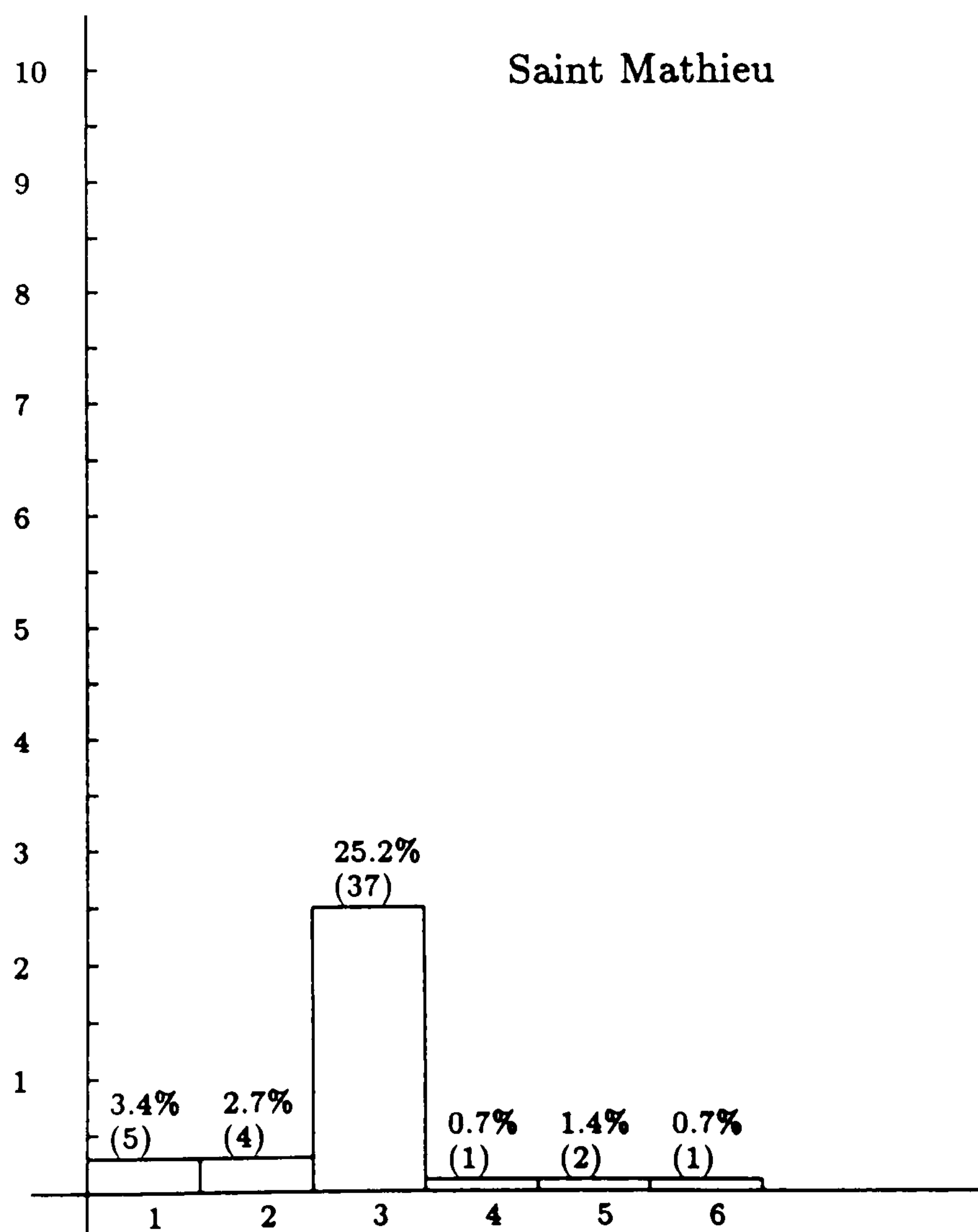
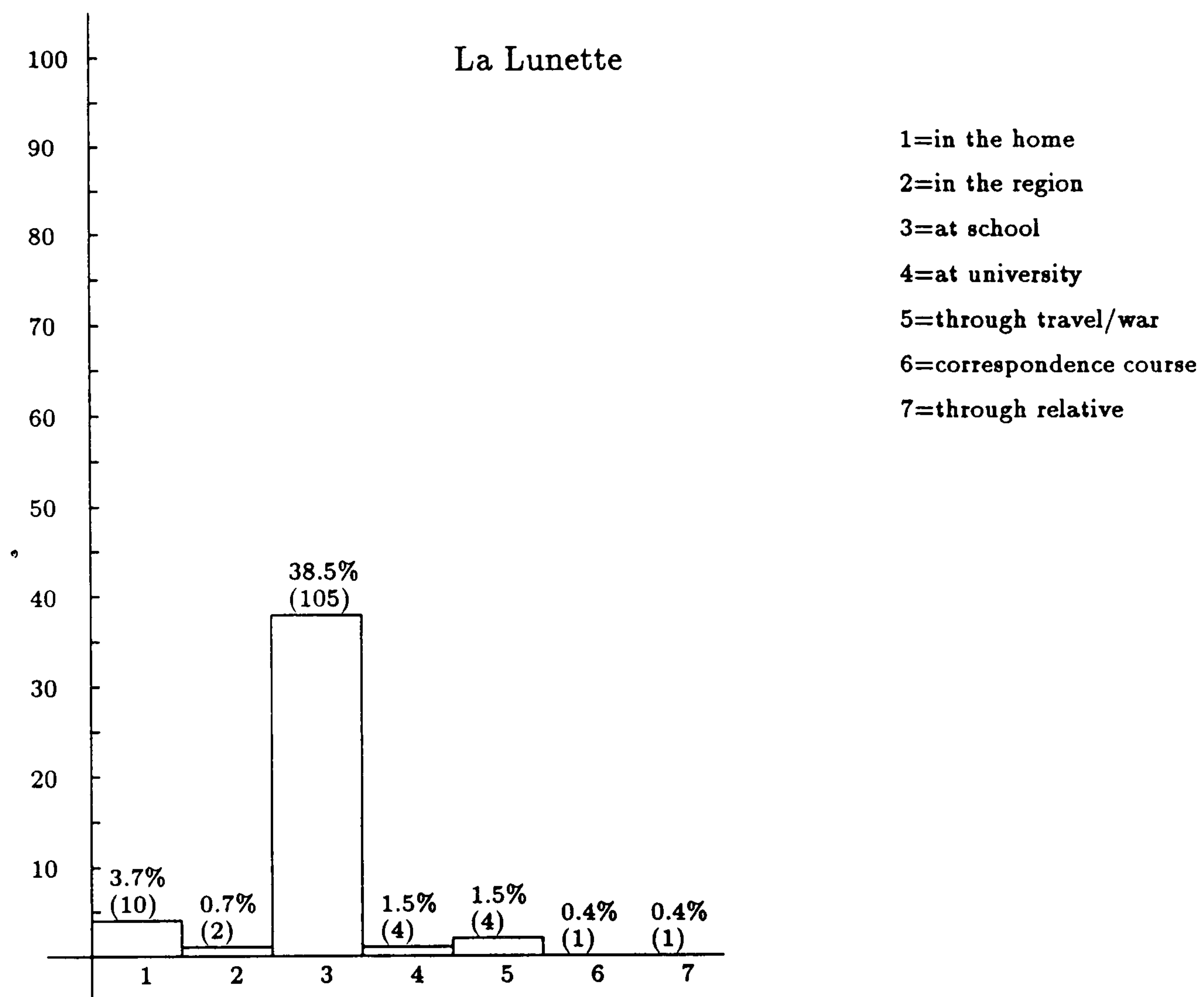
The percentages of men and women claiming skills in another language are very similar in La Lunette: there is never more than 3.0% difference between the sexes. This is doubtless due to the fact that the vast majority of both sexes learnt this other language at school.

In Saint Mathieu however there is a very noticeable distinction between the sexes: from the start there are 16.4% more men than women who know another language and 21.0% more men who claim to understand one. This difference narrows slightly for the other skills, but is still very significant.

As for the difference between age groups, there is a very marked increase in the number of younger informants who know “another” language, and in both *quartiers* there are more informants in the third group than the second to know another language.







4.7 How other languages were learnt

Knowledge of other languages: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
know	47.8% (54)	48.1% (77)
understand	29.2% (33)	29.4% (47)
	16.8% (49)	18.1% (29)
speak	28.3% (32)	25.6% (41)
	17.7% (20)	18.8% (30)
read	28.3% (32)	25.6% (41)
	17.7% (20)	18.8% (30)
write	24.8% (28)	21.3% (34)
	18.6% (27)	20.0% (32)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
know	44.3% (27)	27.9% (24)
understand	36.1% (22)	15.1% (13)
	8.2% (5)	10.5% (9)
speak	34.4% (21)	15.1% (13)
	8.2% (5)	10.5% (9)
read	31.1% (19)	12.8% (11)
	8.2% (5)	10.5% (9)
write	31.1% (19)	12.8% (11)
	8.2% (5)	10.5% (9)

La Lunette

	men	women
In the home	5.3% (6)	2.5% (4)
In the country		1.3% (2)
At school	34.5% (40)	40.6% (65)
At university	2.7% (3)	0.6% (1)
Through travels/war	2.7% (3)	0.6% (1)
Correspondence course		0.6% (1)
Through a relative	0.9% (1)	

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
In the home	6.6% (4)	1.2% (1)
In the country	4.9% (3)	2.3% (2)
At school	27.9% (17)	23.3% (20)
At university		1.2% (1)
Through travels/war	3.3% (2)	
Through a relative	1.6% (1)	



Knowledge of other languages: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	71.1% (27)	57.7% (41)	48.4% (30)	32.4% (33)
understand	52.6% (20)	36.6% (26)	24.2% (15)	18.6% (19)
	21.1% (8)	19.7% (14)	19.4% (12)	13.7% (14)
speak	47.4% (18)	32.4% (23)	21.0% (13)	18.6% (19)
	21.1% (8)	21.1% (15)	21.0% (13)	13.7% (14)
read	52.6% (20)	29.6% (21)	22.6% (14)	17.6% (18)
	21.1% (8)	19.7% (14)	19.4% (12)	14.7% (15)
write	52.6% (20)	23.9% (17)	16.1% (10)	14.7% (15)
	21.1% (8)	21.1% (15)	22.6% (14)	15.7% (16)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
know	62.5% (20)	34.9% (15)	25.0% (6)	20.8% (10)
understand	40.6% (13)	23.3% (10)	25.0% (6)	12.5% (6)
	21.9% (7)	9.3% (4)		6.3% (3)
speak	40.6% (13)	23.3% (10)	20.8% (5)	12.5% (6)
	21.9% (7)	9.3% (4)		6.3% (3)
read	40.6% (13)	20.9% (9)	16.7% (4)	8.3% (4)
	21.9% (7)	9.3% (4)		6.3% (3)
write	40.6% (13)	20.9% (9)	16.7% (4)	8.3% (4)
	21.9% (7)	9.3% (4)		6.3% (3)

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
in the home	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)	6.5% (4)	2.0% (2)
in the country		1.4% (1)		1.0% (1)
at school	71.1% (27)	46.5% (33)	32.3% (20)	24.5% (25)
at university		4.2% (3)		1.0% (1)
through travel/war			1.6% (1)	2.9% (3)
correspondence course			1.6% (1)	
with relative		1.4% (1)		

Saint Mathieu

	15-44	45-60	45-60	60+
in the home		2.3% (1)	12.5% (3)	2.1% (1)
in the country	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)
at school	56.3% (18)	30.2% (13)	8.3% (2)	8.3% (4)
at university				2.1% (1)
through travel/war				4.2% (2)
with relative	3.1% (1)			



## “Other” languages represented

Histogram 2/3.7 shows that there are 130 people in La Lunette and 51 in Saint Mathieu who claim to know another language not specified in the list in question two. The following tables make those figures more meaningful by showing what those languages are.

By far the most widely known language apart from those already specified is English: however, this should not be taken to mean that a large proportion of the population actually speaks English, but rather that English is the most commonly learnt foreign language in schools. English is followed, not very closely, by German, also learnt in schools, but in some cases learnt during the war, through necessity, and in a few instances it is the mother tongue. Italian is relatively widely known, usually through school, but in some cases as a mother tongue. There are two other recognised European languages, Russian, which was learnt at school by one informant, and Danish, which is mother tongue to a Danish student.

There is an interesting selection of languages usually referred to as “patois”, mainly from different regions of France, but also two from Spain (Gallego and Valenciano). All of these speakers (except the speaker of Valenciano) are in La Lunette. With one exception these speakers are all natives of the regions whose language they speak, and have come to Perpignan to work or to retire. They are all in the older age groups, and in several cases had worked in the colonies before settling in Perpignan. The exception is the speaker of Occitan, who is a native of Perpignan and an active *catalaniste*. He claims to have learnt Occitan in order to be able to communicate with the Occitans.

The more “exotic” languages are to be found in both *quartiers*, and in most cases are the mother tongue of immigrants. The three speakers of Vietnamese, one in Saint Mathieu and two in La Lunette, are all immigrants from Vietnam. Malgache and Réunionnais are both spoken by the same informant, an immigrant from Réunion. Turkish is spoken by a Turkish immigrant worker and Malinké by a *marabout* from Guinea.

In a few cases these “exotic” languages are not mother tongues though: Indonesian was learnt by one informant from his wife, who is Indonesian, and in fact it is the language they speak together; Hebrew was learnt by a Jewish informant of North African origin, for religious reasons; Kiswali was learnt by a young informant who had spent much of her childhood in Zaïre and used the language with her family; Czech was learnt by an elderly informant in a prisoner of war camp.

Speakers of these languages will be discussed in more detail in 10.5.



La Lunette

Language	number of informants
English	104
German	39
Italian	11
Russian	1
Danish	1
Hebrew	1
Patois du Tarn et Garonne	1
Béarnais	1
Provençal	1
Breton	1
Occitan	1
Gallego	2
Vietnamese	2
Indonesian	1
Malgache	1
Réunionnais	1

Saint Mathieu

language	number of informants
English	37
German	13
Italian	4
Valenciano	1
Czech	1
Vietnamese	1
Turkish	1
Kiswali	1
Malinké	1

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## Chapter 7: Analysis of language use

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### 7.1 Informants speaking other languages in the family

Figure 5/6 represents the responses to two questions: column one is those who responded positively to the question “Est-ce que vous parlez une autre langue en famille?” and all the other columns are responses to the subsequent question “Si oui, avec qui?”

- ° A significantly higher proportion of informants in Saint Mathieu claim to speak another language in the home, over half of them with the whole family. This corresponds to the higher number of immigrants and native Catalan speakers.

It is noticeable that a very small percentage speak another language with their children: both native Catalans and immigrants are keen to speak French as far as possible with their children, so that they will not suffer from prejudice, as they may have done (see 4.4.3.). Conversely, a relatively high percentage claim to speak another language with their parents. In the case of immigrants, this is not surprising, as often first generation immigrants have learnt only enough French to cope with their work situation, and are unable to converse in it; therefore their mother tongue remains the language of the home, although their offspring may use French exclusively outside the home.

In La Lunette the percentage of women who use another language in the family is noticeably lower than for men, even with parents. This would seem to be a logical consequence of the fact that more men than women know a language other than French. It could also indicate that women prefer to use French in the home, even if they do know another language.

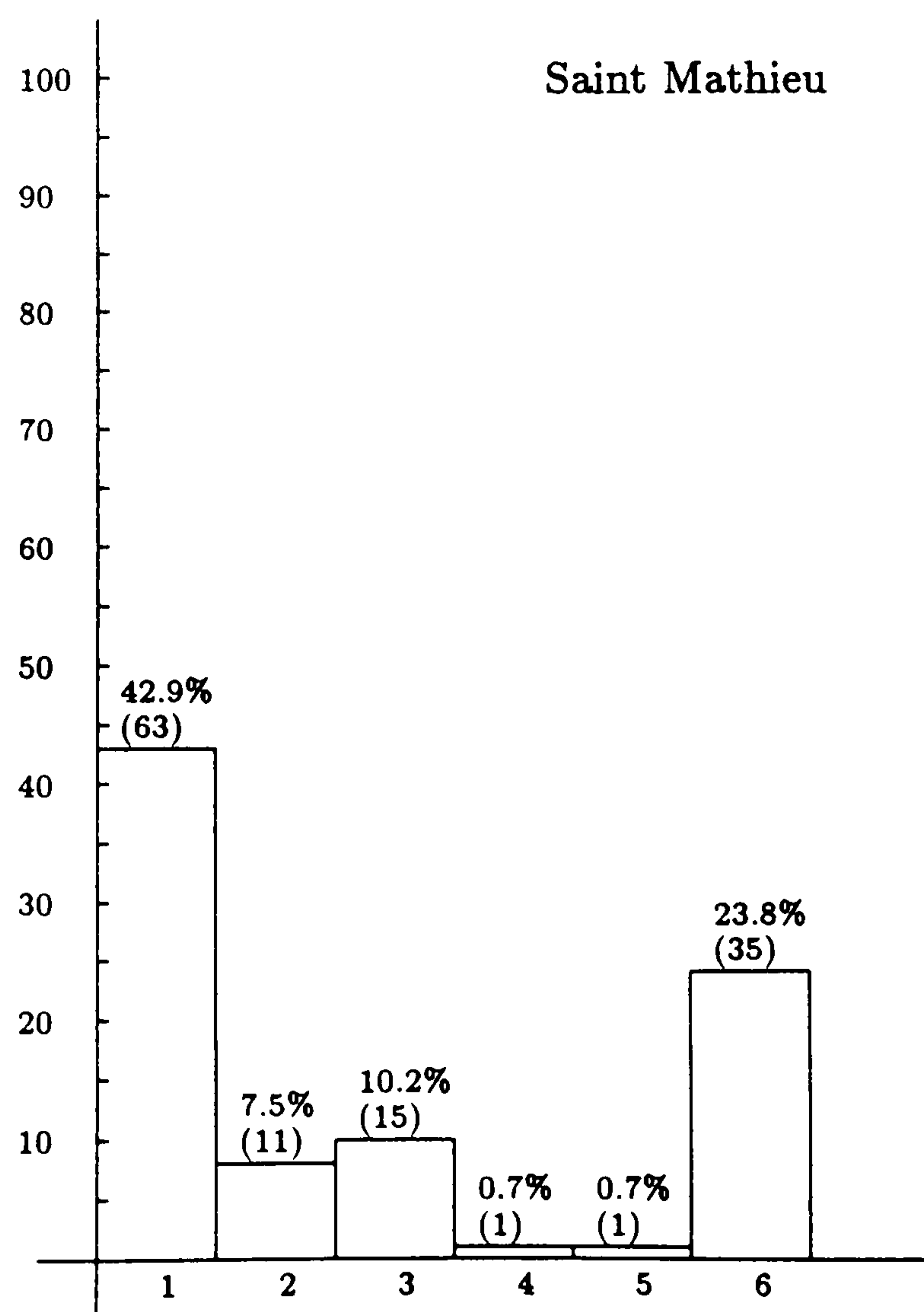
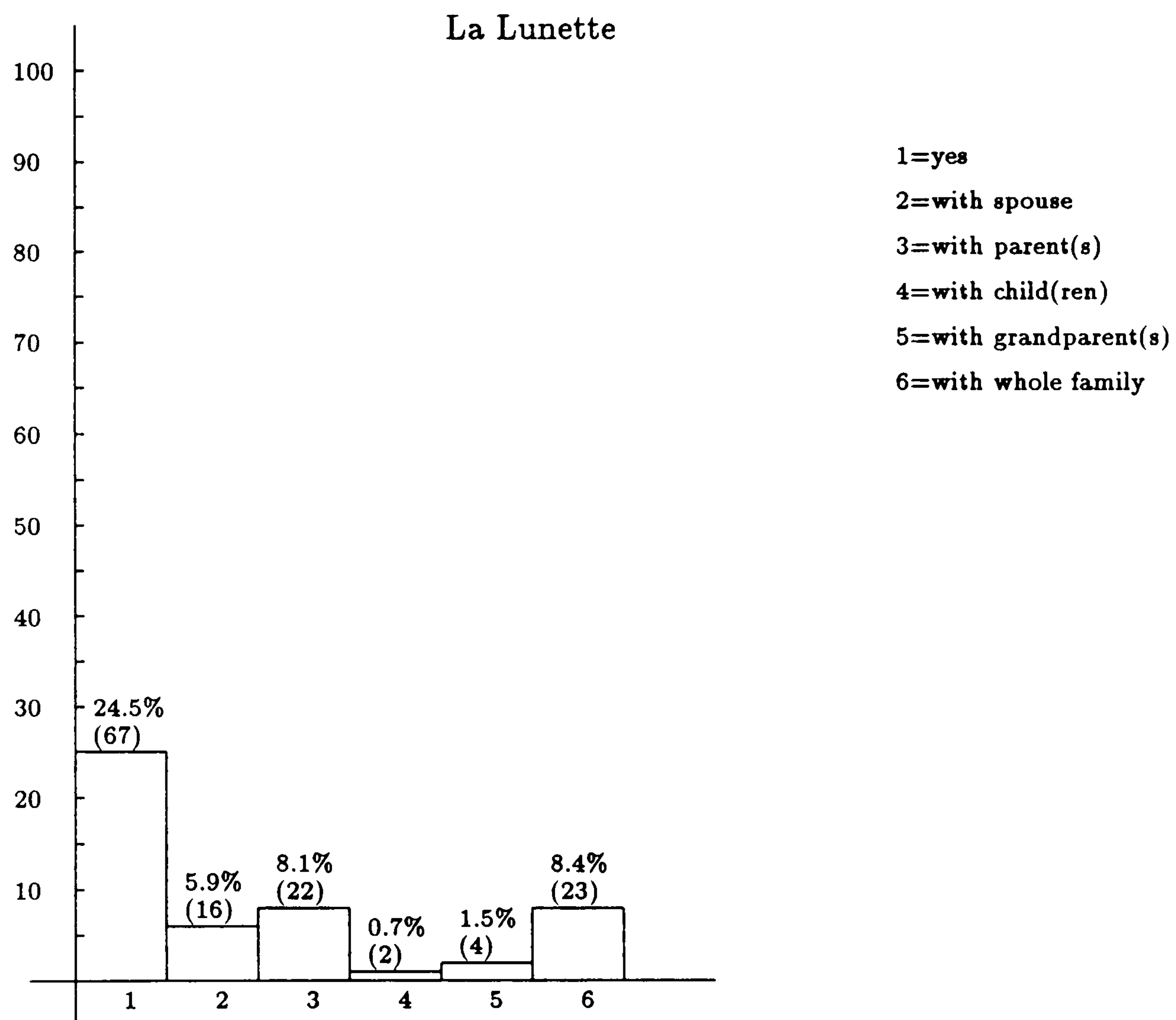
This situation is reversed completely in Saint Mathieu, however, where marginally more women use another language. For those who claim to use it only with parents, the percentage of women is double that of men, but a noticeably higher percentage of men use their other language with the whole family.

The breakdown by age shows totally different patterns in the two *quartiers*. In La Lunette the highest percentages of informants who use another language are in the second and third age groups, whereas in Saint Mathieu they are in the first and last.

An explanation of these differences is made in chapters nine and ten, which consider each linguistic group in detail. It would be difficult to attempt a



meaningful explanation at this point, since this table accounts for all the different languages used in families, and conditions are not necessarily the same for all of them.



5/6 Other languages spoken in the family



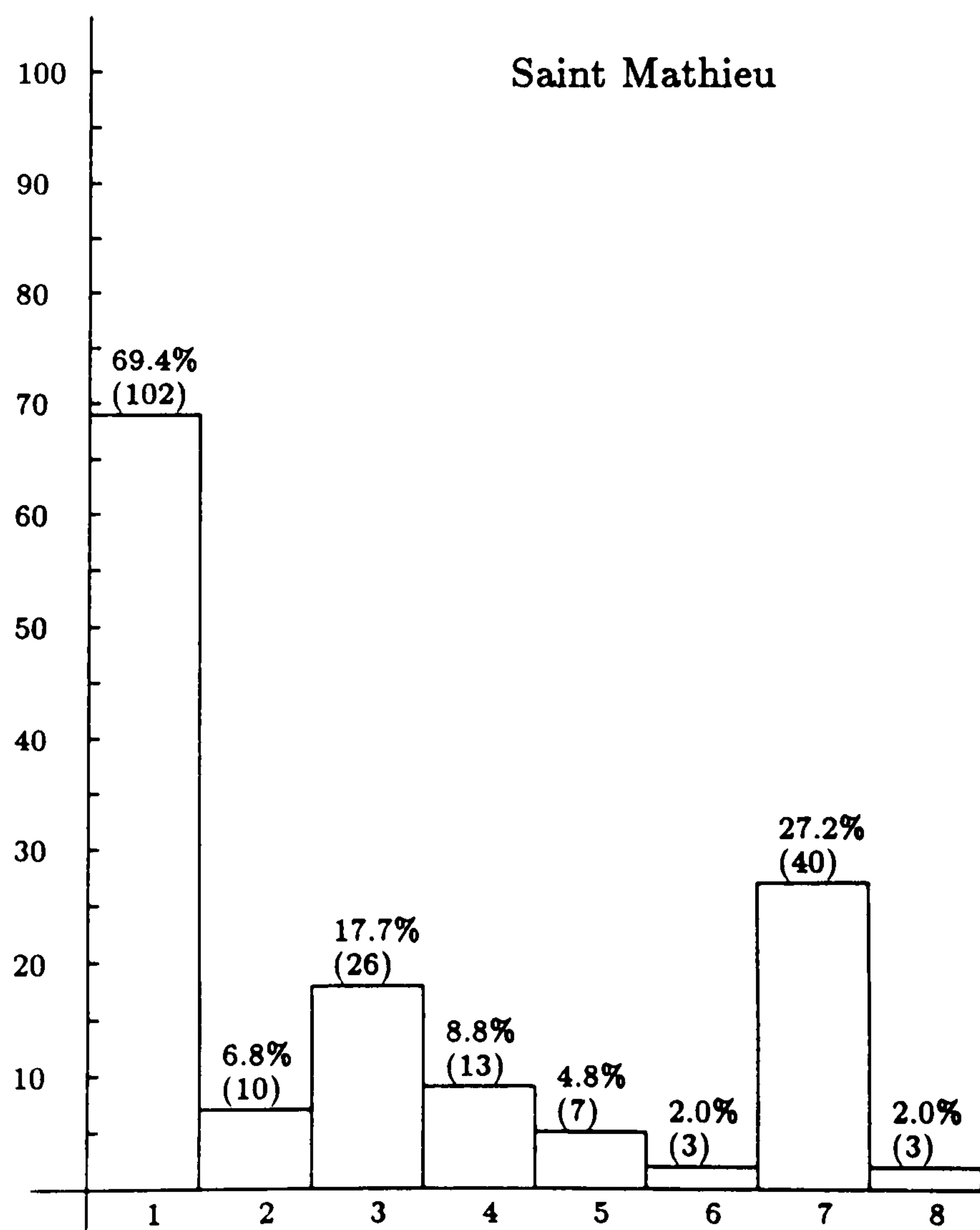
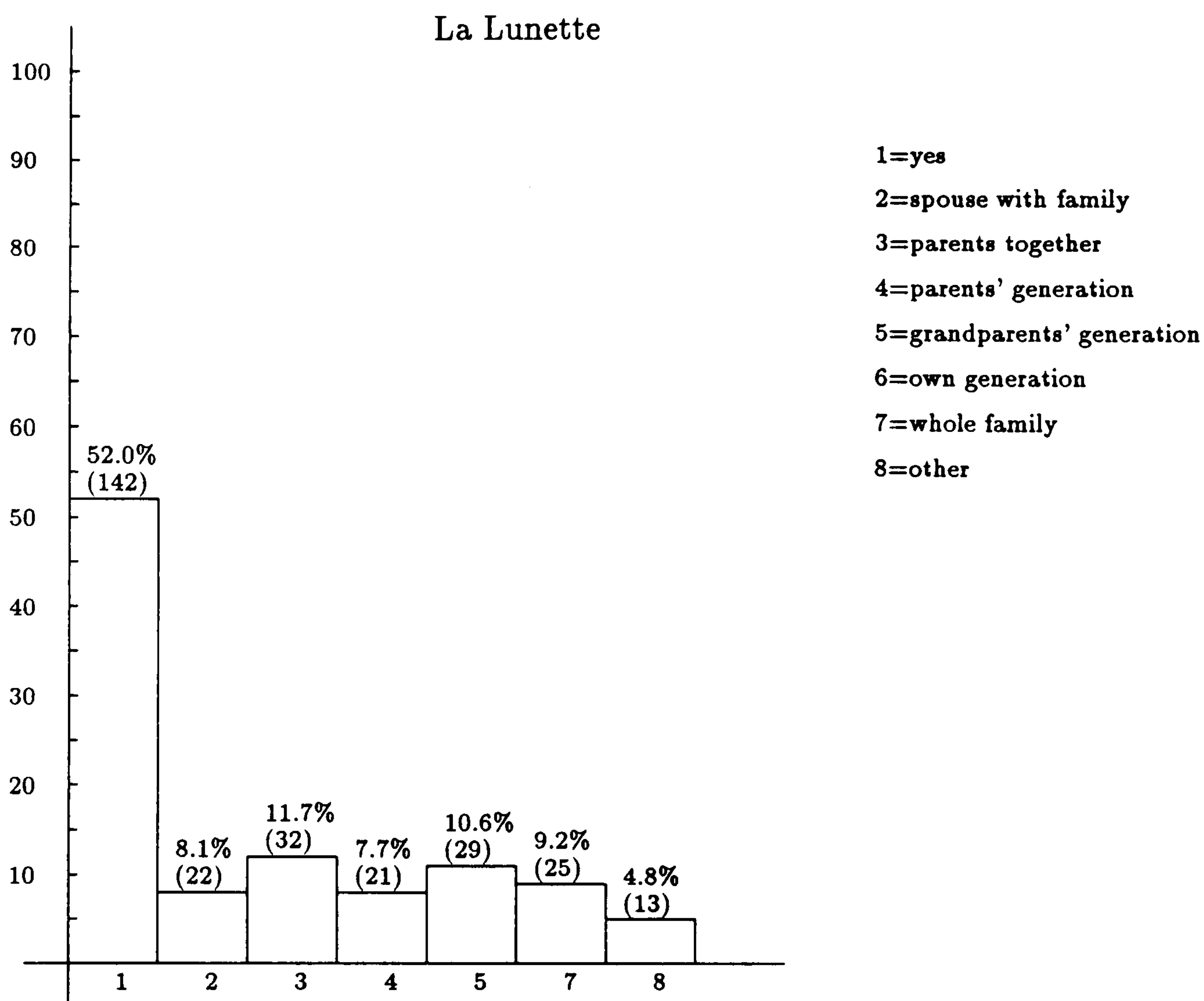
### 7.1.1 Other members of the family using another language

Once again, figure 7/8 represents responses to two questions: column one is positive responses to the question "Est-ce que d'autres membres de la famille utilisent une autre langue?" and the other columns are responses to the subsequent question "Si oui, qui?"

The overall percentage is considerably higher in Saint Mathieu, as is the percentage of those whose entire family uses another language.

The significantly higher percentage who responded positively to this question compared to the preceding one suggests a widespread bilingualism, even if individuals do not claim to use other languages themselves. In fact, in many cases it is likely that informants do use another language, perhaps intermittently or always mixed with French. This is likely to be the case for informants who said that their whole family used another language: 8.4% in La Lunette and 23.8% in Saint Mathieu said they used another language with the whole family; yet 9.2% and 27.2% respectively said that the whole family used another language; therefore seven informants - five in La Lunette and two in Saint Mathieu - would appear to speak only French in a family where everyone uses another language.

In both *quartiers* a higher percentage of women than of men claims that other members of the family use another language, thus there are considerably more women than men who claim to speak only French in a family where some other members use a different language.



7/8 Other members of family speaking another language



Other languages used in the family: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
yes	28.3% (32)	21.9% (35)
with spouse	6.2% (7)	5.6% (9)
with parent(s)	10.6% (12)	6.3% (10)
with child(ren)	0.9% (1)	0.6% (1)
with grandparent(s)	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)
with the whole family	8.8% (10)	8.1% (13)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
yes	41.0% (25)	44.2% (38)
with spouse	6.6% (4)	8.1% (7)
with parent(s)	6.6% (4)	12.8% (11)
with child(ren)		1.2% (1)
with grandparent(s)		1.2% (1)
with the whole family	27.9% (17)	20.9% (18)

Other members of the family using another language

La Lunette

	men	women
Yes	47.8% (54)	55.0% (88)
spouse with family	8.8% (10)	7.5% (12)
Parents together	8.0% (9)	14.4% (23)
parents' generation	9.7% (11)	6.3% (10)
grandparents' generation	8.0% (9)	12.5% (20)
whole family	9.7% (11)	8.8% (14)
Other	3.5% (4)	5.6% (9)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
Yes	65.6% (40)	72.1% (62)
spouse with family	4.9% (3)	8.1% (7)
parents together	16.4% (10)	18.6% (16)
parents' generation	6.6% (4)	10.5% (9)
grandparents' generation	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)
own generation	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)
whole family	29.5% (18)	25.6% (22)
other	1.6% (1)	2.3% (2)

Other languages spoken in the family: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	15.8% (6)	28.2% (20)	27.4% (17)	23.5% (24)
with spouse		5.6% (4)	8.1% (5)	6.9% (7)
with parent(s)	7.9% (3)	8.5% (6)	9.7% (6)	6.9% (7)
with child(ren)		1.4% (1)	1.6% (1)	
with grandparent(s)	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)		
with whole family	5.3% (2)	8.5% (6)	8.1% (5)	9.8% (10)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	50.0% (16)	30.2% (13)	41.7% (10)	50.0% (24)
with spouse		2.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	16.7% (8)
with parent(s)	25.0% (8)	9.3% (4)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
with child(ren)				2.1% (1)
with grandparent(s)		2.3% (1)		
with whole family	25.0% (8)	16.3% (7)	29.2% (7)	27.1% (13)

Other members of the family using another language

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	50.0% (19)	56.3% (40)	51.6% (32)	50.0% (51)
spouse with family		9.9% (7)	12.9% (8)	6.9% (7)
parents together	10.5% (4)	9.9% (7)	8.1% (5)	15.7% (16)
parents' generation	2.6% (1)	7.0% (5)	11.3% (7)	7.8% (8)
grandparents' generation	28.9% (11)	11.3% (8)	4.8% (3)	6.9% (7)
whole family	5.3% (2)	9.9% (7)	9.7% (6)	9.8% (10)
other	2.6% (1)	8.5% (6)	4.8% (3)	2.9% (3)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	62.5% (20)	65.1% (28)	75.0% (18)	75.0% (36)
spouse with family	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)	10.4% (5)
parents together	21.9% (7)	14.0% (6)	16.7% (4)	18.8% (9)
parents' generation	3.1% (1)	14.0% (6)	16.7% (4)	4.2% (2)
grandparents' generation	6.3% (2)	7.0% (3)	8.3% (2)	
own generation				6.3% (3)
whole family	25.0% (8)	20.9% (9)	29.2% (7)	33.3% (16)
other	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)		2.1% (1)



## 7.2 Interest in Catalan in leisure activities

### 7.2.1 Catalan books

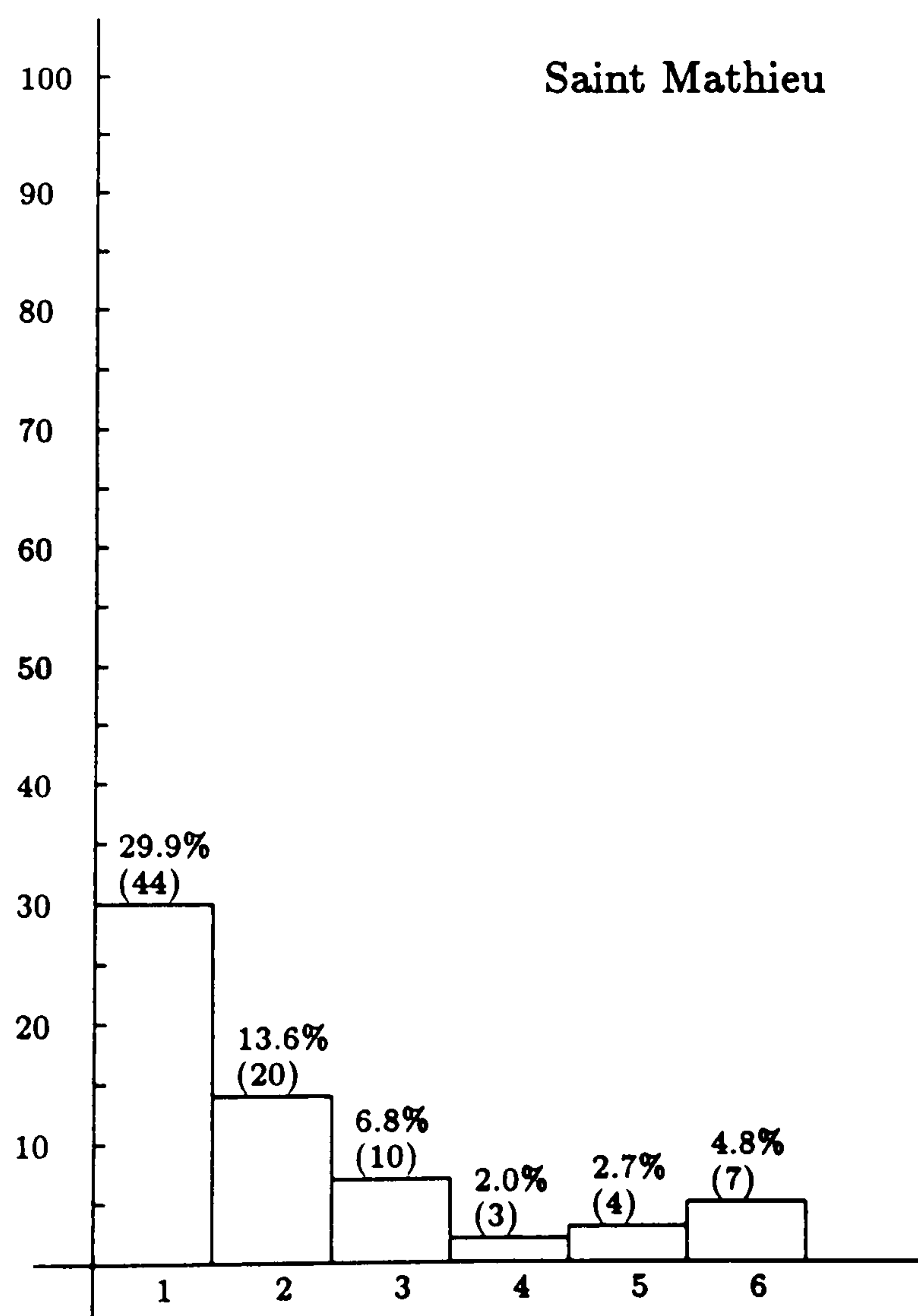
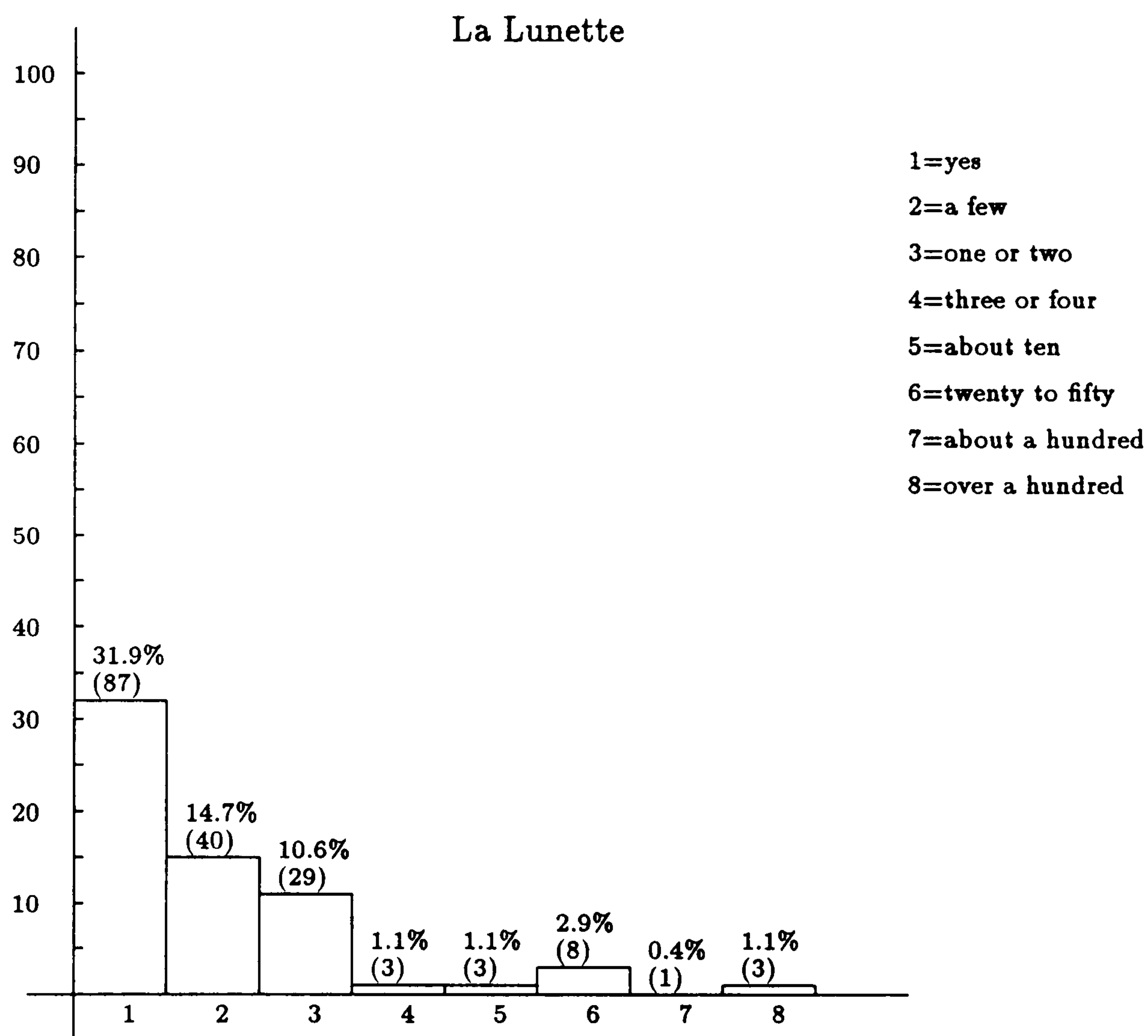
The following histograms combine the responses to the two questions on Catalan books. The first column shows the percentage of informants who claimed to have some Catalan books, the other columns show how many books they have. Overall the difference is relatively small, the percentages being very similar in most categories. However, there are slightly more informants in La Lunette who have some Catalan books, and it is only in La Lunette that anyone claims to have over fifty books. These informants in fact are in some way specialists of the Catalan language: the four informants with a hundred or more books are either teachers or students of Catalan.

These statistics do not appear to be particularly encouraging for the publishers and sellers of Catalan books: the majority of those who own any specified that they had only a dictionary and grammar book, or one or the other, and in some cases an anthology of poetry. It would seem that very few people actually read in Catalan, although a few informants do claim to read the Catalan column in *L'Indépendant*. On the other hand, these statistics should not necessarily be taken as a sign that Perpignanais do not wish to read in Catalan: it must be remembered that most Catalan speakers sampled are illiterate in this language. In La Lunette 17.9% of the sample can read Catalan and 7.7% can write it; in Saint Mathieu the figures are 23.8% and 11.6%. Yet 39.6% and 42.9% of the total sample claim to speak the language. In fact, those most likely to wish to read in Catalan - older people for whom it is the mother tongue - are those least able to do so.

According to the breakdown by sex, it is primarily men who take an interest in Catalan books: overall in both *quartiers* a higher percentage of men claim to have any books at all, and it is only men who claim to have up to or over a hundred books. This is particularly true in La Lunette, but in Saint Mathieu there are rather more women than men who have between one and ten books.

However, it ought perhaps to be pointed out that the question was actually asking whether there were any Catalan books in the house, and so these responses may not necessarily indicate the number of books owned by the informant personally, but the number which are in the house. The same is true of the responses to the following set of questions.

The age breakdown reveals that in La Lunette it is informants in the two middle age groups who own the most Catalan books, and in Saint Mathieu it is the third and fourth. Thus the overlap is the third group: this is where the biggest collections of Catalan books can be found, but there, as in all the age groups, the highest percentage is for informants with "a few" books.



9/10 Possession of Catalan books



Possession of Catalan books: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
yes	33.6% (38)	30.6% (49)
a few	12.4% (14)	16.3% (26)
one or two	10.6% (12)	10.6% (17)
three or four	1.8% (2)	0.6% (1)
about ten	2.7% (3)	
twenty to fifty	2.7% (3)	3.1% (5)
about a hundred	0.9% (1)	
over a hundred	2.7% (3)	

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
yes	31.1% (19)	29.1% (25)
a few	18.0% (11)	10.5% (9)
one or two	4.9% (3)	8.1% (7)
three or four	1.6% (1)	2.3% (2)
about ten	1.6% (1)	3.5% (3)
twenty to fifty	4.9% (3)	4.7% (4)

Possession of Catalan books: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	21.1% (8)	40.8% (29)	35.5% (22)	27.5% (28)
a few	5.3% (2)	16.9% (12)	16.1% (10)	15.7% (16)
one or two		18.3% (13)	9.7% (6)	9.8% (10)
three or four	5.3% (2)			1.0% (1)
about ten		2.8% (2)	1.6% (1)	
twenty to fifty	10.5% (4)	2.8% (2)	1.6% (1)	1.0% (1)
about a hundred			1.6% (1)	
over a hundred			4.8% (3)	

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	25.0% (8)	23.3% (10)	41.7% (10)	33.3% (16)
a few	9.4% (3)	9.3% (4)	20.8% (5)	16.7% (8)
one or two	6.3% (2)	7.0% (3)		10.4% (5)
three or four	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	
about ten	3.1% (1)	4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	
twenty to fifty	3.1% (1)		12.5% (3)	6.3% (3)

### 7.2.2 Catalan records

The next set of histograms combines the responses to questions on Catalan records in the same way as the last one did for Catalan books.

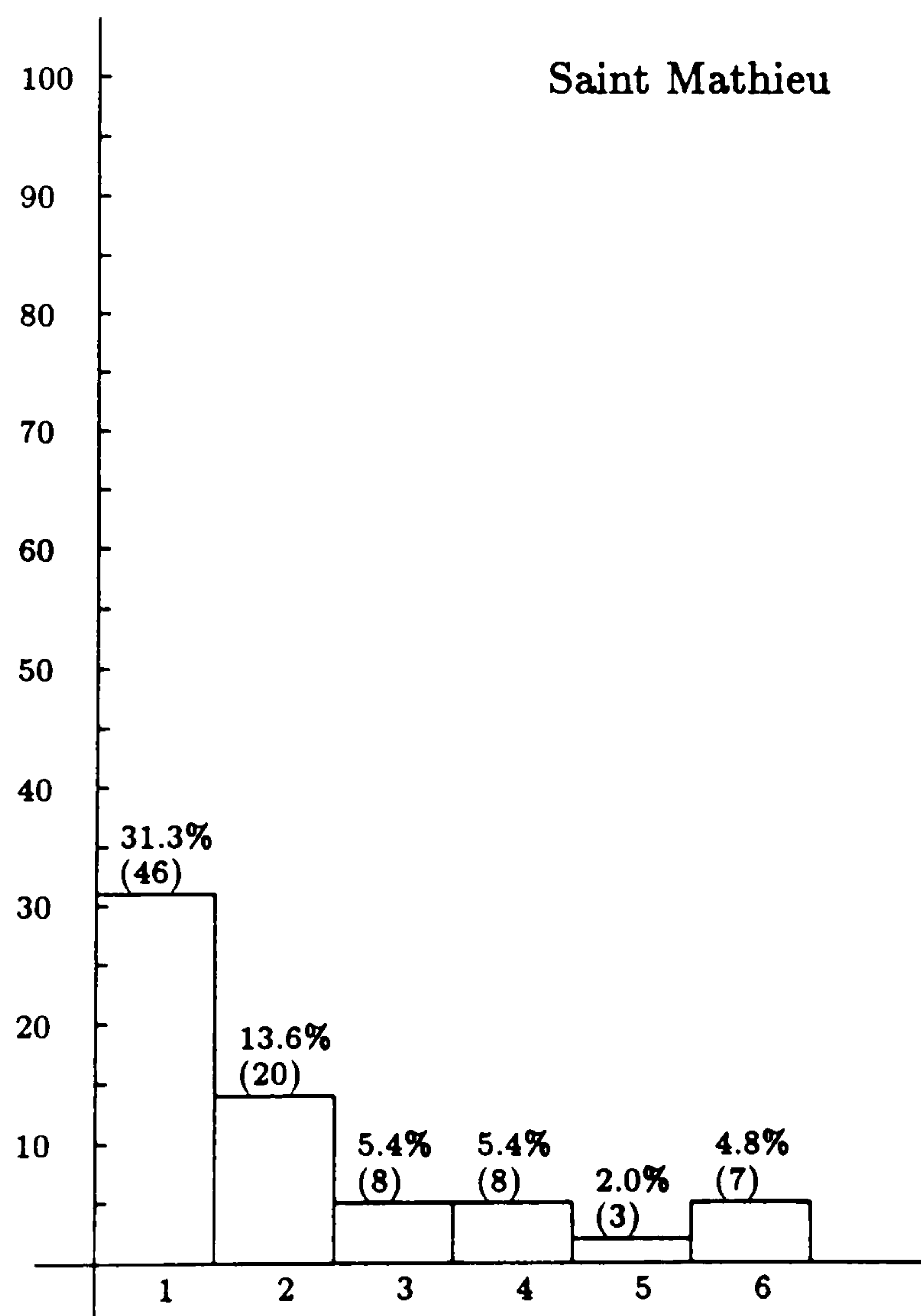
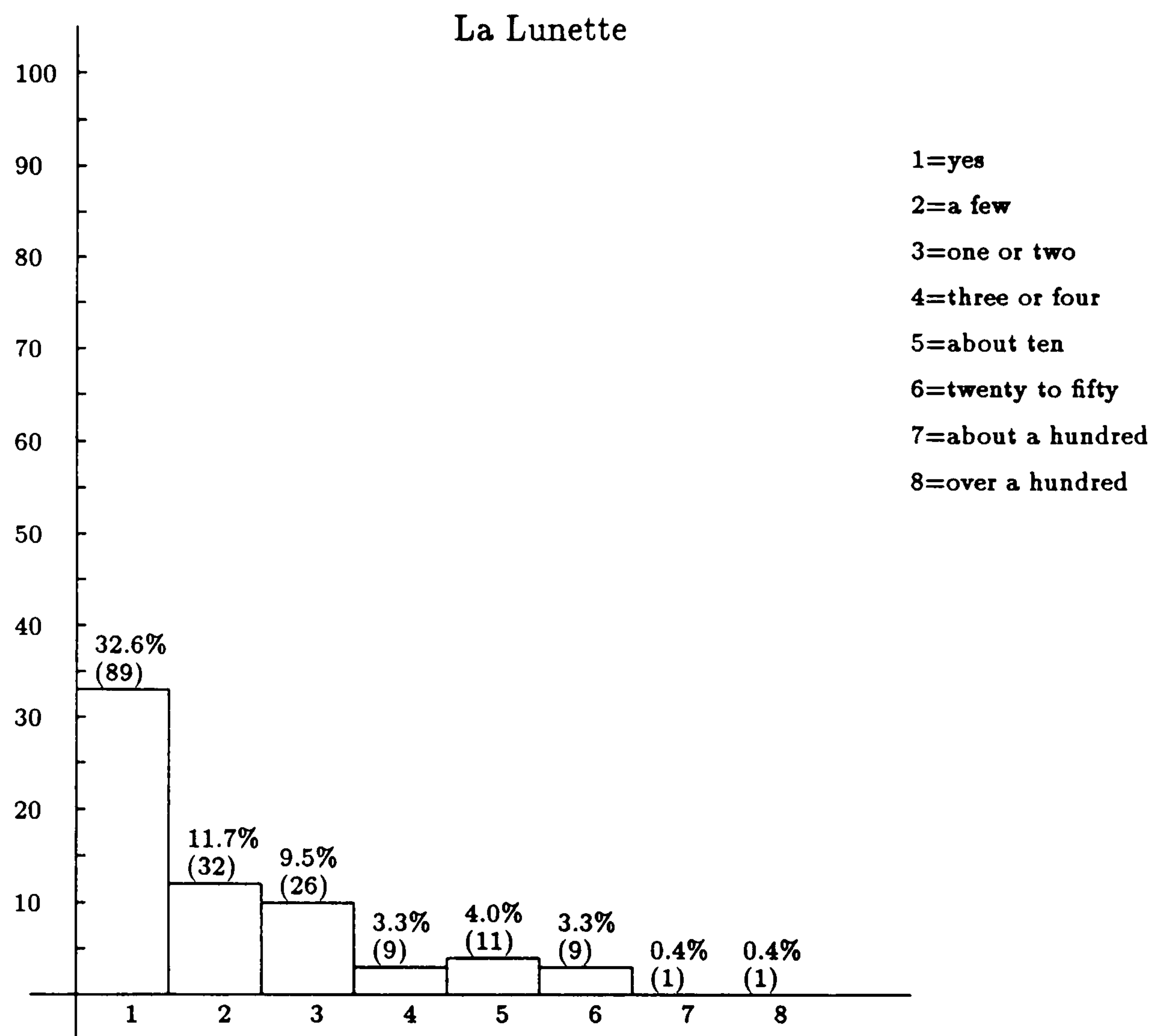
The number of informants who have records (or cassettes) in Catalan is only marginally higher than that of informants owning Catalan books. Whilst the overall number is very similar, there is a difference in distribution: in La Lunette there are slightly fewer informants with only a few, or one or two records, and slightly more with three or four, about ten, and twenty to fifty. In Saint Mathieu the only real difference is that the number of informants with about ten records is slightly higher than the number with about ten books, whilst the number with three or four records is lower than the number with three or four books.

These differences however are minimal, and overall it would seem that the Perpignanais are no more interested in Catalan music than in Catalan literature. These remarks should be qualified by an observation made during the fieldwork: although relatively few informants actually possess records of Catalan music, it is undeniable that there is a certain amount of interest in it. Jordi Barre, a local Catalan singer, appears to be universally known and appreciated, whilst a large number of informants mentioned with pride the *sardanes* and other local musical activities.

In the breakdown by sex, a pattern similar to that for books can be noted. A slightly higher percentage of women claim to have records, but once again it is only men who claim to have a hundred or more. In Saint Mathieu a considerably higher percentage of women have records, but almost half of them have only "a few". The same is true of the men, but in lower percentages.

It would appear that in La Lunette Catalan music is most popular among young people, although the only informants to have very big collections of Catalan records are in the third group. In Saint Mathieu it is the second group which has the highest percentage of informants with Catalan records. There seems no sociological explanation for these variations, and again it should be mentioned, as with the preceding question, that informants were talking about the number of records in the house, so possibly referred to records owned by parents or children, depending on the age of the informant.





11/12 Possession of Catalan records

Possession of Catalan records: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
Yes	31.0% (35)	33.7% (54)
a few	10.6% (12)	12.5% (20)
one or two	5.3% (6)	12.5% (20)
three or four	2.7% (3)	3.8% (6)
about ten	7.1% (8)	1.9% (3)
twenty to fifty	3.5% (4)	3.1% (5)
about a hundred	0.9% (1)	
over a hundred	0.9% (1)	

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
Yes	23.0% (14)	37.2% (32)
a few	9.8% (6)	16.3% (14)
one or two	3.3% (2)	7.0% (6)
three or four	3.3% (2)	7.0% (6)
about ten	1.6% (1)	2.3% (2)
twenty to fifty	4.9% (3)	4.7% (4)

Possession of Catalan records: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	39.5% (15)	32.4% (23)	33.9% (21)	29.4% (30)
a few	5.3% (2)	8.5% (6)	9.7% (6)	17.6% (18)
one or two	26.3% (10)	8.5% (6)	8.1% (5)	4.9% (5)
three or four	2.6% (1)	5.6% (4)	4.8% (3)	1.0% (1)
about ten	2.6% (1)	5.6% (4)	3.2% (2)	3.9% (4)
twenty to fifty	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)	4.8% (3)	2.0% (2)
about a hundred			1.6% (1)	
over a hundred			1.6% (1)	

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	21.9% (7)	41.9% (18)	16.7% (4)	35.4% (17)
a few	3.1% (1)	20.9% (9)	4.2% (1)	18.8% (9)
one or two	9.4% (3)	7.0% (3)		4.2% (2)
three or four	6.3% (2)	7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
about ten		2.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	
twenty to fifty	3.1% (1)	4.7% (2)		8.3% (4)



### 7.2.3 Watching TV3

This section covers a series of questions designed to see how many people were able to receive Catalan television and how many actually did so.

The first question in the series was: "Est-ce que vous avez un téléviseur multistandard?" (that is, a television set adapted to receive Spanish television, including the Catalan channel TV3). The positive response was 45.4% (124) in La Lunette, and 40.8% (60) in Saint Mathieu.

The following two histograms show the extent to which people watch TV3, firstly informants themselves, then other members of their families. There appears to be a slight discrepancy between those who said they did not have an adapted television set and those who said the subsequent questions were not applicable. It is likely that a number of those who said they never watch TV3 do not have an adapted set.

Although a relatively high proportion of informants have the possibility of watching Catalan television, it would appear that not many take advantage of it. It should be noted however that this is not always because informants do not wish to hear Catalan, but in a number of cases because they do not understand the Catalan of Barcelona. A number of informants who, for this reason, do not watch TV3 claimed that they always watch the local Catalan programmes.

Among informants who have TV3 the most popular response was "rarely", but in La Lunette almost equal numbers claimed to watch "never" and "often".

Some minor differences may be noted between the amount informants claim to watch TV3 themselves and what they claim for their families. Rather surprisingly the number of "not applicable" responses is higher on this second question in both *quartiers* - presumably informants were thinking of family members who did not live in the same house. The only change of any importance is in Saint Mathieu, where the number who watch TV3 often is almost doubled for family members.

In both *quartiers* a higher percentage of men than women have an adapted set: 50.4% (57) of men and 41.9% (67) in La Lunette and 42.6% (26) of men and 39.5% (34) of women in Saint Mathieu claim to have a set, but of course it is unusual for a television set to be the exclusive property of one person in a household, so this does not necessarily indicate that more men are interested in watching TV from Spain. It is the answers to the subsequent question which are more informative.

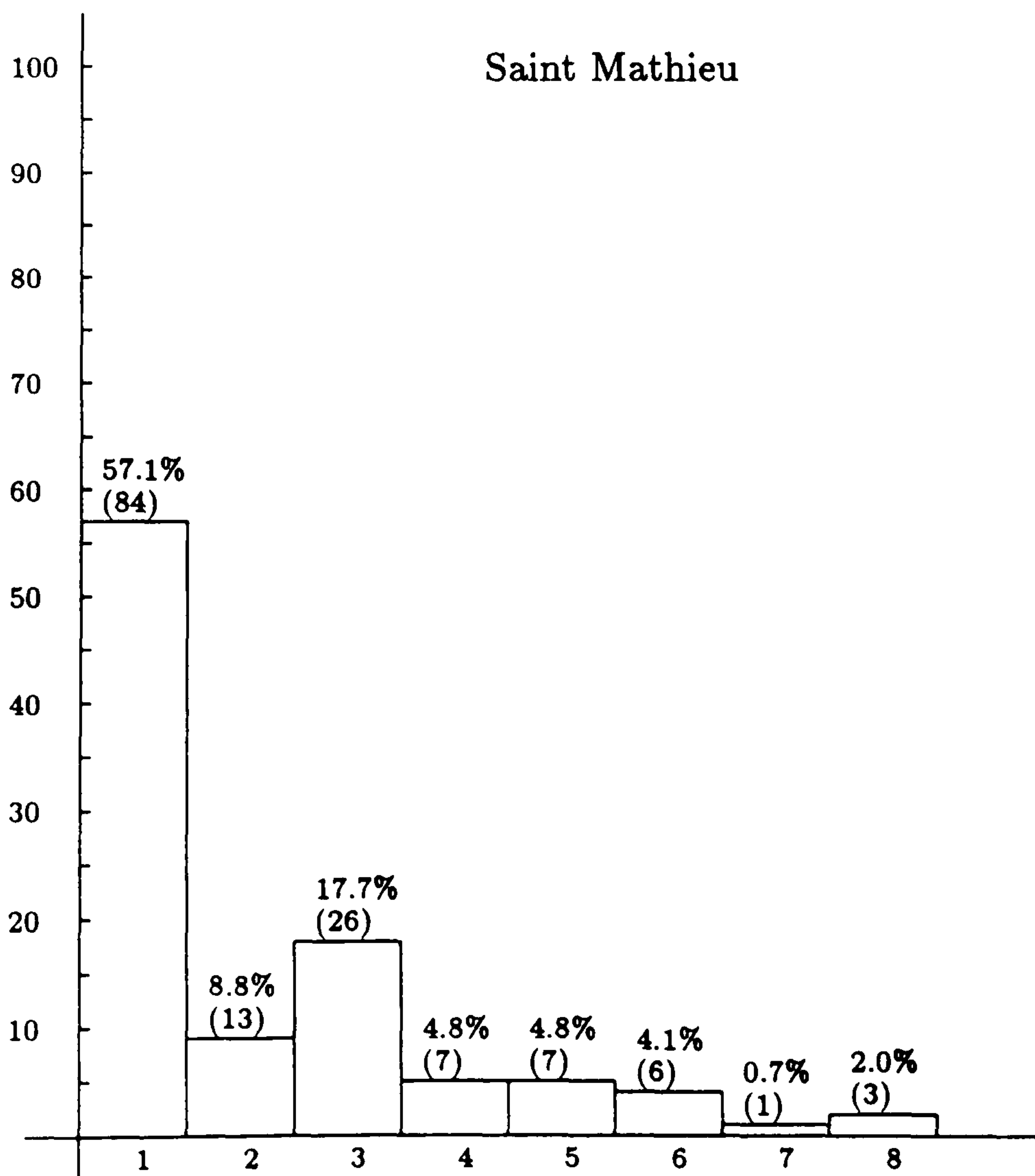
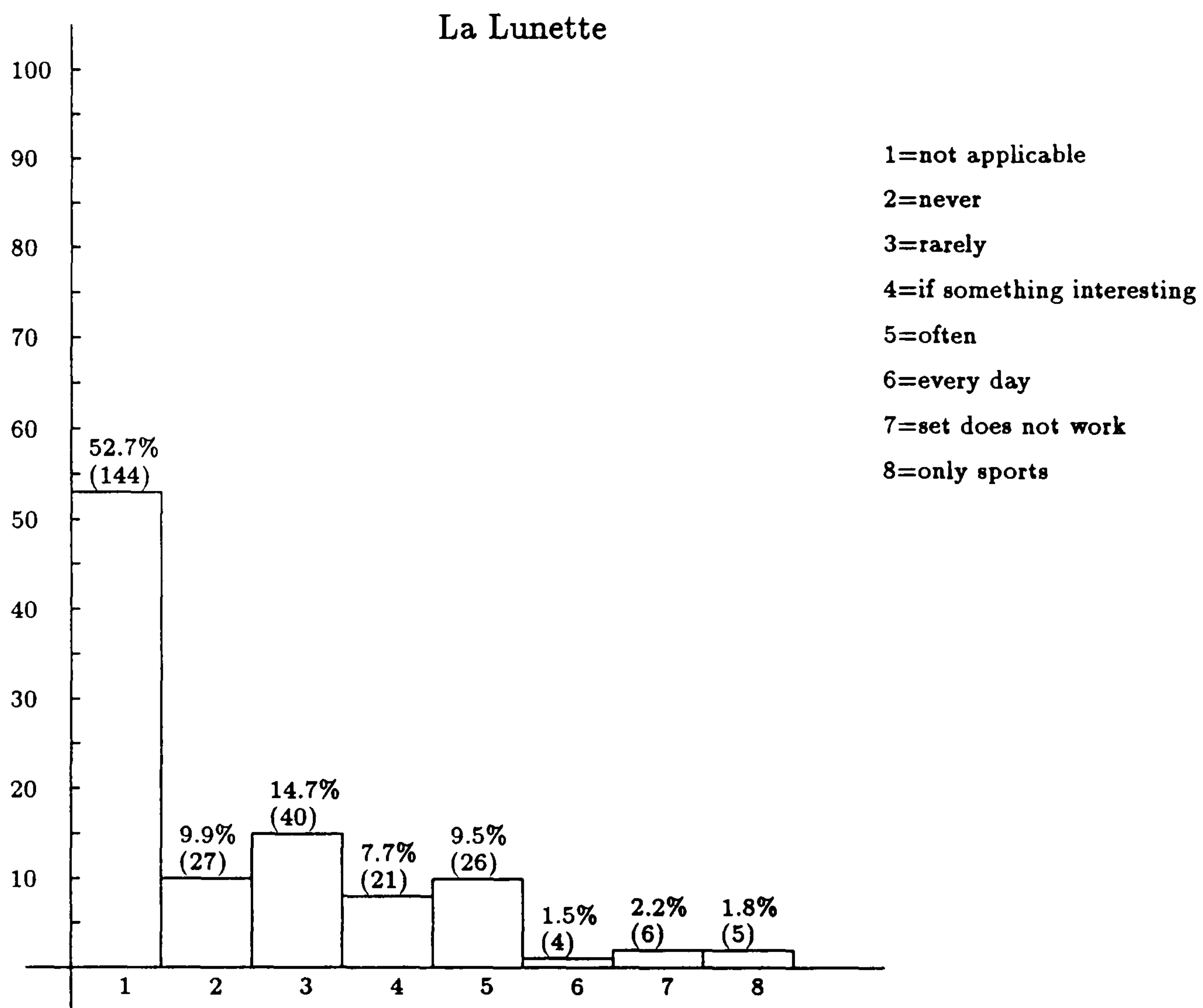
Apparently in La Lunette it is mainly men who watch TV3: a higher percentage of women claimed never to watch it, whereas a higher percentage of men claim to watch often or every day. More women watch when there is

something interesting and more men watch for the sports.

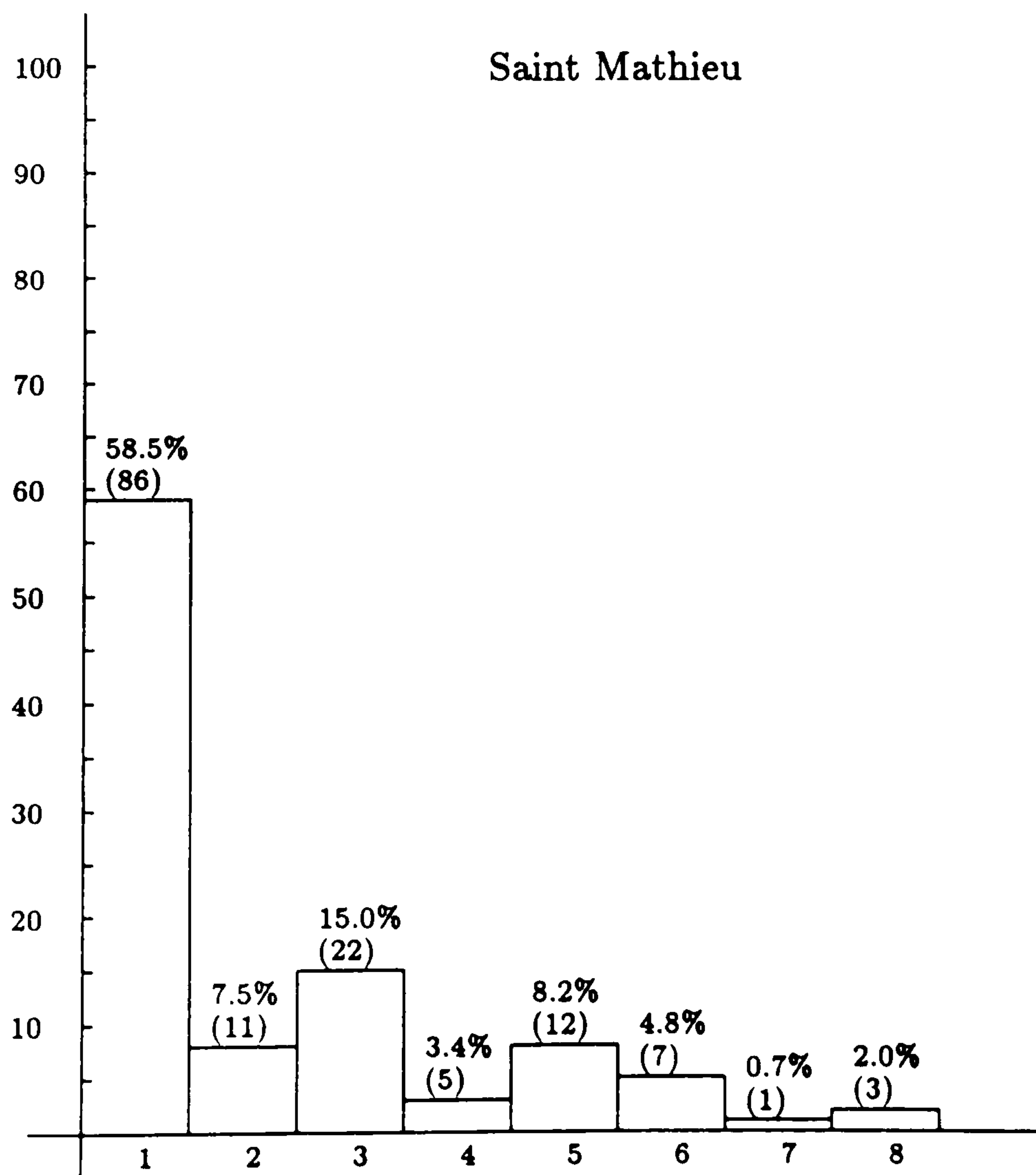
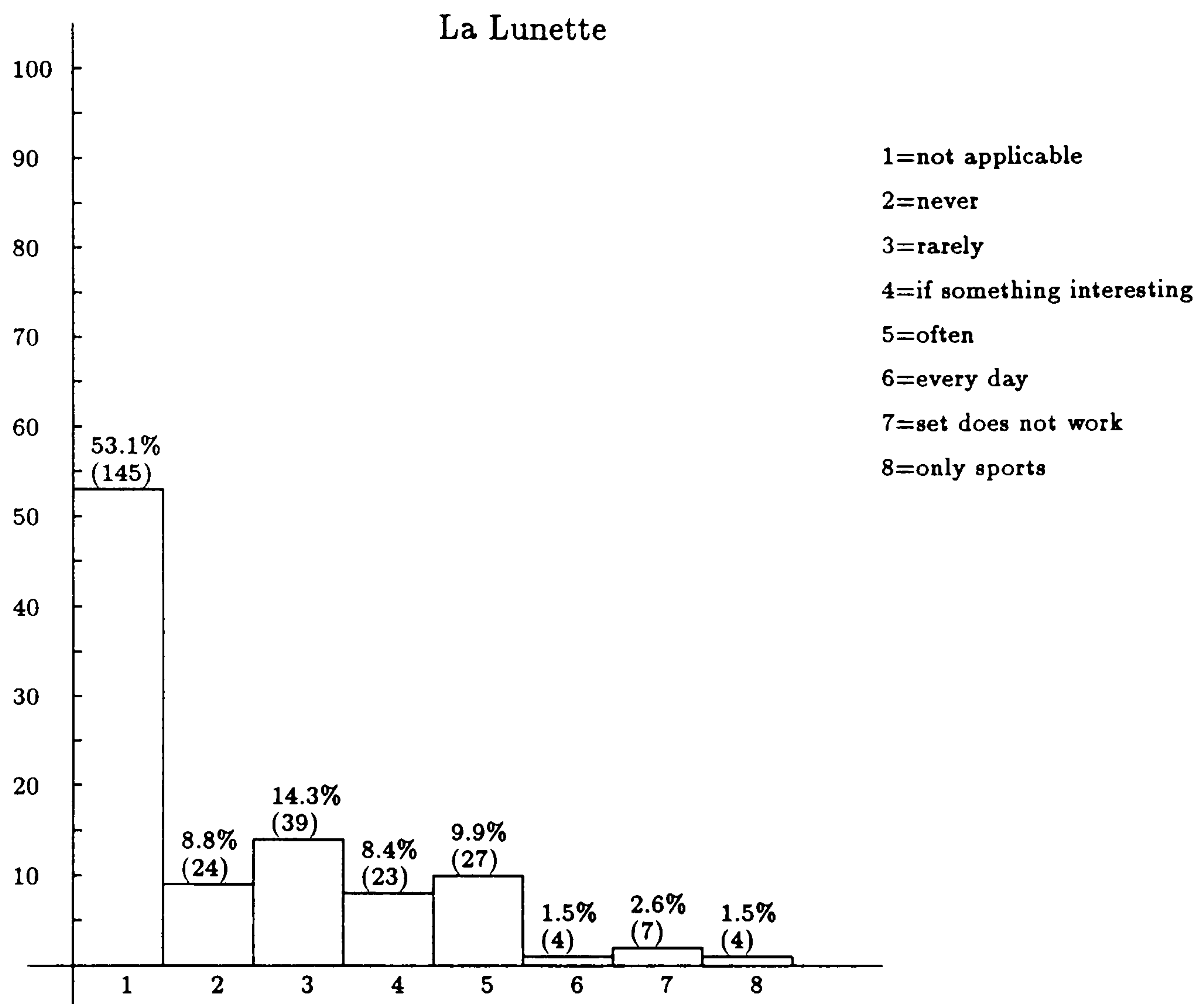
In Saint Mathieu it is not so easy to say if one sex watches TV3 more than the other: a noticeably higher percentage of men claim to watch often, or when there is something interesting, but only women claim to watch every day.

The breakdown by age suggests that there are noticeably more young people who have an adapted set in both *quartiers*, but a higher percentage of older people watch often or every day, and the lowest percentage of informants who watch rarely is in the youngest age group. This suggests that younger informants are more likely to have an adapted set, possibly for receiving Spanish television or simply because they like to have the newest appliances. Nevertheless it is primarily older people who, when they can, like watching Catalan television.





14 Informants who watch TV3



15 Other members of families who watch TV3



Watching Catalan TV: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
not applicable	48.7% (55)	55.6% (89)
never	7.1% (8)	11.9% (19)
rarely	20.4% (23)	10.6% (17)
if something interesting	6.2% (7)	8.8% (14)
often	11.5% (13)	8.1% (13)
every day	2.7% (3)	0.6% (1)
set does not work	0.9% (1)	3.1% (5)
only sports	2.7% (3)	1.3% (2)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
not applicable	54.1% (33)	59.3% (51)
never	9.8% (6)	8.1% (7)
rarely	18.0% (11)	17.4% (15)
if something interesting	8.2% (5)	2.3% (2)
often	6.6% (4)	3.5% (3)
every day		7.0% (6)
set does not work		1.2% (1)
only sports	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)

Other members of the family who watch TV3

La Lunette

	men	women
not applicable	49.6% (56)	55.6% (89)
never	6.2% (7)	10.6% (16)
rarely	19.5% (22)	10.6% (17)
if something interesting	6.2% (7)	10.0% (16)
often	13.3% (15)	7.5% (12)
every day	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)
set does not work	1.8% (2)	3.1% (5)
only sports	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
not applicable	57.4% (35)	59.3% (51)
never	8.2% (5)	7.0% (6)
rarely	13.1% (8)	16.3% (14)
if something interesting	4.9% (3)	2.3% (2)
often	11.5% (7)	5.8% (5)
every day	1.6% (1)	7.0% (6)
set does not work		1.2% (1)
only sports	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)



Watching Catalan TV: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
own adapted set	52.6% (20)	53.5% (38)	45.2% (28)	37.3% (38)
not applicable	47.4% (18)	43.7% (31)	51.6% (32)	61.8% (63)
never	15.8% (6)	16.9% (12)	8.1% (5)	3.9% (4)
rarely	13.2% (5)	16.9% (12)	17.7% (11)	11.8% (12)
if something interesting	13.2% (5)	7.0% (5)	9.7% (6)	4.9% (5)
often	5.3% (2)	9.9% (7)	11.3% (7)	9.8% (10)
every day			1.6% (1)	2.9% (3)
set does not work	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)		2.0% (2)
only sports	2.6% (1)	1.4% (1)		2.9% (3)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
own adapted set	56.3% (18)	37.2% (16)	33.3% (8)	37.5% (18)
not applicable	37.5% (12)	65.1% (28)	62.5% (15)	60.4% (29)
never	25.0% (8)	7.0% (3)		4.2% (2)
rarely	31.3% (10)	11.6% (5)	12.5% (3)	16.7% (8)
if something interesting	3.1% (1)	4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	8.3% (4)
often		4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	8.3% (4)
every day	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)	12.5% (3)	2.1% (1)
set does not work		2.3% (1)		
only sports		2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)

Other members of the family who watch TV3

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	47.4% (18)	43.7% (31)	53.2% (33)	61.8% (63)
never	13.2% (5)	16.9% (12)	6.5% (4)	2.9% (3)
rarely	13.2% (5)	14.1% (10)	17.7% (11)	12.7% (13)
if something interesting	18.4% (7)	7.0% (5)	9.7% (6)	4.9% (5)
often	5.3% (2)	12.7% (9)	11.3% (7)	8.8% (9)
every day			1.6% (1)	2.9% (3)
set does not work	2.6% (1)	4.2% (3)		2.9% (3)
only sports		1.4% (1)		2.9% (3)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	34.4% (11)	65.1% (28)	62.5% (15)	66.7% (32)
never	18.8% (6)	7.0% (3)		4.2% (2)
rarely	28.1% (9)	11.6% (5)	8.3% (2)	12.5% (6)
if something interesting		4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
often	9.4% (3)	4.7% (2)	8.3% (2)	10.4% (5)
every day	9.4% (3)	2.3% (1)	12.5% (3)	
set does not work		2.3% (1)		
only sports		2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)



### 7.3 Languages used outside the family

Despite the drawbacks of this question (see 4.4.4.), it nevertheless gives some idea of the extent to which languages other than French are in daily use in Perpignan. In no situation is French used 100.0%; indeed the highest percentage accorded to French is 94.1%, and in Saint Mathieu the highest is only 81.6%. In Saint Mathieu the percentages in some cases are significantly lower because a larger number of informants claimed that certain situations were not applicable to them. One informant actually refused to answer the question, claiming that he had no contacts with anybody. (The interview was conducted in Castilian.)

Although French is in no case the only language to be used in a given situation, it is used more widely than any other language. The only exception which might be made is for "associations" by which informants were to understand such places as the *Centro Español* or the *Centre Cultural Català*. Consequently very few people responded to this, and only six said they used French in special associations.

Catalan and Castilian are the other two languages most commonly mentioned, and are apparently used even at work by a small minority. In some cases this is through necessity (for Castilian only) - some informants responded to this question that they use Castilian in every situation as they cannot do otherwise. In other cases informants said that they used these languages at work to deal with members of the public unable to speak French, or for business with South Catalonia and the rest of Spain. Those who claimed to use English or "other" languages at work also did so for business with overseas clients.

Interestingly more people in La Lunette than in Saint Mathieu claim to use Catalan, although a slightly higher percentage in Saint Mathieu claim to know the language. Many more in Saint Mathieu claim to use a mixture of Catalan and French. More detailed comments on the use of Catalan may be found in 9.4.2.

Castilian however would appear to be far more widely spoken in Saint Mathieu than in La Lunette. More detailed comments may be found in 10.2.2.

Arabic is very little represented, as inevitably the Arabic speakers interviewed were also French speakers and in all probability habitually mingle the two languages to a certain extent or, in the case of younger informants, never speak Arabic outside the home. Use of Arabic by native speakers will be discussed in 10.4.5.

The breakdown by sex reveals that in La Lunette fewer women than men use a language other than French in any circumstance. It is primarily Catalan that men claim to use in every situation mentioned. This would seem logical, since more men than women speak Catalan, but it is also due to the fact



that a larger number of women simply said they always used French, often because they do not regularly find themselves in the situations mentioned, particularly sports and café, but also work, since so many women are *femmes au foyer*.

In Saint Mathieu the same pattern holds for most situations, but not for "shops" and "street", where more women than men claim to use another language. This is probably due to the fact that more women habitually go shopping or talk with other people in the street. A noticeably higher number of women however said that situations such as "work", "sports" and "café" were not relevant for them.

As for the breakdown by age, it is clearly the older generations who use other languages most frequently. In La Lunette virtually the only place where other languages are used by the under-25 group is at work, with only one informant claiming to use Catalan elsewhere. In Saint Mathieu use of other languages is slightly more widespread among young people, mainly a mixture of French and the other language, used by second-generation immigrants.

The second age group does not seem to use other languages very often either; in Saint Mathieu most languages appear to be employed by at least one informant in the street, and in La Lunette a few informants seem to use Catalan or a mixture of languages regularly.

A noticeably higher percentage of informants of the third group claim to use other languages: in both *quartiers* it is predominantly Catalan or a mixture of French and Catalan; in La Lunette there are also several informants who use Castilian. It is this group which claims to use the most other languages in La Lunette, which corresponds to the fact that it is the group with the highest percentage of non-French nationals.

The oldest group is the one with most non-French speakers in Saint Mathieu, and relatively high percentages of informants appear to speak Catalan or Castilian in all circumstances. It should be noticed also that quite a high number of these informants claimed that some of the situations were irrelevant. In La Lunette Catalan is the only language widely used by this age group.



La Lunette

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	90.5% (247)	88.3% (241)	89.0% (243)	81.3% (222)	83.2% (227)	92.7% (253)	94.1% (257)	1.8% (5)
Catalan	3.3% (9)	2.9% (8)	5.1% (14)	9.2% (25)	13.2% (36)	3.7% (10)	1.8% (5)	4.4% (12)
Castilian	1.5% (4)	1.8% (5)	0.4% (1)	1.8% (5)	0.4% (1)	0.4% (1)	0.4% (1)	2.2% (6)
Arabic	0.4% (1)			0.4% (1)				
English	1.1% (3)	1.8% (5)				0.4% (1)		
Fr/Cat	0.4% (1)	0.4% (1)	2.2% (6)	3.3% (9)	1.5% (4)	1.5% (4)	1.8% (5)	
Fr/Cast	0.4% (1)	0.4% (1)	1.5% (4)	1.5% (4)		0.4% (1)	0.4% (1)	
other/sev	1.1% (3)	2.9% (8)	1.8% (5)	2.6% (7)	1.5% (4)	0.7% (2)	0.7% (2)	0.4% (1)
N/A	1.5% (4)	1.5% (4)				0.4% (1)	0.7% (2)	90.8% (248)

Saint Mathieu

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	77.6% (114)	74.1% (109)	78.2% (115)	61.9% (91)	76.9% (113)	81.6% (120)	81.6% (120)	0.7% (1)
Catalan	2.0% (3)	2.7% (4)	2.7% (4)	6.1% (9)	11.6% (17)	2.7% (4)	0.7% (1)	1.4% (2)
Castilian	1.4% (2)	4.1% (6)	2.7% (4)	6.1% (9)	1.4% (2)	1.4% (2)	2.0% (3)	2.7% (4)
Arabic			2.0%* (3)	3.4%* (1)			1.4%* (2)	0.7% (1)
English				0.7% (1)				
Fr/Cat	0.7% (1)	2.0% (3)	7.5% (11)	10.2% (15)	6.8% (10)	2.7% (4)	4.1% (6)	
Fr/Cast	2.0% (3)	0.7% (1)	2.0% (3)	4.1% (6)	0.7% (1)	1.4% (2)	2.0% (3)	
other/sev	2.7% (4)	2.7% (4)	4.1% (6)	6.8% (10)	2.0% (3)	1.4% (2)	2.7% (4)	2.0% (3)
N/A	13.6% (20)	13.6% (20)	0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)	8.8% (13)	5.4% (8)	92.5% (136)

16 Languages used outside the family.

\* most informants claimed to use a mixture of French and Arabic: only one informant claimed to use only Arabic in the street, and one in an association.

Languages used outside the family: breakdown by sex

La Lunette: men

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	86.7% (98)	83.2% (94)	85.8% (97)	78.8% (89)	78.8% (89)	85.8% (97)	90.3% (102)	1.8% (2)
Catalan	5.3% (6)	3.5% (4)	5.3% (6)	8.8% (10)	15.0% (17)	8.8% (10)	4.4% (5)	7.1% (8)
Castilian	2.7% (3)	2.7% (3)		2.7% (3)				2.7% (3)
English	0.9% (1)	3.5% (4)				0.9% (1)		
Fr/Cat	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	3.5% (4)	5.3% (6)	3.5% (4)	2.7% (3)	3.5% (4)	
Fr/Cast	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	1.8% (2)	1.8% (2)	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	
other/sev	1.8% (2)	4.4% (5)	3.5% (4)	2.7% (3)	1.8% (2)	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)
N/A	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)						87.6% (99)

La Lunette: women

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	93.1% (149)	91.9% (147)	91.3% (146)	83.1% (133)	86.3% (138)	97.5% (156)	96.9% (155)	1.9% (3)
Catalan	1.9% (3)	2.5% (4)	5.0% (8)	9.4% (15)	11.9% (19)			2.5% (4)
Castilian	0.6% (1)	1.3% (2)	0.6% (1)	1.3% (2)	0.6% (1)	0.6% (1)	0.6% (1)	1.9% (3)
Arabic	0.6% (1)			0.6% (1)				
English	1.3% (2)	0.6% (1)						
Fr/Cat			1.3% (2)	1.9% (3)		0.6% (1)	0.6% (1)	
Fr/Cast			1.3% (2)	1.3% (2)				
other/sev	0.6% (1)	1.9% (3)	0.6% (1)	2.5% (4)	1.3% (2)	0.6% (1)	0.6% (1)	
N/A	1.9% (3)	1.9% (3)				0.6% (1)	1.3% (2)	93.7% (149)



Saint Mathieu: men

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	75.4% (46)	72.1% (44)	80.3% (49)	72.1% (44)	75.4% (46)	77.0% (47)	80.3% (49)	1.6% (1)
Catalan	4.9% (3)	4.9% (3)	3.3% (2)	4.9% (3)	9.8% (6)	4.9% (3)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)
Castilian	1.6% (1)	3.3% (2)	1.6% (1)	3.3% (2)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)
Fr/Cat	1.6% (1)	3.3% (2)	8.2% (5)	9.8% (6)	8.2% (5)	6.6% (4)	8.2% (5)	
Fr/Cast	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)		1.6% (1)		1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	
other/sev	4.9% (3)	4.9% (3)	4.9% (3)	6.6% (4)	3.3% (2)	3.3% (2)	3.3% (2)	3.3% (2)
N/A	9.8% (6)	9.8% (6)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	4.9% (3)	1.6% (1)	91.8% (56)

Saint Mathieu: women

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	79.1% (68)	75.6% (65)	76.7% (66)	54.7% (47)	77.9% (67)	84.9% (73)	82.6% (71)	
Catalan		1.2% (1)	2.3% (2)	7.0% (6)	12.8% (11)	1.2% (1)		1.2% (1)
Castilian	1.2% (1)	4.7% (4)	3.5% (3)	8.1% (7)	1.2% (1)	1.2% (1)	2.3% (2)	3.5% (3)
Arabic				5.9%* (4)				1.2% (1)
English				1.2% (1)				
Fr/Cat		1.2% (1)	7.0% (6)	10.5% (9)	5.8% (5)		1.2% (1)	
Fr/Cast	2.3% (2)		3.5% (3)	5.8% (5)	1.2% (1)	1.2% (1)	2.3% (2)	
other/sev	1.2% (1)	1.2% (1)	3.5% (3)	7.0% (6)	1.2% (1)		2.3% (2)	1.2% (1)
N/A	16.3% (14)	16.3% (14)				11.6% (10)	8.1% (7)	93.0% (80)

\* of the five women who claimed to use Arabic in the street, four of them said they use a mixture of French and Arabic.

Languages used outside the family: breakdown by age

La Lunette: 15-24

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	86.8% (33)	94.7% (36)	100.0% (38)	100.0% (38)	97.4% (37)	97.4% (37)	100.0% (38)	
Catalan	5.3% (2)				2.6% (1)	2.6% (1)		2.6% (1)
Castilian	2.6% (1)							
English	5.3% (2)	5.3% (2)						
N/A								97.4% (37)

La Lunette: 25-44

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	91.5% (65)	83.1% (59)	88.7% (63)	84.5% (60)	85.9% (61)	93.0% (66)	94.4% (67)	
Catalan	2.8% (2)	4.2% (3)	4.2% (3)	5.6% (4)	9.9% (7)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	
Castilian	1.4% (1)	2.8% (2)						1.4% (1)
English		1.4% (1)			1.4% (1)			
Fr/Cat						1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	
Fr/Cast	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	2.8% (2)	4.2% (3)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	
other/sev	2.8% (2)	7.0% (5)	4.2% (3)	5.6% (4)	2.8% (2)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)
N/A								97.2% (69)



La Lunette: 45-60

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	87.1% (54)	82.3% (51)	85.5% (53)	77.4% (48)	79.0% (49)	87.1% (54)	87.1% (54)	
Catalan	6.5% (4)	6.5% (4)	4.8% (3)	8.1% (5)	14.5% (9)	6.5% (4)	3.2% (2)	8.2% (5)
Castilian	3.2% (2)	4.8% (3)	1.6% (1)	4.8% (3)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	6.6% (4)
Arabic	1.6% (1)			1.6% (1)				
English		1.6% (1)						
Fr/Cat		1.6% (1)	3.2% (2)	4.8% (3)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	3.2% (2)	
Fr/Cast			1.6% (1)					
other/sev	1.6% (1)	3.2% (2)	3.2% (2)	3.2% (2)	3.2% (2)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	
N/A						1.6% (1)	3.2% (2)	85.2% (52)

La Lunette: 60+

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	93.1% (95)	93.1% (95)	87.3% (89)	74.5% (76)	78.4% (80)	94.1% (96)	96.1% (98)	4.9% (5)
Catalan	1.0% (1)	1.0% (1)	7.8% (8)	15.7% (16)	18.6% (19)	3.9% (4)	2.0% (2)	5.9% (6)
Castilian				2.0% (2)				1.0% (1)
English	1.0% (1)	1.0% (1)						
Fr/Cat	1.0% (1)		3.9% (4)	5.9% (6)	2.9% (3)	2.0% (2)	2.0% (2)	
Fr/Cast			1.0% (1)		1.0% (1)			
other/sev		1.0% (1)		1.0% (1)				
N/A	3.9% (4)	3.9% (4)						

Saint Mathieu: 15-24

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	87.5% (28)	81.3% (26)	93.8% (30)	78.1% (25)	100.0% (32)	93.8% (30)	93.8% (30)	
Castilian	3.1% (1)	12.5% (4)	3.1% (1)	9.4% (3)		3.1% (1)		3.1% (1)
Arabic				3.1%* (1)			3.1%* (1)	
Fr/Cast	3.1% (1)		3.1% (1)	3.1% (1)				
other/sev				6.3% (2)			3.1% (1)	3.1% (1)
N/A	6.3% (2)	6.3% (2)				3.1% (1)	3.1% (1)	

\* all cases of Arabic are in fact Arabic with French.

Saint Mathieu: 25-44

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	90.7% (39)	79.1% (34)	93.0% (40)	74.4% (32)	90.7% (39)	97.7% (42)	93.0% (40)	
Catalan		4.7% (2)		4.7% (2)	4.7% (2)			
Castilian		2.3% (1)		4.7% (2)			2.3% (1)	
Arabic				2.3% (1)				
English				2.3% (1)				
Fr/Cat		4.7% (2)		4.7% (2)	4.7% (2)			
Fr/Cast	2.3% (1)	2.3% (1)						
other/sev	4.7% (2)	4.7% (2)	7.0% (3)	7.0% (3)			2.3% (1)	
N/A	2.3% (1)	2.3% (1)				2.3% (1)	2.3% (1)	100.0% (43)



Saint Mathieu: 45-60

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	83.3% (20)	83.3% (20)	70.8% (17)	50.0% (12)	62.5% (15)	75.0% (18)	79.2% (19)	
Catalan	4.2% (1)	4.2% (1)		4.2% (1)	20.8% (5)	4.2% (1)		4.2% (1)
Arabic			12.5%* (3)	12.5%* (3)				4.2% (1)
Fr/Cat		4.2% (1)	16.7% (4)	20.8% (5)	12.5% (3)	12.5% (3)	8.3% (2)	
Fr/Cast	4.2% (1)			4.2% (1)				
other/sev .				8.3% (2)	4.2% (1)		4.2% (1)	4.2% (1)
N/A	8.3% (2)	8.3% (2)				8.3% (2)	8.3% (2)	87.5% (21)

\* The cases of Arabic spoken in shops and in the street are all cases of a mixture of French and Arabic.

Saint Mathieu: 60+

	coll's	clients	shops	street	villages	sport	café	assoc'n
French	56.3% (27)	60.4% (29)	58.3% (28)	45.8% (22)	56.3% (27)	62.5% (30)	64.6% (31)	2.1% (1)
Catalan	4.2% (2)	2.1% (1)	8.3% (4)	12.5% (6)	20.8% (10)	6.3% (3)	2.1% (1)	2.1% (1)
Castilian	2.1% (1)	2.1% (1)	6.3% (3)	8.3% (4)	4.2% (2)	2.1% (1)	4.2% (2)	6.3% (3)
Fr/Cat	2.1% (1)		14.6% (7)	16.7% (8)	10.4% (5)	2.1% (1)	8.3% (4)	
Fr/Cast			4.2% (2)	8.3% (4)	2.1% (1)	4.2% (2)	6.3% (3)	
other/sev	4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)	6.3% (3)	6.3% (3)	4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)	2.1% (1)
N/A	31.3% (15)	31.3% (15)	2.1% (1)	2.1% (1)	2.1% (1)	18.8% (9)	10.4% (5)	87.5% (42)

### 7.3.1 Feelings about speaking and hearing Catalan

Figure 17 gives the feelings expressed by informants in responses to the question “Est-ce que vous aimez parler catalan?” The majority of those who can speak obviously enjoy doing so, with a small minority having no strong feelings on the subject.

In La Lunette the number of informants who expressed an opinion about speaking Catalan corresponds exactly to the number who said they could speak Catalan (39.6% or 108 informants). In Saint Mathieu however 59.2% (87) claimed that the question was irrelevant, yet 42.2% (62) had claimed to speak the language; thus it would appear that two people who speak Catalan felt that this question was “not applicable” to them. This matter is commented on in greater detail in 9.4.3.

A similar discrepancy is to be found in figure 18: here the “not applicable” column ought to correspond to the number of Catalan speakers, but this is clearly not the case. It would seem that 2.2% (6) of Catalanophones in La Lunette and 3.3% (5) in Saint Mathieu also gave their opinion on hearing Catalan.

Figure 18 shows a substantial difference of feeling between the two *quartiers*: in La Lunette a clear majority of non-Catalanophones said they like hearing Catalan, whereas in Saint Mathieu a slight majority dislike it. It would seem that inhabitants of Saint Mathieu have stronger feelings about Catalan, whilst in La Lunette fewer people actually dislike hearing it and more are indifferent.

The “not applicable” response on question 17 reveals an interesting difference between male and female in La Lunette: although 35.6% of women had earlier claimed to speak Catalan (histogram 2/3.2), only 33.1% felt that this question was applicable. On the other hand, since 45.1% of men claimed to speak Catalan, 54.9% should have found the question not applicable, yet only 51.3% did. This immediately suggests a reluctance on the part of some women to admit to speaking enough to express a feeling about it.

In Saint Mathieu, the percentage of women who expressed an opinion corresponded exactly to the percentage who speak Catalan (43.0%), whilst only 37.7% of men expressed an opinion although 42.6% claim to be able to speak the language, so the position is reversed here.

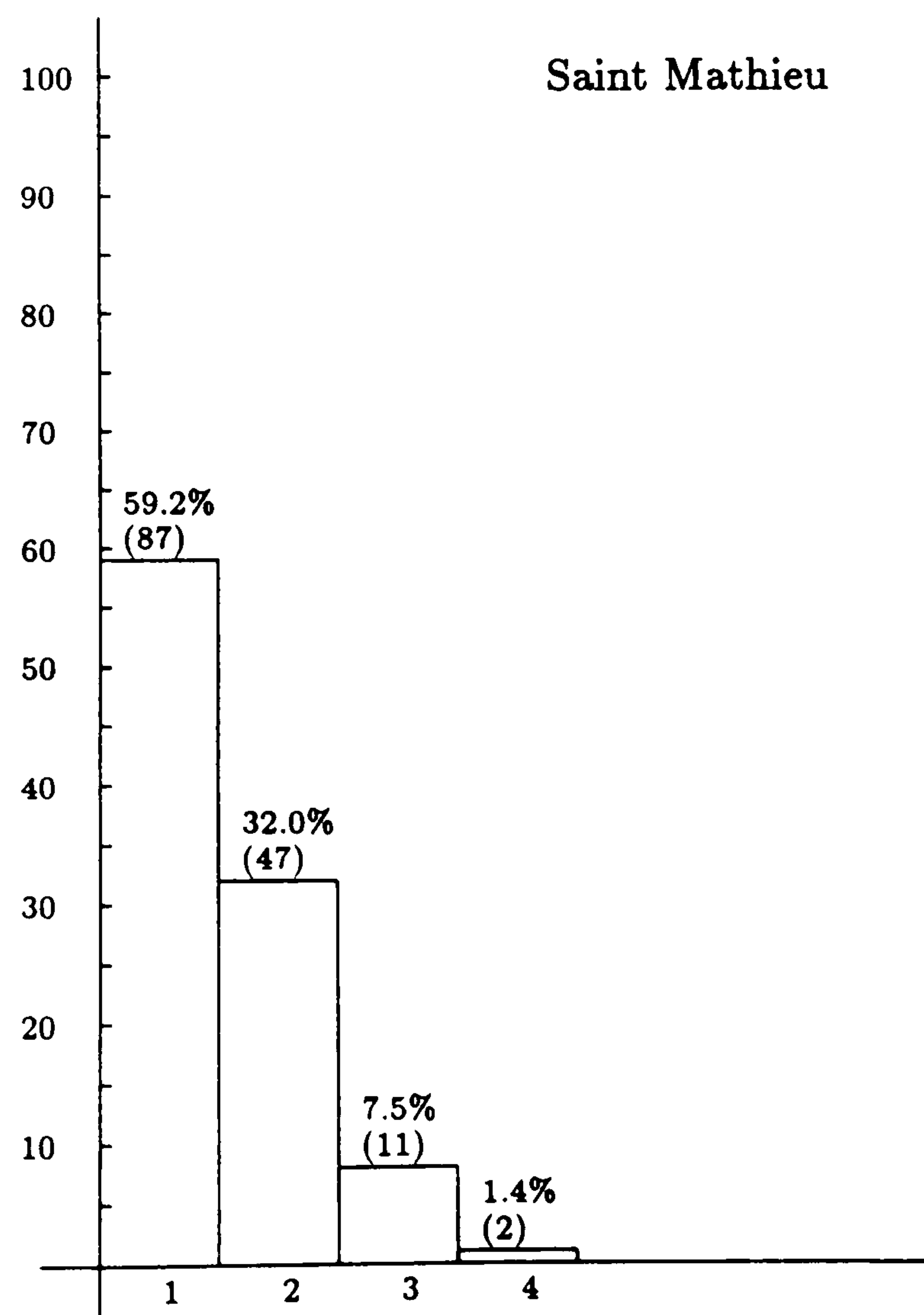
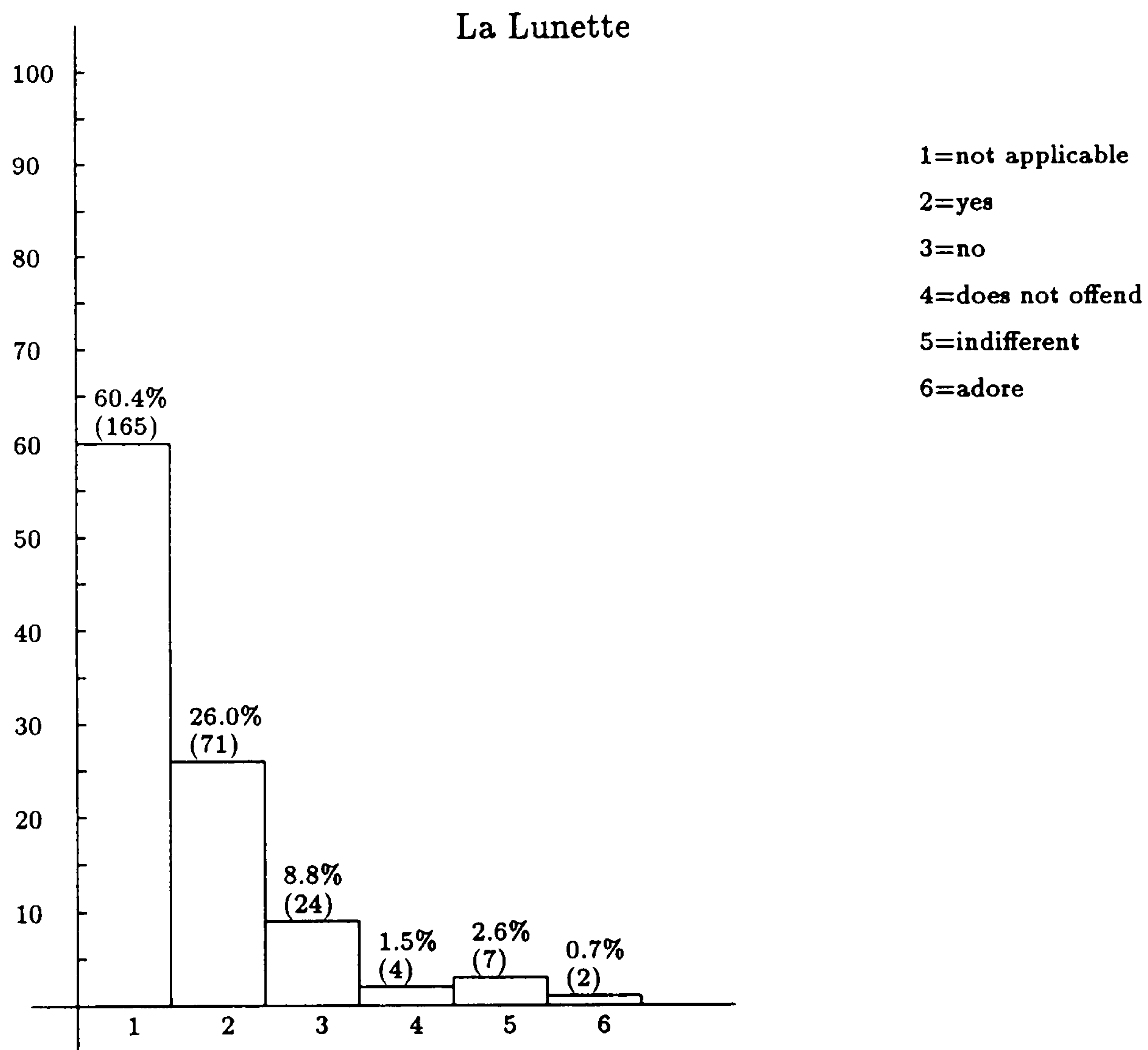
Similar “discrepancies” arise in the following question: in La Lunette 4.3% fewer women and 0.9% more men responded “not applicable” than should have been the case, had all the non-speakers of Catalan responded. The “extra” man could reasonably be one of those who claimed to speak only a little, but the decreased percentage of women suggests again a reluctance to admit to speaking. Nonetheless, considerably more women than men claim to like hearing the language.



In Saint Mathieu too, the percentage of women responding “not applicable” is lower than the percentage who speak Catalan, and a higher percentage of those expressing an opinion like hearing Catalan. The same pattern is repeated for the men - with an even wider gap between those who can speak Catalan and those who claimed that this question was irrelevant (6.5%). Moreover, of those who expressed an opinion, a very clear majority do not like hearing Catalan.

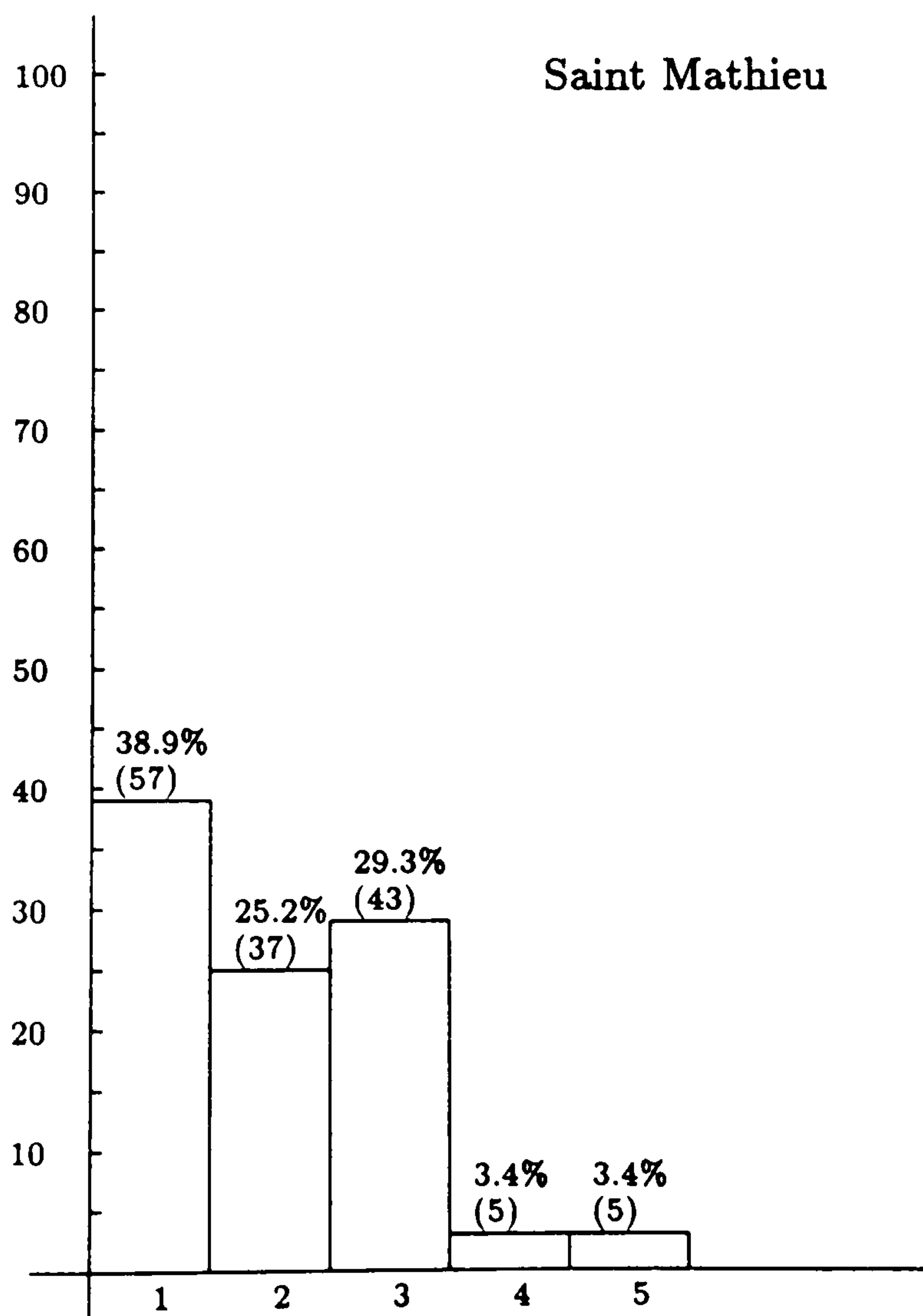
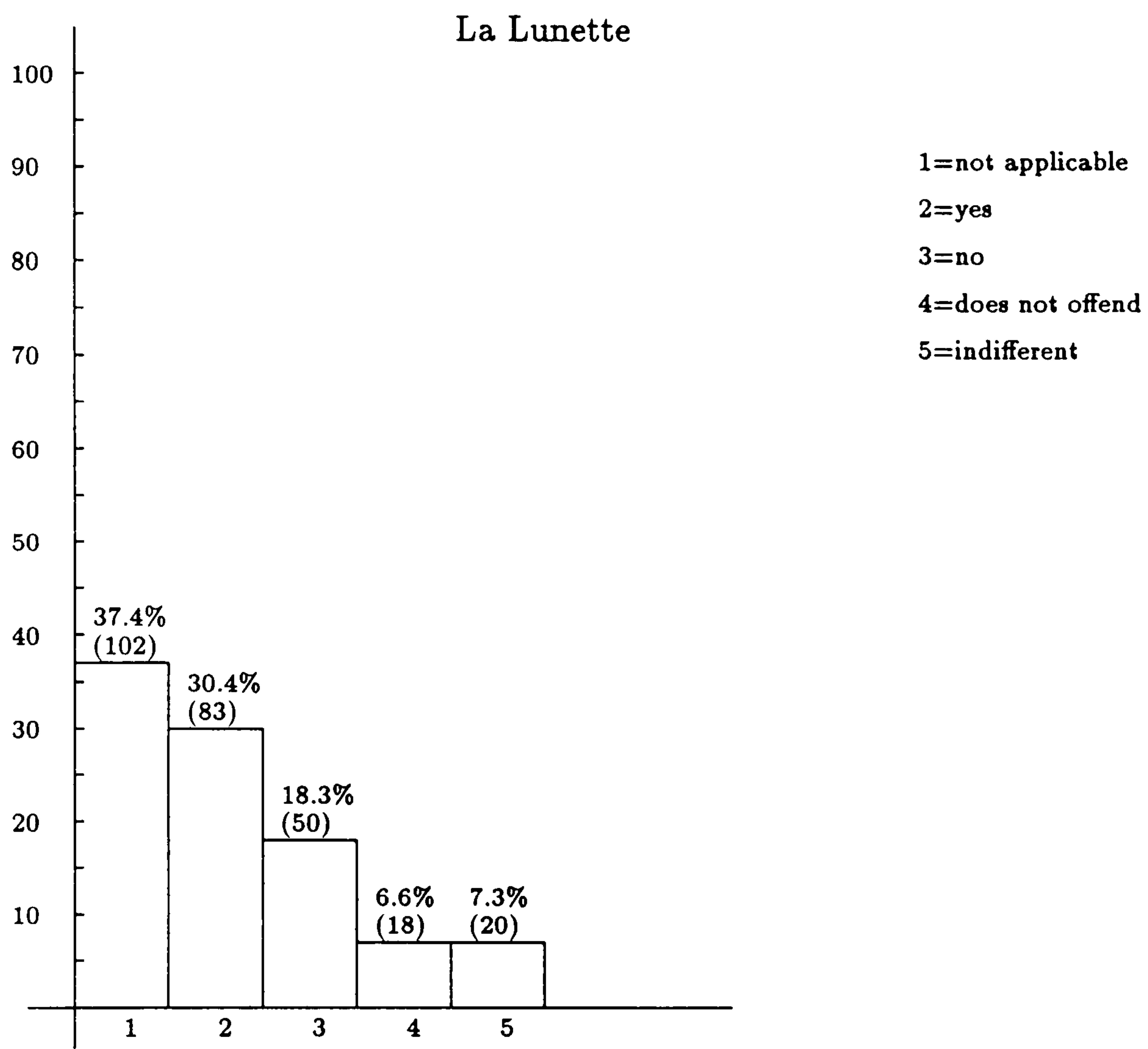
The age breakdown reveals that it is not informants of any one age group who did not answer question 17, even if they claimed to speak Catalan; in every age group the percentage of informants saying the question was irrelevant was higher than the number of non-Catalan speakers. The group where fewest speakers responded “not applicable” was Saint Mathieu group one, and the group with the highest was La Lunette group two, very closely followed by Saint Mathieu groups three and four. In every case, of those who expressed an opinion, the majority claimed to like speaking Catalan.

Question 18 shows some interesting differences of opinion from one age group to another. In both *quartiers* the percentage of young informants who do not like hearing Catalan is higher than those who do, whereas in La Lunette the majority for all other groups claims to like hearing it. In Saint Mathieu there is a very slight majority in favour for the second group, and the percentages for and against are exactly equal in the other two.



17 Informants who like speaking Catalan





18 Informants who like hearing Catalan

Feelings about speaking and hearing Catalan: breakdown by sex

La Lunette			
	men		women
not applicable	51.3%	(58)	66.9% (107)
yes	30.1%	(34)	23.1% (37)
no	10.6%	(12)	7.5% (12)
does not offend	3.5%	(4)	
indifferent	4.4%	(5)	1.3% (2)
adore			1.3% (2)

Saint Mathieu			
	men		women
not applicable	62.3%	(38)	57.0% (49)
yes	32.8%	(20)	31.4% (27)
no	4.9%	(3)	9.3% (8)
indifferent			2.3% (2)

17 Feelings about speaking Catalan (from Catalan speakers).

La Lunette			
	men		women
not applicable	46.0%	(52)	31.3% (50)
yes	23.9%	(27)	35.0% (56)
no	15.0%	(17)	20.6% (33)
does not offend	7.1%	(8)	6.3% (10)
indifferent	8.0%	(9)	6.9% (11)

Saint Mathieu			
	men		women
not applicable	36.1%	(22)	39.5% (34)
yes	14.8%	(9)	32.6% (28)
no	37.7%	(23)	23.3% (20)
does not offend	6.6%	(4)	1.2% (1)
indifferent	3.3%	(2)	3.5% (3)

18 Feelings about hearing Catalan (non-Catalan speakers).



Feelings about speaking and hearing Catalan: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	76.3% (29)	64.8% (46)	66.1% (41)	48.0% (49)
yes	13.2% (5)	19.7% (14)	22.6% (14)	37.3% (38)
no	5.3% (2)	9.9% (7)	6.5% (4)	10.8% (11)
does not disturb		1.4% (1)	1.6% (1)	2.0% (2)
indifferent	2.6% (1)	2.8% (2)	3.2% (2)	2.0% (2)
adore	2.6% (1)	1.4% (1)		

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	84.4% (27)	76.7% (33)	45.8% (11)	33.3% (16)
yes	9.4% (3)	18.6% (8)	50.0% (12)	50.0% (24)
no	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	14.6% (7)
indifferent		2.3% (1)		2.1% (1)

17 Feelings about speaking Catalan (from Catalan speakers).

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	23.7% (9)	33.8% (24)	29.0% (18)	50.0% (51)
yes	18.4% (7)	35.2% (25)	41.9% (26)	24.5% (25)
no	28.9% (11)	19.7% (14)	12.9% (8)	16.7% (17)
does not disturb	21.1% (8)	2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	4.9% (5)
indifferent	7.9% (3)	8.5% (6)	11.3% (7)	3.9% (4)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	12.5% (4)	23.3% (10)	50.0% (12)	62.5% (30)
yes	28.1% (9)	34.9% (15)	20.8% (5)	14.6% (7)
no	53.1% (17)	32.6% (14)	20.8% (5)	14.6% (7)
does not disturb	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)
indifferent		7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)

18 Feelings about hearing Catalan (non-Catalan speakers).

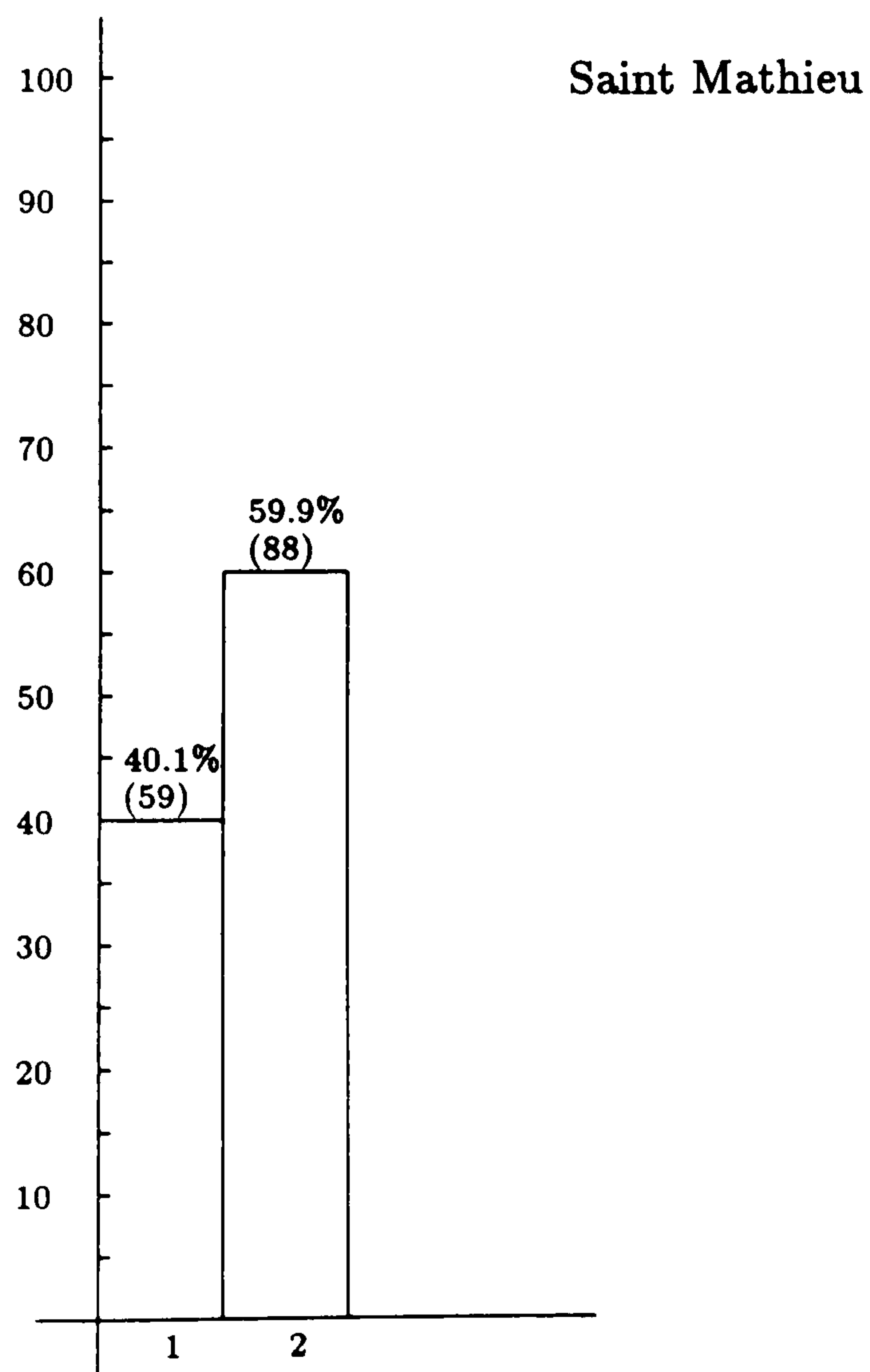
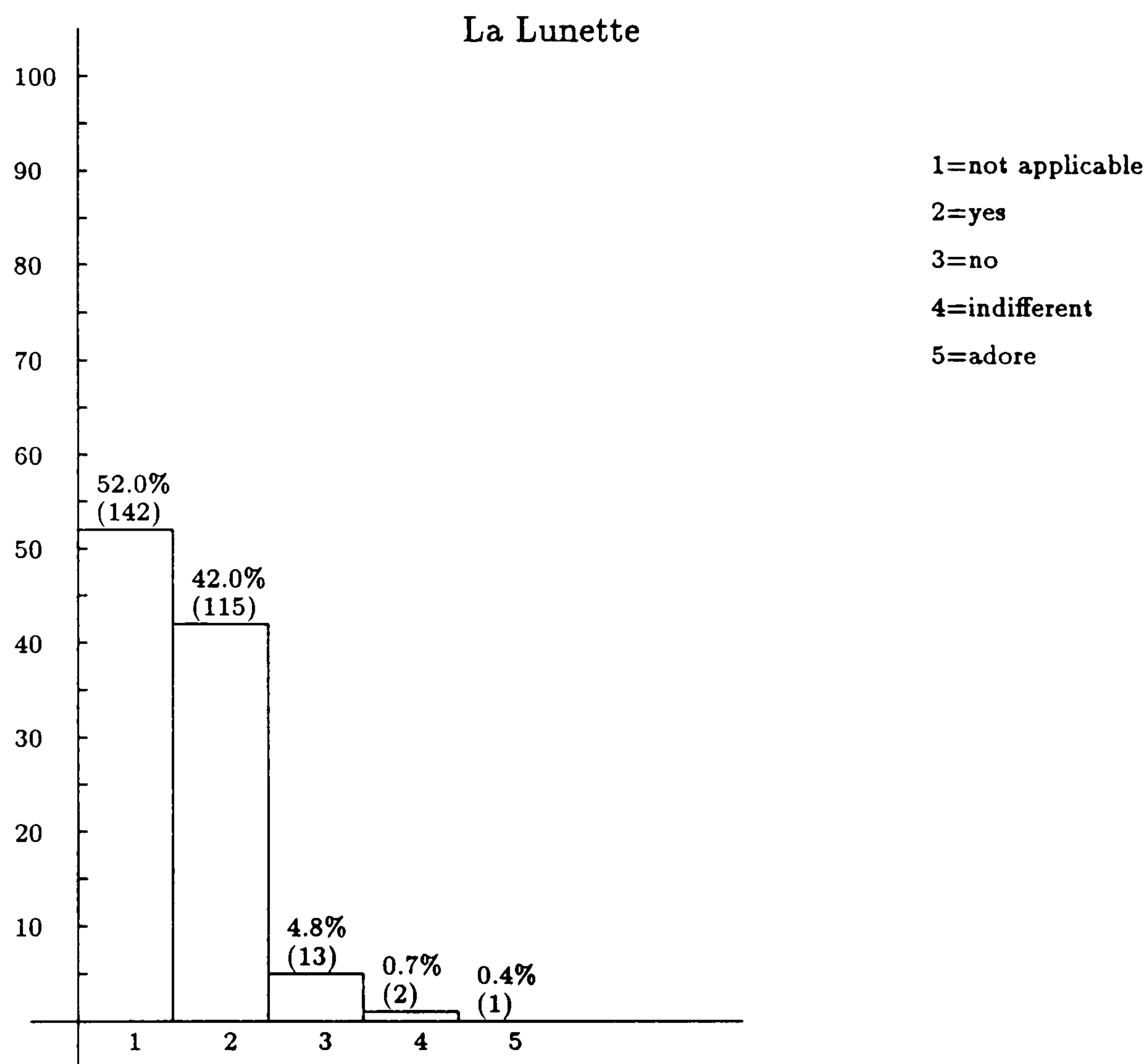
### 7.3.2 Feelings about speaking other languages

There is a large discrepancy between the number of informants who claimed to know another language (90.1% in La Lunette and 89.1% in Saint Mathieu) and those who expressed a feeling about speaking another language (47.9% and 59.9% respectively). This could be due to a number of factors. Firstly, histograms 2/3.2 - 2/3.7 reveal that by no means all informants who know another language are necessarily able to speak it; secondly, even if they are able to speak, if they are never called upon to do so, they are unable to say whether or not they like doing so. In other cases, where the other language is a mother tongue, people may no longer use it, and therefore do not feel it worth mentioning whether or not they like speaking it.

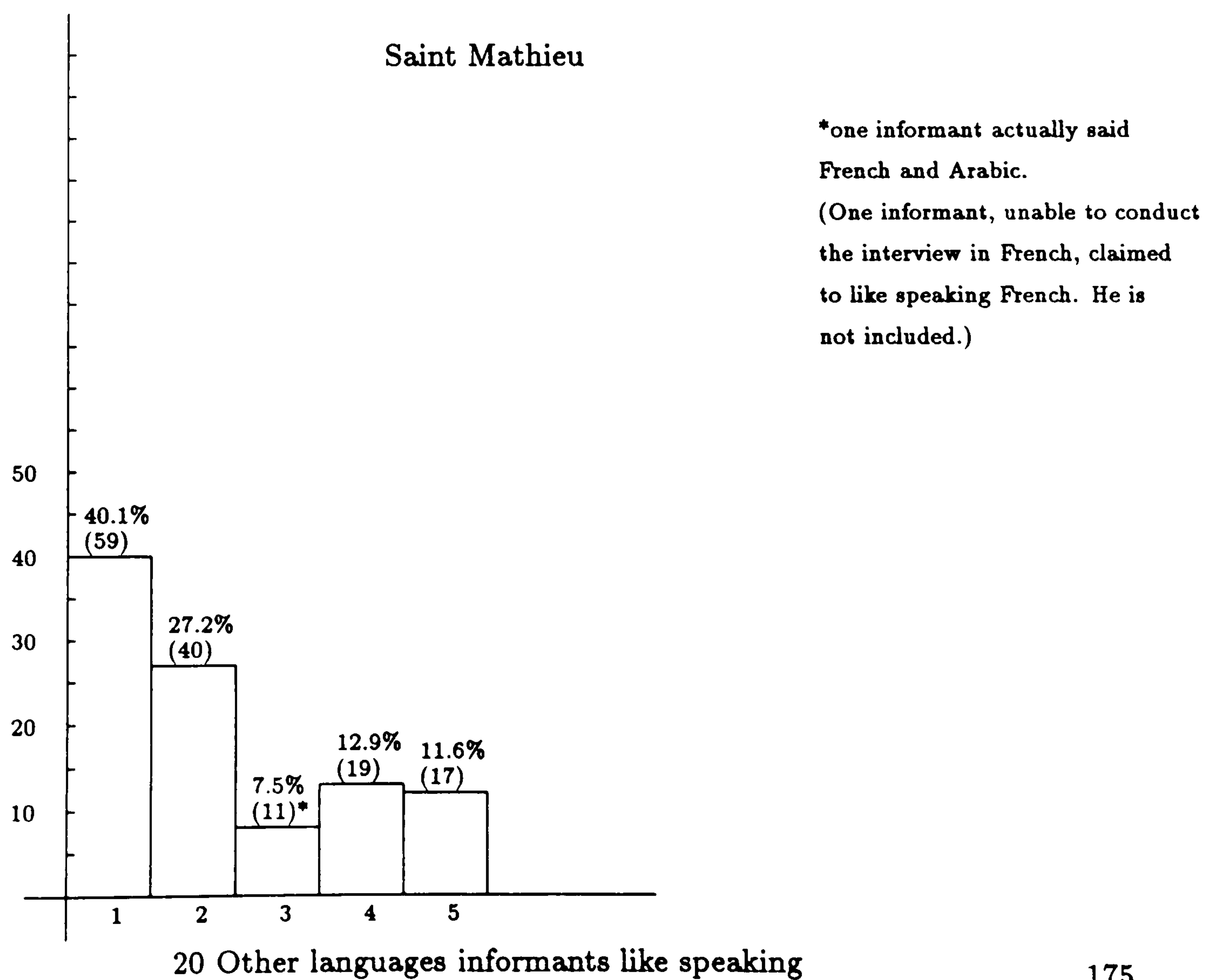
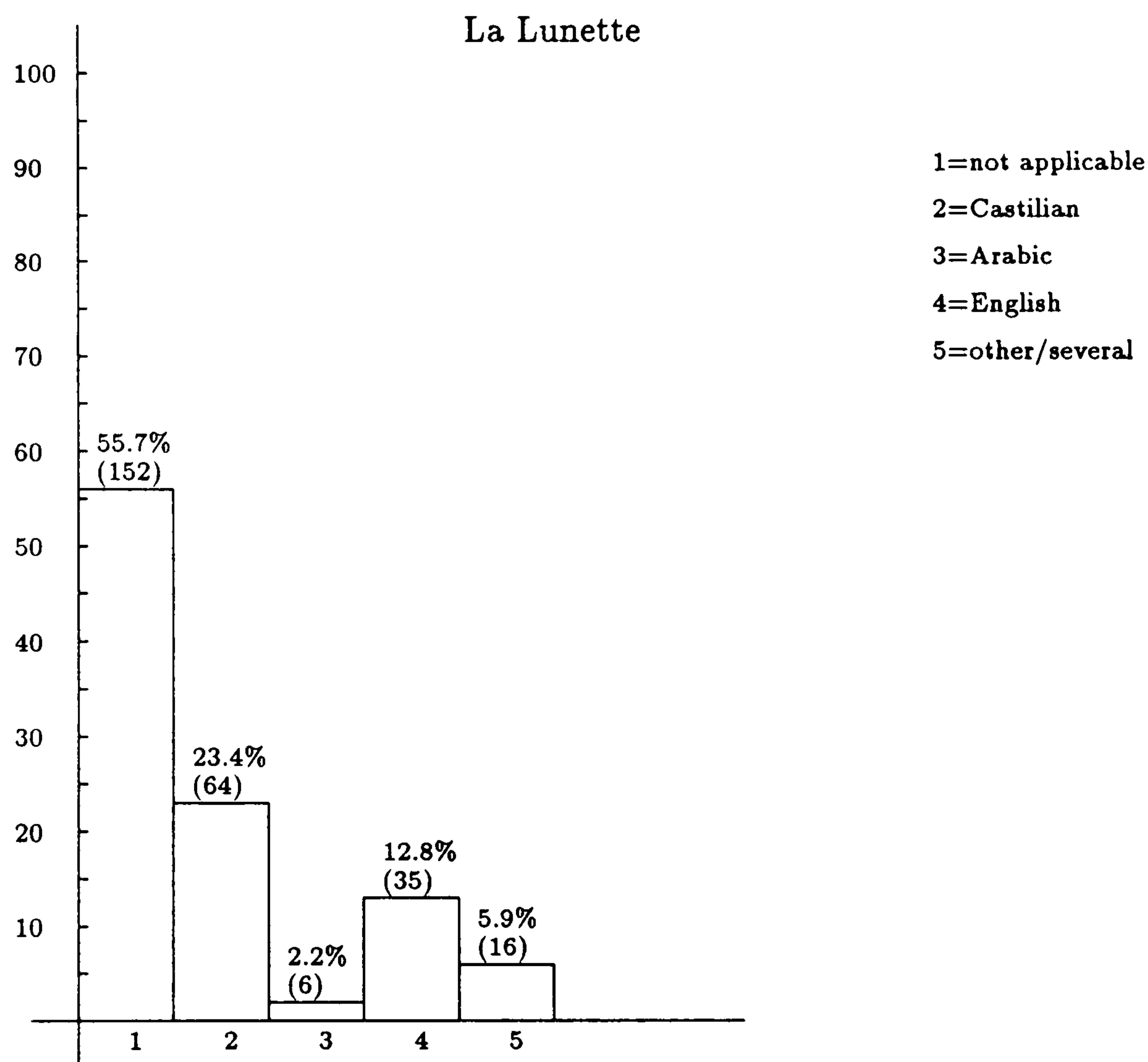
Of those who do speak another language, clearly the vast majority like speaking it. The feelings about each individual language will be considered in chapter nine (Catalan) and chapter ten (all other minority languages).

The breakdowns by age and sex do not seem to reveal any significant differences, but any which may occur will be dealt with in the above-mentioned chapters.





19 Informants who like speaking other languages





Feelings about speaking other languages: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
not applicable	52.2% (59)	51.9% (83)
yes	44.2% (50)	40.6% (65)
no	3.5% (4)	5.6% (9)
indifferent		1.3% (2)
adore		0.6% (1)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
not applicable	37.7% (23)	41.9% (36)
yes °	62.3% (38)	58.1% (50)

Other languages informants like speaking

La Lunette

	men	women
not applicable	54.9% (62)	56.3% (90)
Castilian	23.0% (38)	23.8% (38)
Arabic	1.8% (2)	2.5% (4)
English	14.2% (16)	11.9% (19)
Other/several	6.2% (7)	5.6% (9)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
not applicable	37.7% (23)	41.9% (36)
Castilian	23.0% (14)	30.2% (26)
Arabic	6.6% (4)	7.0% (6)
English	16.4% (10)	10.5% (9)
Other/several	16.4% (10)	8.1% (7)

Feelings about speaking other languages: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	31.6% (12)	40.8% (29)	50.0% (31)	68.6% (70)
yes	52.6% (20)	52.1% (37)	45.2% (28)	29.4% (30)
no	15.8% (6)	2.8% (2)	4.8% (3)	2.0% (2)
indifferent		2.8% (2)		
adore		1.4% (1)		

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	12.5% (4)	46.5% (20)	33.3% (8)	56.3% (27)
yes	87.5% (28)	53.5% (23)	66.7% (16)	43.8% (21)

Other languages informants like speaking

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	44.7% (17)	42.3% (30)	53.2% (33)	70.6% (72)
Castilian	18.4% (7)	29.6% (21)	27.4% (17)	18.6% (19)
Arabic		2.8% (2)	3.2% (2)	2.0% (2)
English	34.2% (13)	18.3% (13)	8.1% (5)	3.9% (4)
Other/several	2.6% (1)	7.0% (5)	8.1% (5)	4.9% (5)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	12.5% (4)	46.5% (20)	33.3% (8)	56.3% (27)
Castilian	25.0% (8)	18.6% (8)	37.5% (9)	31.3% (15)
Arabic	6.3% (2)	7.0% (3)	16.7% (4)	2.1% (1)
English	37.5% (12)	14.0% (6)		2.1% (1)
other/several	18.8% (6)	14.0% (6)	8.3% (2)	6.3% (3)



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## Chapter 8: Analysis of attitudinal questions

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In this chapter responses to the attitudinal questions will be displayed. The accompanying text in the majority of cases explains how the responses have been categorised, and the significance of the various responses. The breakdown by age and sex, as in the preceding chapters, follows the histogram of the full sample, but in many cases there is little to be said about these tables, as no clear patterns can be detected in the breakdowns, and there seems to be little or no correlation between age or sex and attitudes towards regional languages and Perpignan. However, chapters nine and ten will consider whether or not belonging to a certain linguistic group can affect an informant's attitudes.

### 8.1 The future of Catalan in the region

Figure 21 represents responses to the question "Quel est l'avenir du catalan ici?" As with all attitudinal questions, there was a wide range of responses, and the histogram allows for only a limited range of codes, but apart from a few exceptions, it was relatively easy to classify all the responses with just seven codes.

Clearly the most common response was that Catalan has no future in Roussillon. This response came in various forms, such as "en voie de disparition", "négatif", "disparaîtra", "pas brillant", "pas intéressant" "pas important - c'est un dialecte", "noir" or simply "aucun". In a great number of cases this view was expressed with regret, by informants who either spoke Catalan themselves or came from Catalan-speaking backgrounds, or by informants who felt it would be a shame to lose any language. Some others were quite content at the idea that Catalan would disappear, as they considered it a patois which has no value.

Although "no future" was the most common response by a large margin (12.9% in La Lunette and 19.0% in Saint Mathieu), the second most common response was nonetheless "good future". Responses which fell into this category ranged from the rather over-optimistic "By the year 2000 everyone [in the region] will speak Catalan" (this response was qualified by the comment that French is badly spoken in the region) to rather more realistic replies such as "it will become more widespread as more people are taking classes" or "because it is now obligatory in schools". In many cases informants simply said the language had a "grand avenir".

The difference between those who saw no future for Catalan and those who foresaw a good future may at first give the impression that the majority



are pessimistic about it, but in fact this is not the case. Columns four to seven represent responses which are to a greater or lesser extent optimistic about the future of Catalan and if these are added to column three, they give a total of 49.4% in La Lunette and 43.6% in Saint Mathieu, compared to 36.3% and 40.8% of pessimistic responses. It is still noticeable that the inhabitants of La Lunette tend to be more optimistic than those of Saint Mathieu. This could be due to a greater number in Saint Mathieu having witnessed the decline of Catalan as an everyday means of communication, and fewer of them being aware of the intellectual revival of the language.

Around 10.0% of informants in both *quartiers* said that Catalan will stay as it is. While these informants did not share the optimism of those who saw a great expansion of the language, they did not see any reason for it to die out completely either. The following category - "will never die" - expresses a similar sentiment: the few informants who responded in this way also believed that even if Catalan never improved its status or expansion it would never be completely replaced by French.

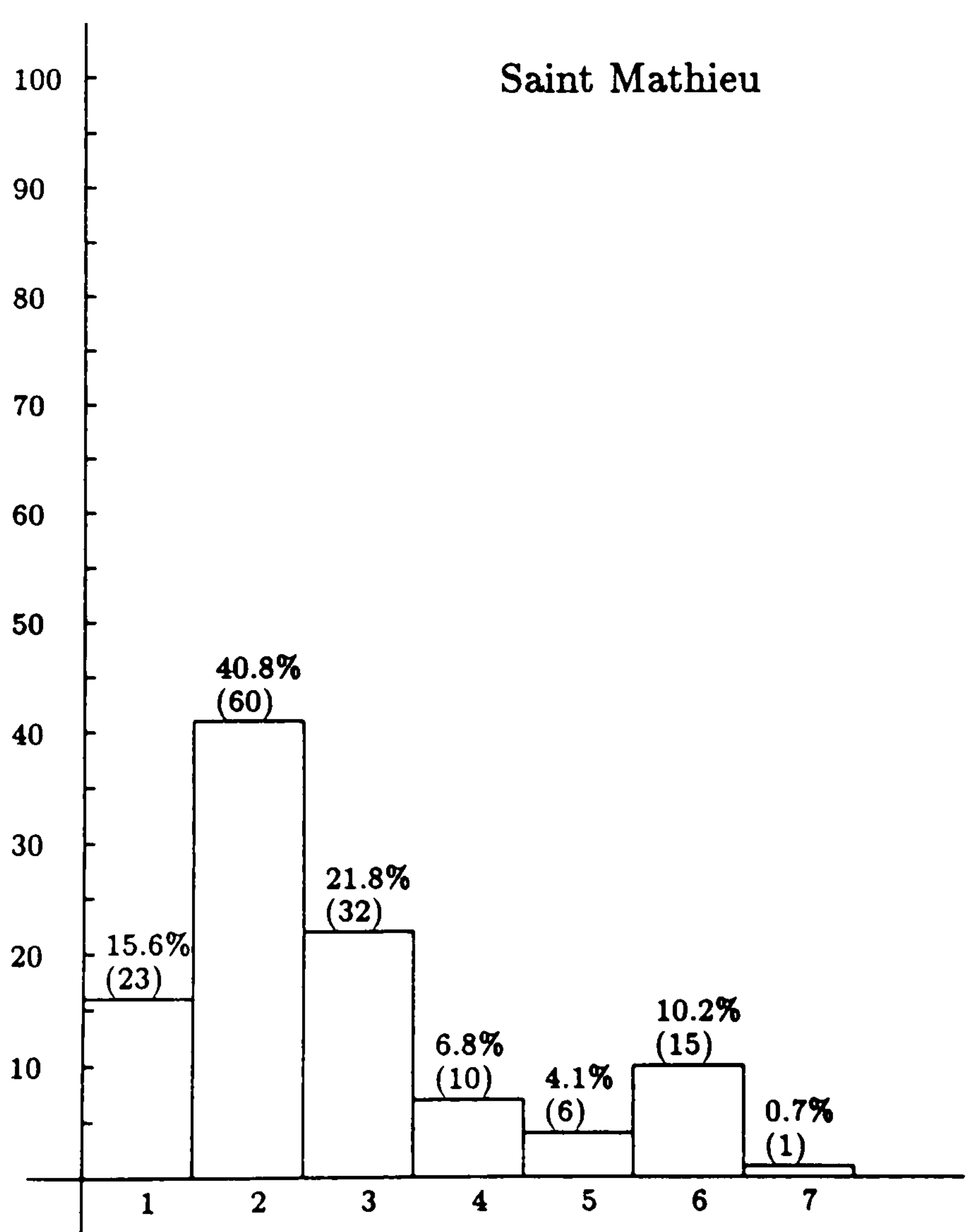
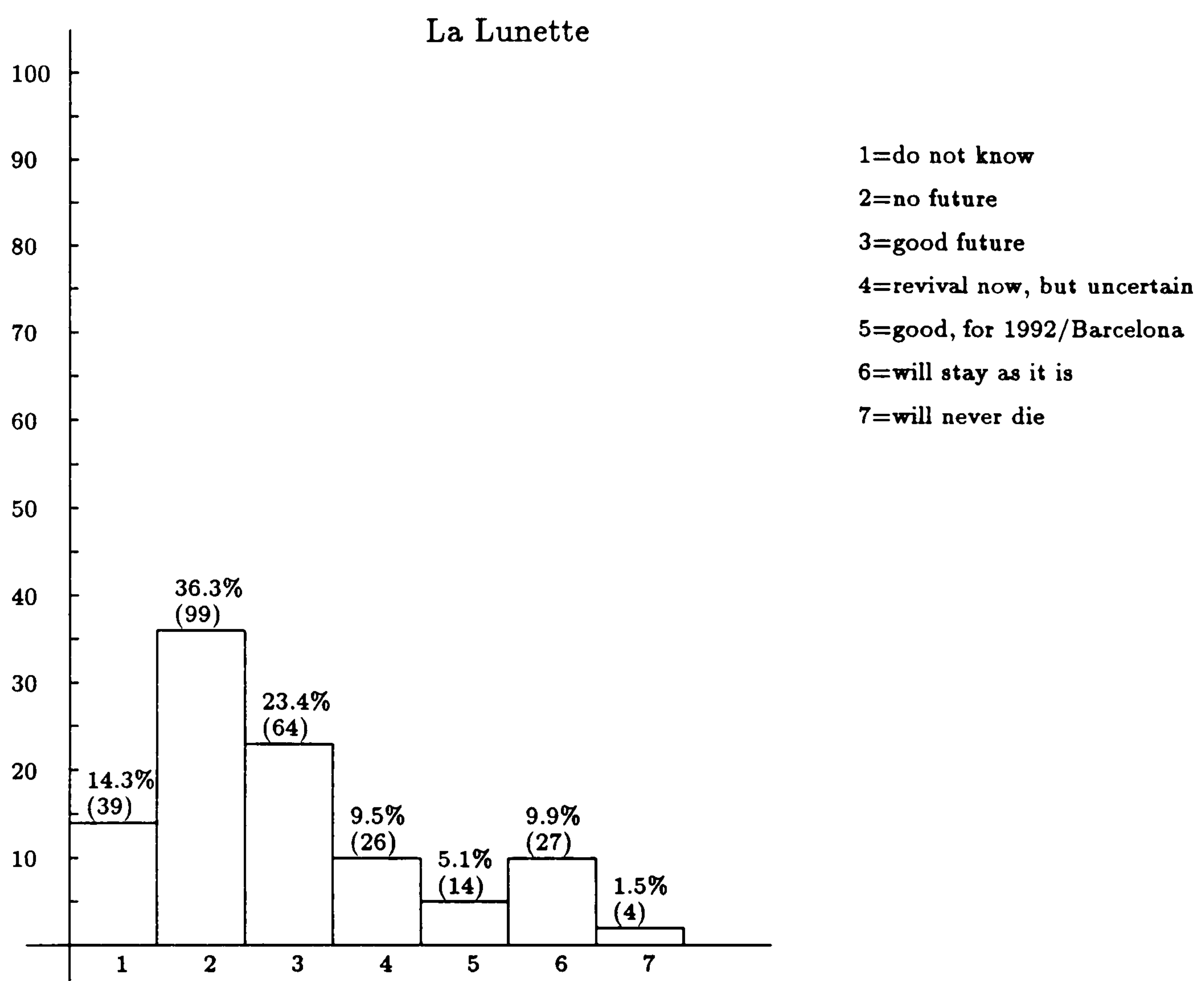
9.5% in La Lunette and 6.8% in Saint Mathieu foresaw a good future for Catalan because of the proximity of Barcelona and the increased trade and business links liable to materialise in 1992. Most people are aware that in Barcelona Catalan is the language of business and industry, and foresee the necessity to look to Barcelona for employment, especially after 1992 and the freeing of trade restrictions within the EC. For some informants in this category, the future of Catalan in Roussillon is assured because of its dominant role in neighbouring South Catalonia and particularly in Barcelona, due to its economic strength.

The final category to mention - "revival now, but uncertain" - comprises all those informants who felt that Catalan is enjoying a certain degree of revival, with the *Universitat d'Estiu*, classes in schools and a renewed interest in Catalan culture and folklore, but they are not convinced that this will be sufficient to ensure a real future for the language.

The breakdown by sex shows virtually no difference in La Lunette: it would appear that men and women have very similar ideas concerning the future of Catalan. There is a greater differentiation in Saint Mathieu: women there seem to be more optimistic about the future of the language. A lower percentage of women see no future for Catalan, and a higher percentage a good future, whereas a very high percentage of men see no future for the language and twice as many men as women think it will stay as it is now.

The age factor seems relevant here too: the percentage of young informants who see no future for the language is much higher than the percentage in older age groups. However, in La Lunette the percentage of young people who saw a good future was higher than any of the others. In fact, it is true in both *quartiers* that more young people expressed an opinion - a higher percentage responded "do not know" in all the other age groups.





The future of Catalan in the region: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
do not know	12.4% (14)	15.6% (25)
no future	36.3% (41)	36.3% (58)
good future	23.0% (26)	23.8% (38)
renewal now, but uncertain	9.7% (11)	9.4% (15)
good, for 1992/Barcelona	7.1% (8)	3.8% (6)
will stay the same	10.6% (12)	9.4% (15)
will never die	0.9% (1)	1.9% (3)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
do not know	16.4% (10)	15.1% (13)
no future	47.5% (29)	36.0% (31)
good future	14.8% (9)	26.7% (23)
renewal now, but uncertain	3.3% (2)	9.3% (8)
good, for 1992/Barcelona	3.3% (2)	4.7% (4)
will stay the same	14.8% (9)	7.0% (6)
will never die		1.2% (1)

The future of Catalan in the region: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
do not know	10.5% (4)	15.5% (11)	14.5% (9)	14.7% (15)
no future	50.0% (19)	38.0% (27)	33.9% (21)	31.4% (32)
good future	28.9% (11)	19.7% (14)	19.4% (12)	26.5% (27)
renewal now, but uncertain	2.6% (1)	9.9% (7)	14.5% (9)	8.8% (9)
good, for 1992/Barcelona	2.6% (1)	9.9% (7)	3.2% (2)	3.9% (4)
will stay the same	5.3% (2)	7.0% (5)	11.3% (7)	12.7% (13)
will never die			3.2% (2)	2.0% (2)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
do not know	12.5% (4)	14.0% (6)	20.8% (5)	16.7% (8)
no future	68.8% (22)	39.5% (17)	25.0% (6)	31.3% (16)
good future	9.4% (3)	14.0% (6)	29.2% (7)	33.3% (16)
renewal now, but uncertain		9.3% (4)	12.5% (3)	6.3% (3)
good, for 1992/Barcelona	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)
will stay the same	6.3% (2)	16.3% (7)	8.3% (2)	8.3% (2)
will never die				2.1% (1)



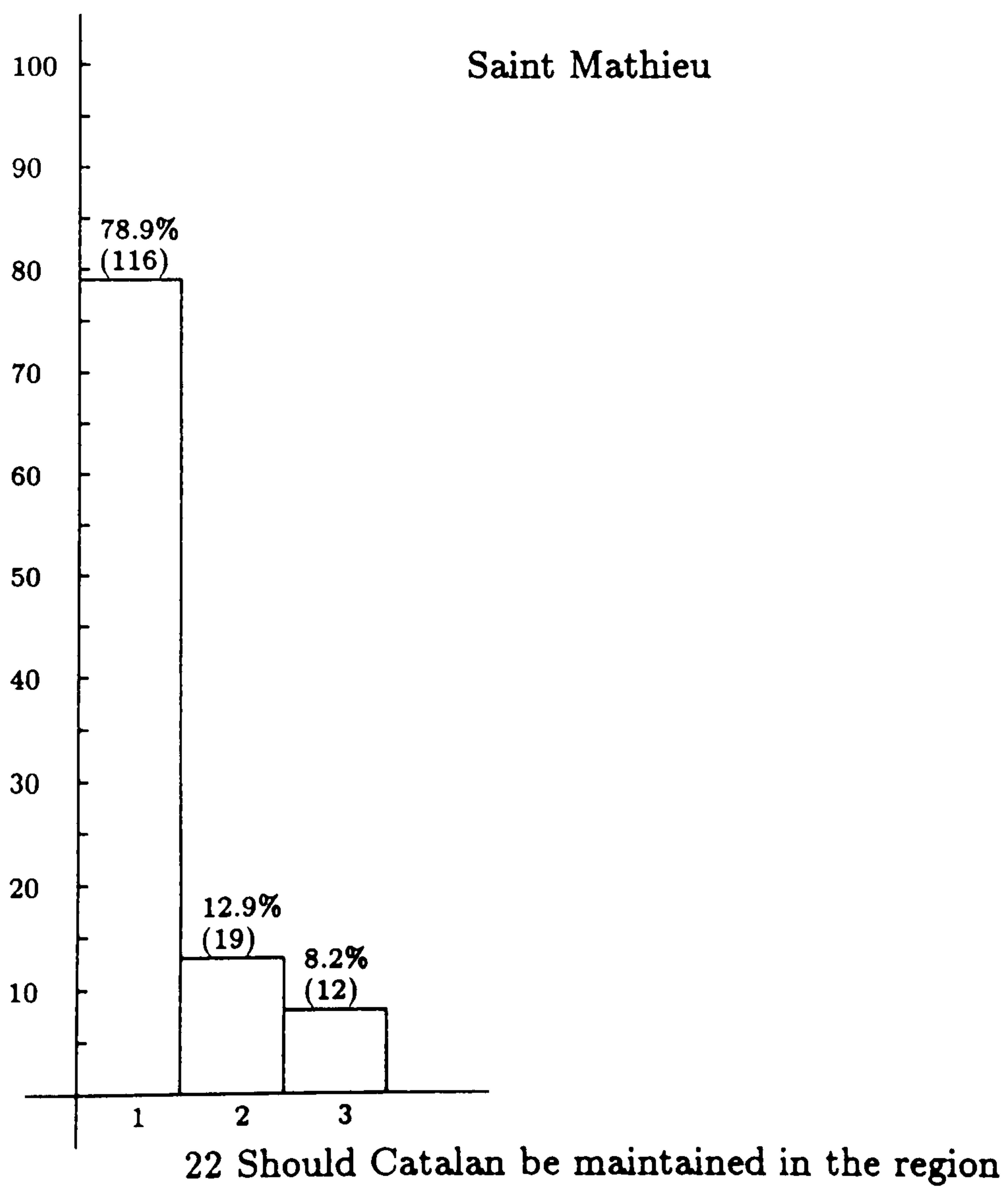
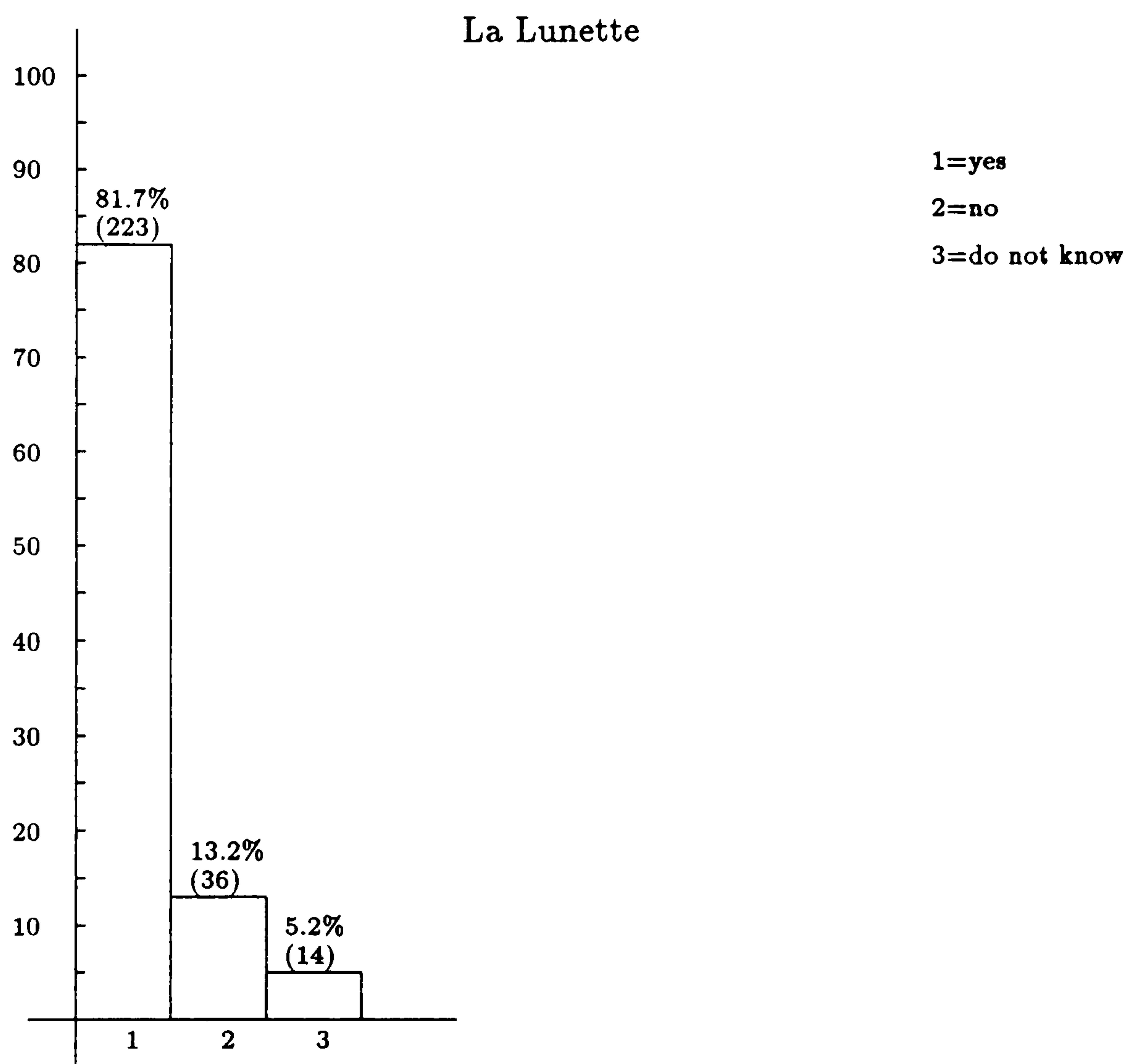
## 8.2 Maintaining Catalan in the region

There were two questions on this subject: “Faudrait-il essayer de maintenir la langue catalane ici?” and “Pourquoi?” clearly the first question would elicit a straightforward yes, no or do not know response, and the following question was necessary to determine why they had responded as they had.

It is interesting to note the difference in responses to this question and the preceding one: when asked what they think will be the future of Catalan, less than 50.0% are very optimistic about it, yet when asked if it should be maintained, slightly over 80.0% said yes. This would seem to suggest that Perpignanais see Catalan on two levels: at a realistic, practical level they can see little use for it, and few people are actively concerned for its survival, yet at a perhaps more idealistic level a large majority feel that it should not be allowed to die. Indeed, a number of informants recognised this dichotomy, saying that they would like to see Catalan maintained, but admitting that they do nothing to maintain it, and held out little real hope of others doing so.

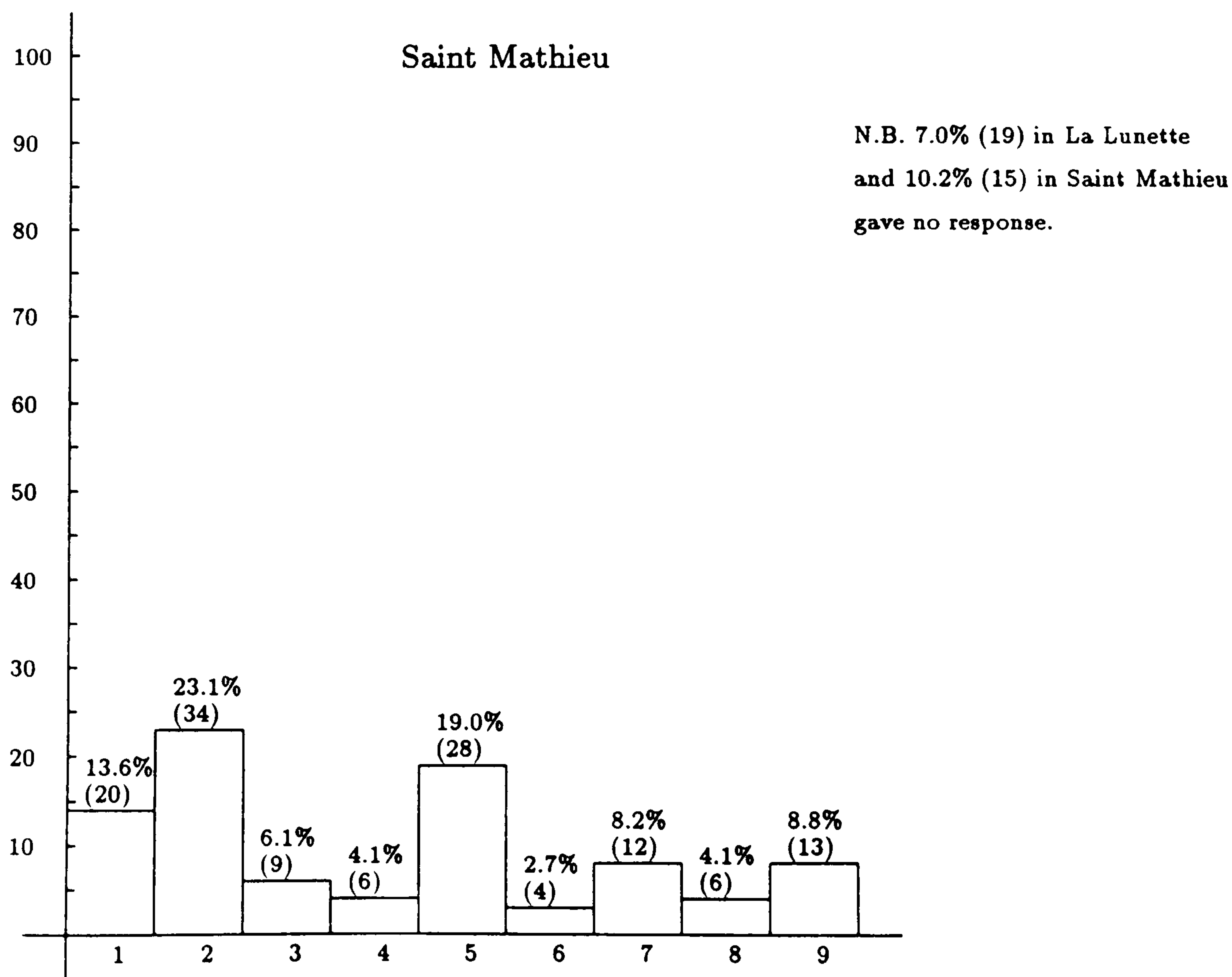
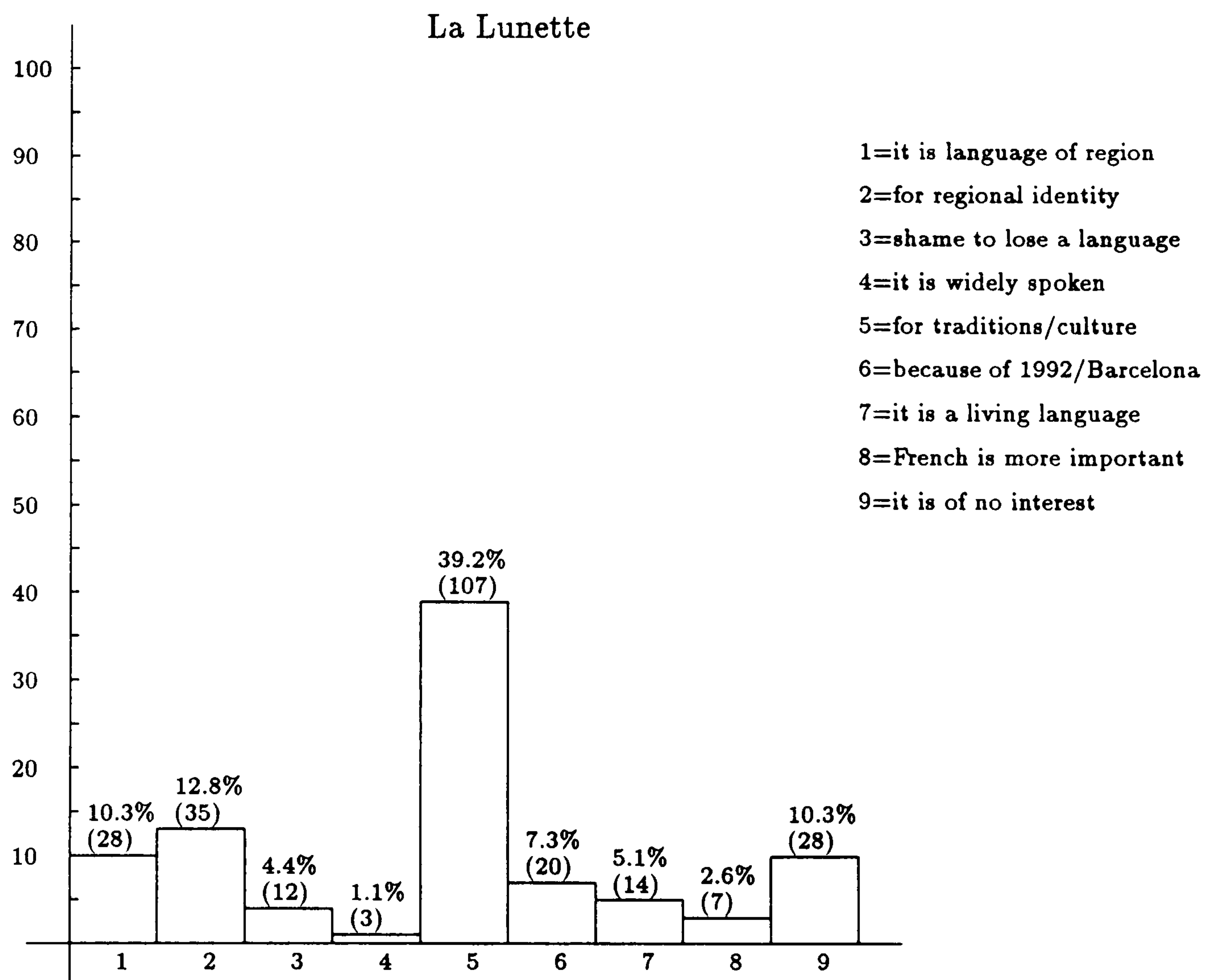
There were a variety of reasons given for wanting to see Catalan maintained, which can be well summarised under the headings for columns one to seven in figure 23. The primary reason in La Lunette was, by a clear majority, “for traditions/culture”, which is very close to the primary reason in Saint Mathieu: “for regional identity”. In fact it could almost be said that these two headings represent different facets of the same issue: in the first case, informants recognise that the Catalan language is the vehicle of Catalan culture and that if the language is lost, culture and tradition will be lost too. In the second case, informants see the language as a vital element of the culture which gives the region an identity distinct from the rest of France.

The breakdowns by age and sex do not seem to suggest that feelings about the maintaining of Catalan in the region is in any way linked to either of those variables.



22 Should Catalan be maintained in the region





Maintaining Catalan in the region: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
yes	84.1% (95)	80.0% (128)
no	10.6% (12)	15.0% (24)
do not know	5.3% (6)	4.4% (7)
no reply		0.6% (1)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
yes	75.4% (46)	81.4% (70)
no	16.4% (10)	10.5% (9)
do not know	8.2% (5)	8.1% (7)

22 Should Catalan be maintained in the region.

La Lunette

	men	women
not applicable	6.2% (7)	7.5% (12)
it is the language of the region	14.2% (16)	7.5% (12)
for regional identity	13.5% (15)	12.5% (20)
shame to lose a language	2.7% (3)	5.6% (9)
it is widely spoken		1.9% (3)
for traditions/culture	40.7% (46)	38.1% (61)
because of Barcelona/1992	8.8% (10)	6.3% (10)
it is a living language	3.5% (4)	6.3% (10)
French is more important	1.8% (2)	3.1% (5)
it is of no interest	8.8% (10)	11.3% (18)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
not applicable	9.8% (6)	10.5% (9)
it is the language of the region	9.8% (6)	16.3% (14)
for regional identity	26.2% (16)	20.9% (18)
a shame to lose a language	4.9% (3)	7.0% (6)
it's widely spoken	6.6% (4)	2.3% (2)
for traditions/culture	16.4% (10)	20.9% (18)
because of Barcelona/1992	3.3% (2)	2.3% (2)
it is a living language	4.9% (3)	10.5% (9)
French is more important	6.6% (4)	2.3% (2)
it is of no interest	11.5% (7)	7.0% (6)

23 Why Catalan should be maintained.



Maintaining Catalan in the region: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	78.9% (30)	76.1% (54)	88.7% (55)	82.3% (84)
no	15.8% (6)	18.3% (13)	6.5% (4)	12.7% (13)
do not know	5.3% (2)	5.6% (4)	3.2% (2)	4.9% (5)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	78.1% (25)	83.7% (36)	79.2% (19)	75.0% (36)
no	18.6% (6)	9.3% (4)	8.3% (2)	14.6% (7)
do not know	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)	12.5% (3)	10.4% (5)

22 Should Catalan be maintained in the region.

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	7.9% (3)	7.0% (5)	6.5% (4)	6.9% (7)
language of the region	18.4% (7)	5.6% (4)	6.5% (4)	12.7% (13)
for regional identity	18.4% (7)	14.1% (10)	17.7% (11)	6.9% (7)
shame to lose a language	7.9% (3)	4.2% (3)	4.8% (3)	2.9% (3)
it is widely spoken		2.8% (2)	1.6% (1)	
for traditions/culture	26.3% (10)	33.8% (24)	40.3% (25)	47.1% (48)
because of Barcelona/1992	2.6% (1)	11.3% (8)	8.1% (5)	5.9% (6)
it is a living language	2.6% (1)	5.6% (4)	6.5% (4)	4.9% (5)
French is more important		4.2% (3)		3.9% (3)
it is of no interest	15.8% (6)	11.3% (8)	8.1% (5)	8.8% (9)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	6.3% (2)	11.6% (5)	16.7% (4)	8.3% (4)
language of the region	6.3% (2)	16.3% (7)	16.7% (4)	14.6% (7)
for regional identity	34.4% (11)	18.6% (8)	20.8% (5)	20.8% (10)
shame to lose a language	9.4% (3)	4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	6.3% (3)
it is widely spoken	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)	8.3% (2)	2.1% (1)
for traditions/culture	6.3% (2)	25.6% (11)	20.8% (5)	20.8% (10)
because of Barcelona/1992	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)		4.2% (2)
it is a living language	9.4% (3)	9.3% (4)	8.3% (2)	6.3% (3)
French is more important	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)		6.3% (3)
it is of no interest	12.5% (4)	7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)	10.4% (5)

23 Why Catalan should be maintained.



### 8.3 The importance of Catalan in the region

The next two questions follow the same pattern as the last two: the first is “Croyez-vous que ce soit important, aujourd’hui, de parler catalan ici?” and the second “Pourquoi?”

The histograms for question 24 show that opinion is almost evenly divided as to whether or not it is important to speak Catalan in the region, with a slight majority in favour in both *quartiers*.

The percentages on figure 25 do not add up to 100 because informants with no opinion have not been included. In La Lunette 6.6% (18) of informants had no opinion; in Saint Mathieu 4.8% (7).

Of the nine categories of responses, only three correspond to negative responses, whilst a similar (slightly higher) number of positive responses are divided among six categories.

The first category - a negative one - has the highest percentage of responses in both *quartiers*. It reflects the prevailing opinion, implemented and reinforced by the French government ever since North Catalonia was annexed to France, that French is the most important language in the French state. Since anyone brought up in France would have had this idea inculcated into them from an early age, it is not surprising that a large number of informants should respond in this way. What is surprising is rather that so few gave this response - only 22.5% of the whole sample. This percentage could be enlarged by adding to it the second category of response - “Catalan is not important”. This response simply gives a different emphasis to the same issue: if French must come first, minority languages, such as Catalan, must be of lesser importance. 12.4% of the total sample gave this second response, which makes a total of 34.9% who subscribe to the idea of French linguistic supremacy in North Catalonia.

The third category was a very popular one in Saint Mathieu, rather less so in La Lunette. It makes the seemingly obvious comment that the region is in Catalonia, therefore it is important to speak Catalan. Seemingly obvious but only mentioned by 13.4% of the whole sample, suggesting that most people see no importance in the original regional distinction.

Category four - “it is useful for some people” - could be either for or against Catalan being spoken, depending on who “some people” referred to. In some cases it favoured the use of Catalan, referring to the fact that, due to increasing trade links with Barcelona, Catalan is becoming a useful language for a number of businesses, and is likely to increase in importance. On the other hand, for some informants Catalan is only useful for old people or inhabitants of little villages, who still use Catalan regularly. In these cases the response was rather a negative one, as the “some people” mentioned are not considered to be particularly important.



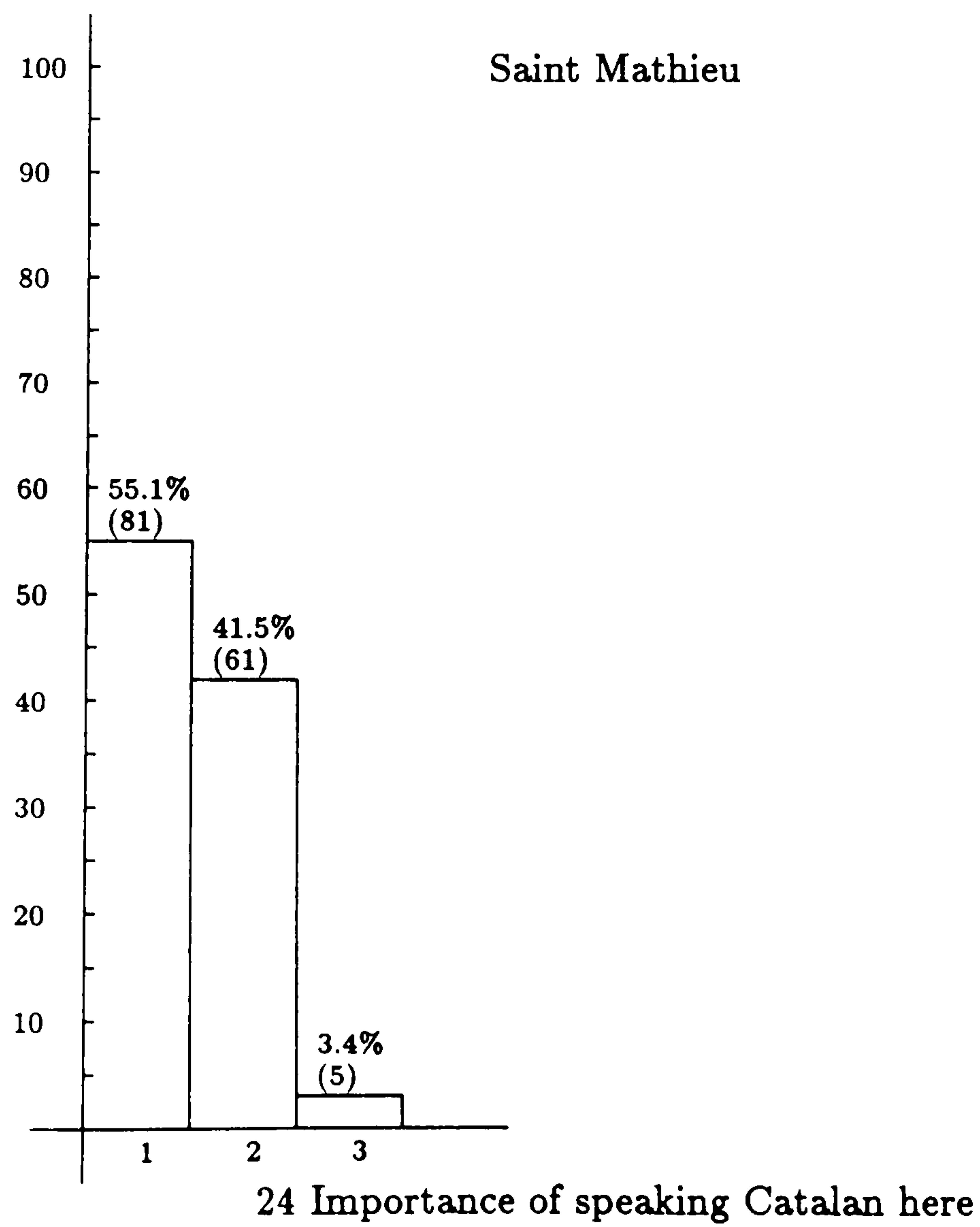
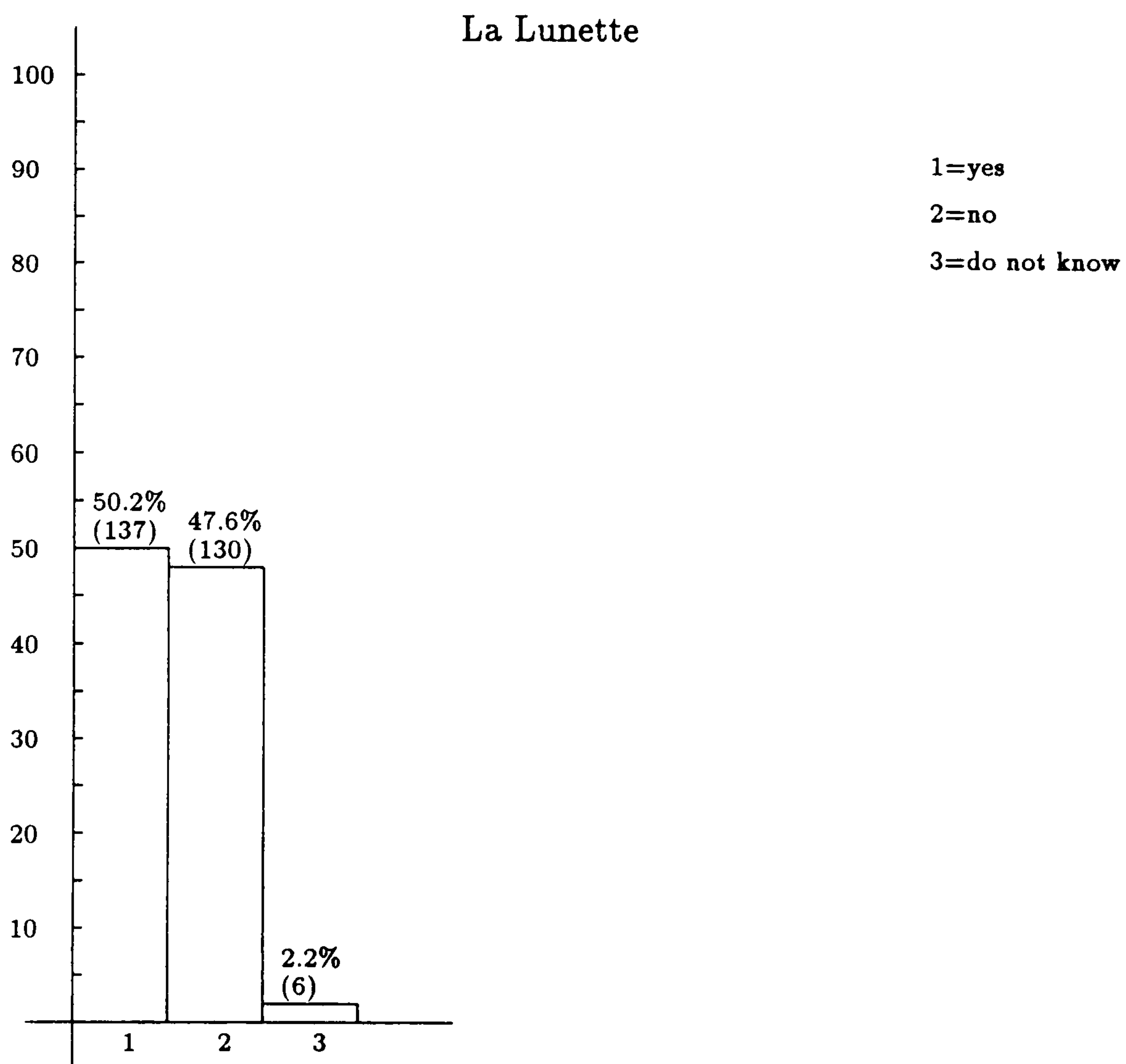
Categories five and six could be seen as developments of the two sides of category four. Category five - "because of Barcelona" - was a popular response in La Lunette, though rather less so in Saint Mathieu. It is a more specific reference to the role of Barcelona in the future development of Catalan. Informants responding in this way feel that the commercial and industrial future of Perpignan lies in closer links with Barcelona and that this will inevitably involve giving a greater importance to the Catalan language. In contrast to this, the sixth response is "only old people speak it"; in other words there is no importance in speaking Catalan now in North Catalonia, because it is a dying language, used only by the older generations.

The two categories least subscribed to were two seemingly opposing views, both claiming that Catalan is important today. Category seven, more popular in La Lunette than in Saint Mathieu, says that Catalan is important for communicating with local people. For a number of informants it is a matter of courtesy to be able to use the local language when travelling in the region, and sometimes it is a necessity in small villages, where many older people are much more at ease in Catalan. For others, even if they do not speak Catalan themselves, the fact that local people do speak it makes it important to know the language in the region. This rather parochial view is followed by a much wider one - "for the EC". A very small number of informants believed that in view of the united Europe of 1992 it would be important to build regional identities, as it would be "l'Europe des régions" and regional languages and cultures would take on a greater importance than hitherto.

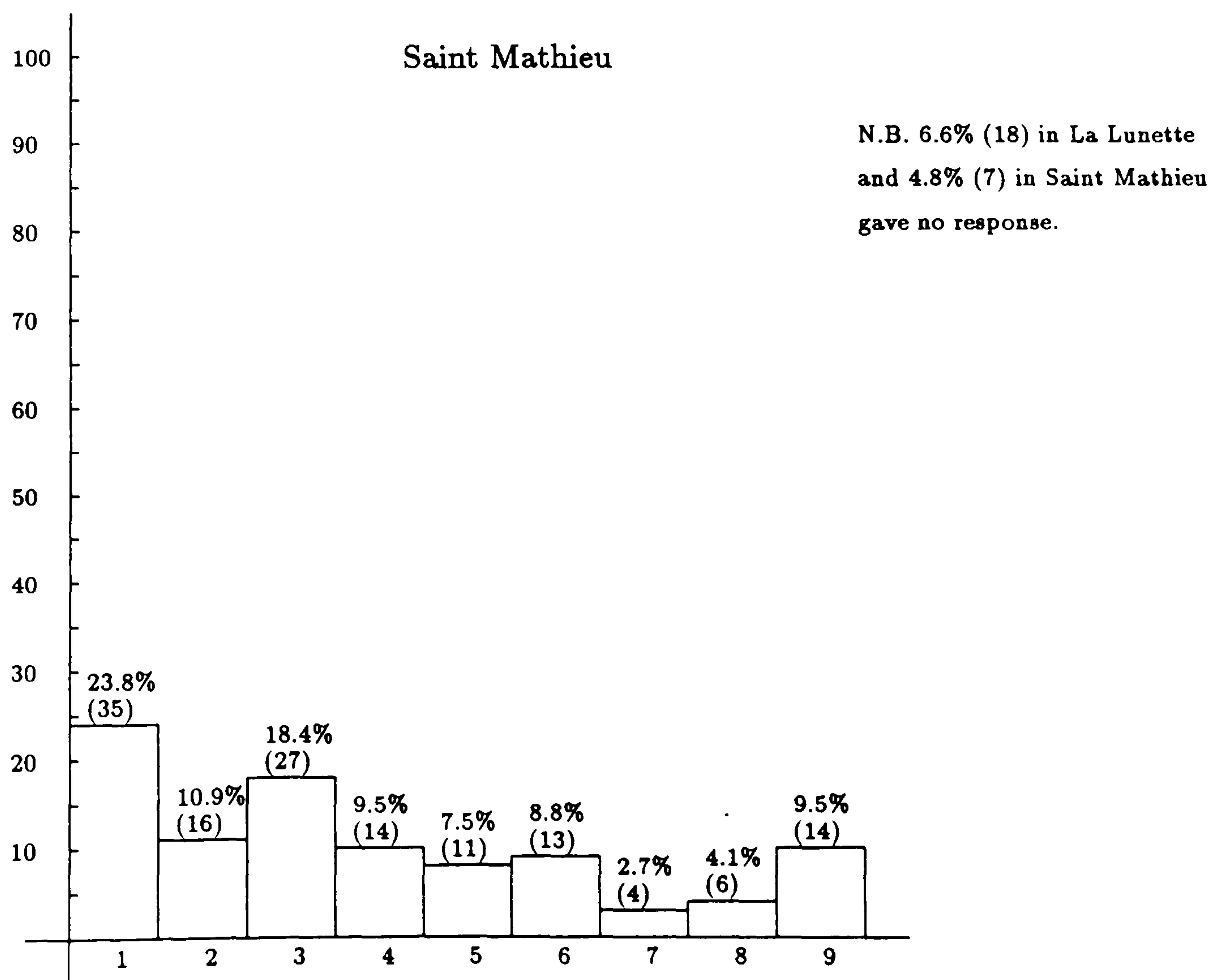
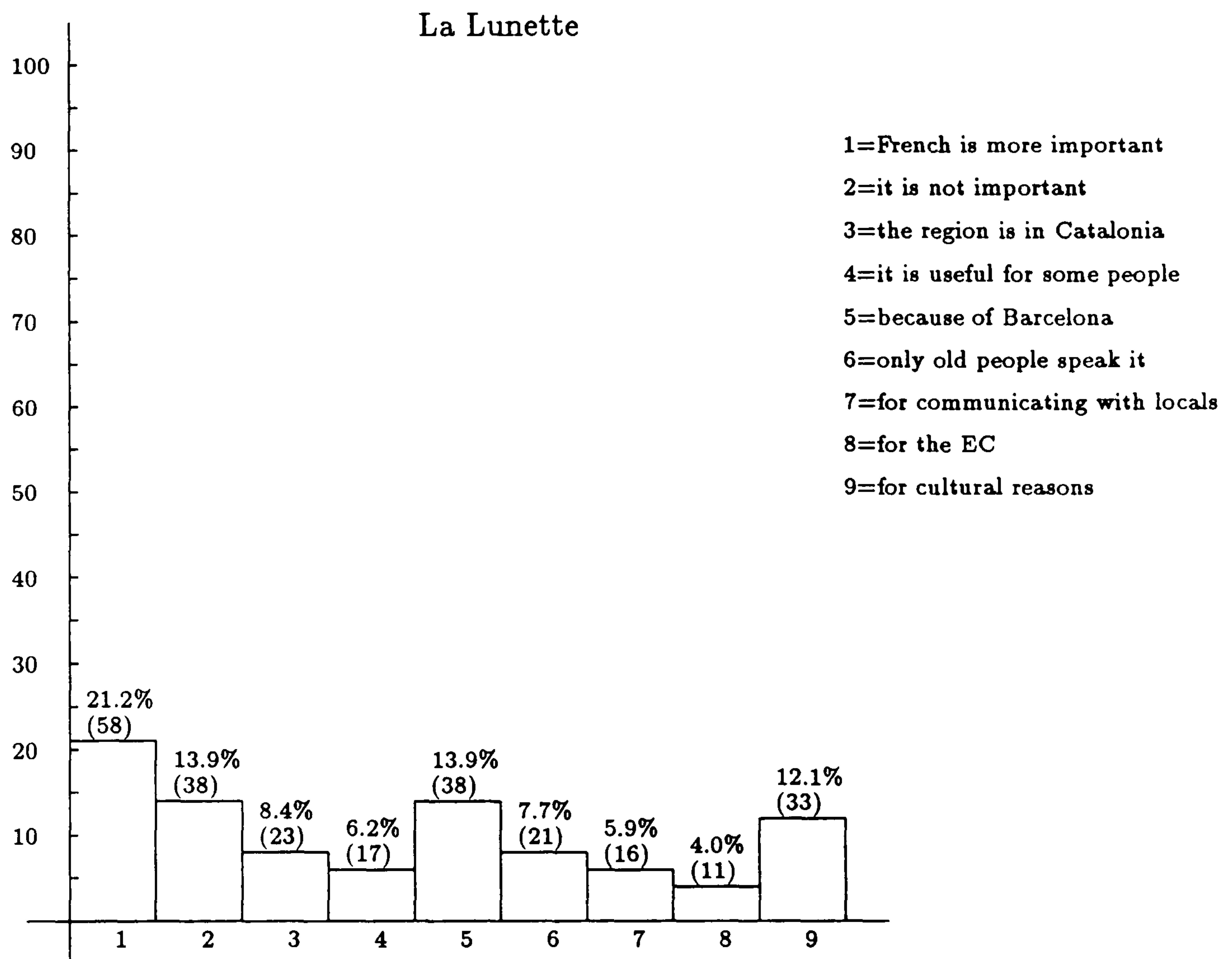
The final category, a relatively popular one, is "for cultural reasons". This response generally reflected a feeling that Catalan *ought* to be important in the region, that it is important to speak it in order to preserve Catalan culture and identity. These informants did not actually consider it important in the sense that it is a vital, or even useful language for everyday communication.

The breakdown by sex shows that a higher percentage of women in both *quartiers* consider it important to speak Catalan in the region. In Saint Mathieu this percentage is considerably higher than for men. Logically then the number of men who consider simply that Catalan is not important is higher in both *quartiers* - almost twice as many men as women in La Lunette take this view. In Saint Mathieu almost twice as many men as women consider that French is more important.

As far as age is concerned, there appears to be a higher percentage of older informants who feel that the language is important, the difference between young and old being particularly marked in Saint Mathieu. It would be difficult, however, to claim that there is any regular pattern across age groups for the reasons behind these answers.







The importance of Catalan in the region: breakdown by sex

La Lunette			
	men		women
yes	47.8%	(54)	51.9% (83)
no	51.9%	(58)	45.0% (72)
do not know	0.9%	(1)	3.1% (5)

Saint Mathieu			
	men		women
yes	44.3%	(27)	62.8% (54)
no	52.5%	(32)	33.7% (29)
do not know	3.3%	(2)	3.5% (3)

24 The importance of speaking Catalan in the region.

La Lunette			
	men		women
not applicable	5.3%	(6)	7.5% (12)
French is more important	20.2%	(23)	21.9% (35)
it is not important	19.5%	(22)	10.0% (16)
the region is in Catalonia	3.5%	(4)	11.9% (19)
it is useful for some people	7.1%	(8)	5.6% (9)
because of Barcelona	14.2%	(16)	13.8% (22)
only old people speak it	7.1%	(8)	5.6% (9)
for communicating with locals	7.1%	(8)	5.0% (8)
for the EC	4.4%	(5)	3.8% (6)
for cultural reasons	11.5%	(13)	12.5% (20)

Saint Mathieu			
	men		women
not applicable	4.9%	(3)	4.7% (4)
French is more important	31.1%	(19)	18.6% (16)
it is not important	13.1%	(8)	9.3% (8)
the region is in Catalonia	18.0%	(11)	18.6% (16)
it is useful for some people	4.9%	(3)	12.8% (11)
because of Barcelona	4.9%	(3)	9.3% (8)
only old people speak it	11.5%	(7)	7.0% (6)
for communication with locals	3.3%	(2)	2.3% (2)
for the EC			7.0% (6)
for cultural reasons	8.2%	(5)	10.5% (9)

25 Why Catalan is important in the region.



The importance of Catalan in the region: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	47.4% (18)	49.3% (35)	46.8% (29)	53.9% (55)
no	50.0% (19)	49.3% (35)	46.8% (29)	46.1% (47)
do not know	2.6% (1)	1.4% (1)	6.5% (4)	

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	43.8% (14)	46.5% (20)	62.5% (15)	66.7% (32)
no	53.1% (17)	51.2% (22)	33.3% (8)	29.2% (14)
do not know	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)

24 Should Catalan be maintained in the region.

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	7.9% (3)	5.6% (4)	12.9% (8)	2.9% (3)
French is more important	21.1% (8)	21.1% (15)	19.4% (12)	22.5% (23)
it is not important	15.8% (6)	15.5% (11)	12.9% (8)	12.7% (13)
the region is in Catalonia	5.3% (2)	7.0% (5)	11.3% (7)	8.8% (9)
it is useful for some people	13.2% (5)	7.0% (5)	4.8% (3)	3.9% (4)
because of Barcelona	10.5% (4)	11.3% (8)	14.5% (9)	16.7% (17)
only old people speak it	10.5% (4)	8.5% (6)	4.8% (3)	7.8% (8)
for talking to locals	5.3% (2)	5.6% (4)	1.6% (1)	8.8% (9)
for the EC		5.6% (4)		6.9% (7)
for cultural reasons	10.5% (4)	12.7% (9)	17.7% (11)	8.8% (9)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	3.1% (1)	4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	6.3% (3)
French is more important	31.3% (10)	30.2% (13)	25.0% (6)	12.5% (6)
it is not important	9.4% (3)	18.6% (8)	4.2% (1)	8.3% (4)
the region is in Catalonia	9.4% (3)	11.6% (5)	20.8% (5)	29.2% (14)
it is useful for some people	18.8% (6)	7.0% (3)	20.8% (5)	
because of Barcelona		11.6% (5)	4.2% (1)	10.4% (5)
only old people speak it	12.5% (4)	4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	10.4% (5)
for talking to locals	3.1% (1)	4.7% (2)	4.2% (1)	
for the EC	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
for cultural reasons	6.3% (2)	4.7% (2)	8.3% (2)	16.7% (8)

25 Why Catalan is important.



## 8.4 Government involvement in regional languages

Once again there are two questions on this subject: "Pensez-vous que c'est le gouvernement qui devrait s'occuper des langues régionales?" followed by "Comment?" There is also a third question in this section, however, "Qui d'autre devrait s'en occuper?"

The first question elicited a significantly different response in the two *quartiers*: in La Lunette opinion is fairly evenly divided, with a slight majority against government intervention in the question of regional languages and under 10.0% who do not know. In Saint Mathieu over 50.0% are in favour of government involvement and a larger proportion do not know. After this initial reaction, however, responses to the second question of the series seem to be similarly distributed in the two *quartiers*. For many people in both *quartiers* the immediate reaction was that the government had more important matters to occupy itself with, such as unemployment, and therefore this question was irrelevant.

Immediately apparent from the second set of histograms is the fact that well over half the population sampled are unable or unprepared to say in what way the government should intervene in the management of regional languages. Although only 40.8% of the whole sample were against governmental involvement, 53.5% said that the following question was not applicable. This means that another 15.0% (41 informants) in La Lunette and 15.7% (23 informants) in Saint Mathieu were in favour of government involvement, but could not say what form it should take. A certain number of these may be accounted for by informants who had replied "do not know" to question 26, since the number of "do not know" to question 27 is lower (by 1.8% (5) in La Lunette and 6.8% (10) in Saint Mathieu). Nevertheless it is a striking fact that only 35.2% (96) in La Lunette and 43.5% (64) in Saint Mathieu are capable of saying how government should be concerned for regional languages.

The most common response in both *quartiers* was number three "through schools". For most people, the only effective way the government could do anything for regional languages would be to improve facilities for teaching them in schools. Responses in this category varied from the simple "par les écoles" to suggestions that a "chaire de catalan" should be created at the University of Perpignan or Montpellier.

Category two often had a similar meaning: a number of informants simply responded that the government could be concerned "par les subventions", but when asked to be more specific usually said they meant subsidies to schools, which is effectively the same as category three.

Category four - "increasing facilities" - simply meant increasing the possibilities for people to learn regional languages and generally have access to them, so in a sense is yet another version of three. However, it is wider in



scope, as it is not only looking at the teaching of Catalan in schools, but at the possibility of enabling everybody to learn the language.

The response coded "by recognising languages" reflects the awareness that regional languages need to be recognised as such, otherwise they will die out, being seen as mere "patois" and associated with a backward peasant mentality. In fact this response could involve the others already mentioned, as a real recognition of regional languages would involve an increase in "facilities" and subsidies to enable an effective teaching and propagation of these languages.

The final response in this series, which was not given by many informants, is "through the media". By this they meant an increase in the number of hours devoted to radio and television programmes in Catalan, and articles written in Catalan in local papers.

On the whole, informants seemed to have a much clearer idea of who else ought to be involved in regional languages. For the whole sample only 17.0% claimed the question was not applicable, 17.1% did not know and 3.6% gave no response. Thus 81.7% in La Lunette and 73.4% in Saint Mathieu - 77.5% overall - had a response to this question.

The most popular response in La Lunette was simply "the region", which in Saint Mathieu shared first place with two other, related responses. "The region" is obviously a very vague response, merely indicating that regional languages are a regional concern, not a matter for national government. Categories three and four are more specific versions of this response: three says it is the responsibility of local government to feel concerned and act in favour of its regional language, whereas four says that it is the local people - "les intéressés" - who should act if they want to preserve their language.

Categories four and five could be seen as further, still more specific, versions of the same response. Here informants preferred to leave responsibility to the specialists - regional schools and local associations - considering that they would be best able to do something positive for the language they in some way represent. This response was less popular than the more general ones, which would seem to suggest that a majority feel that maintaining a regional language can not be left to a few specialists but must be the concern of those responsible for the region, if not everyone living there.

If these three questions are taken together, the clear conclusion is that for most people national government has no time for regional languages, and it is those who are immediately concerned who must act if regional languages are not to sink into oblivion.

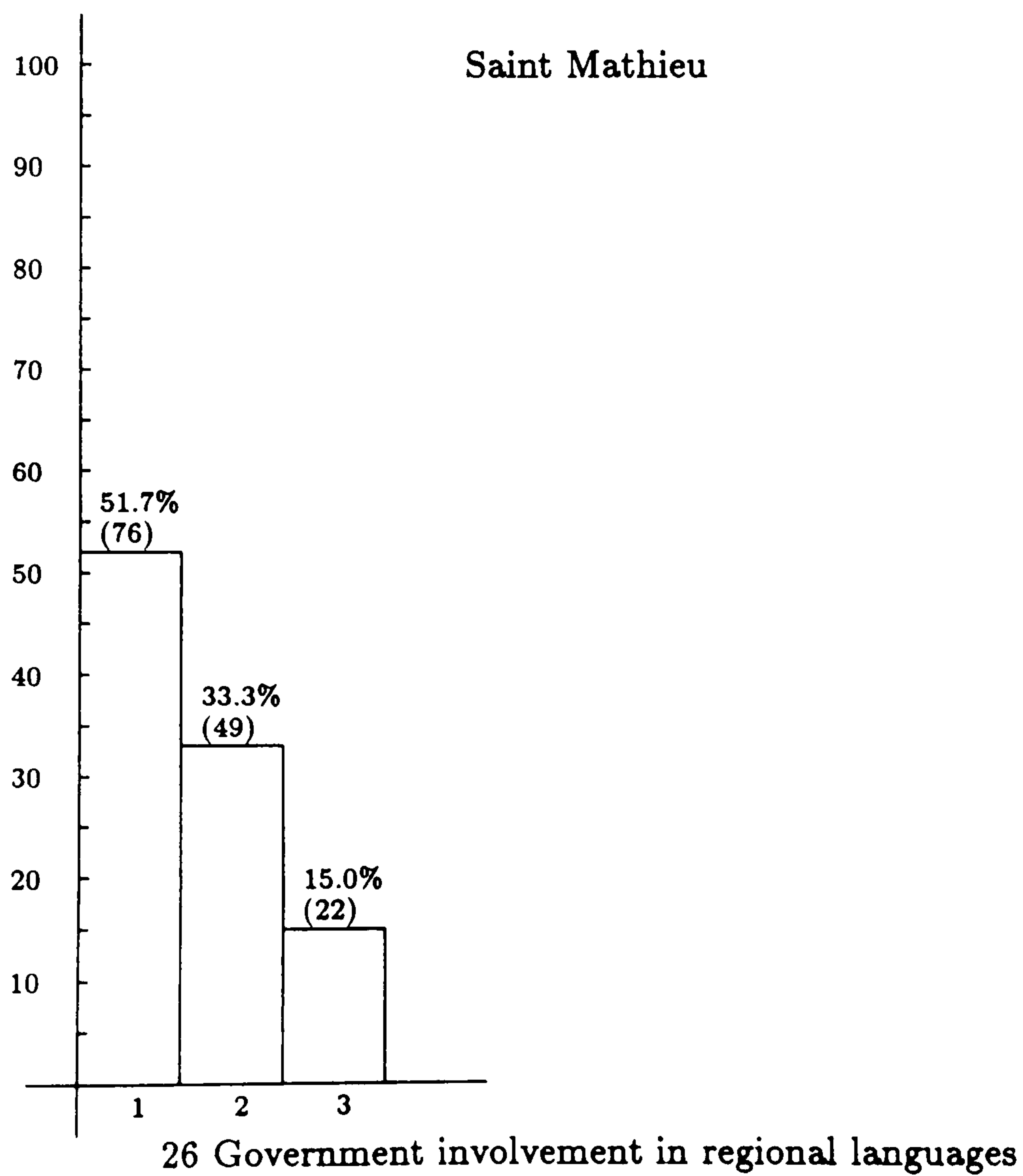
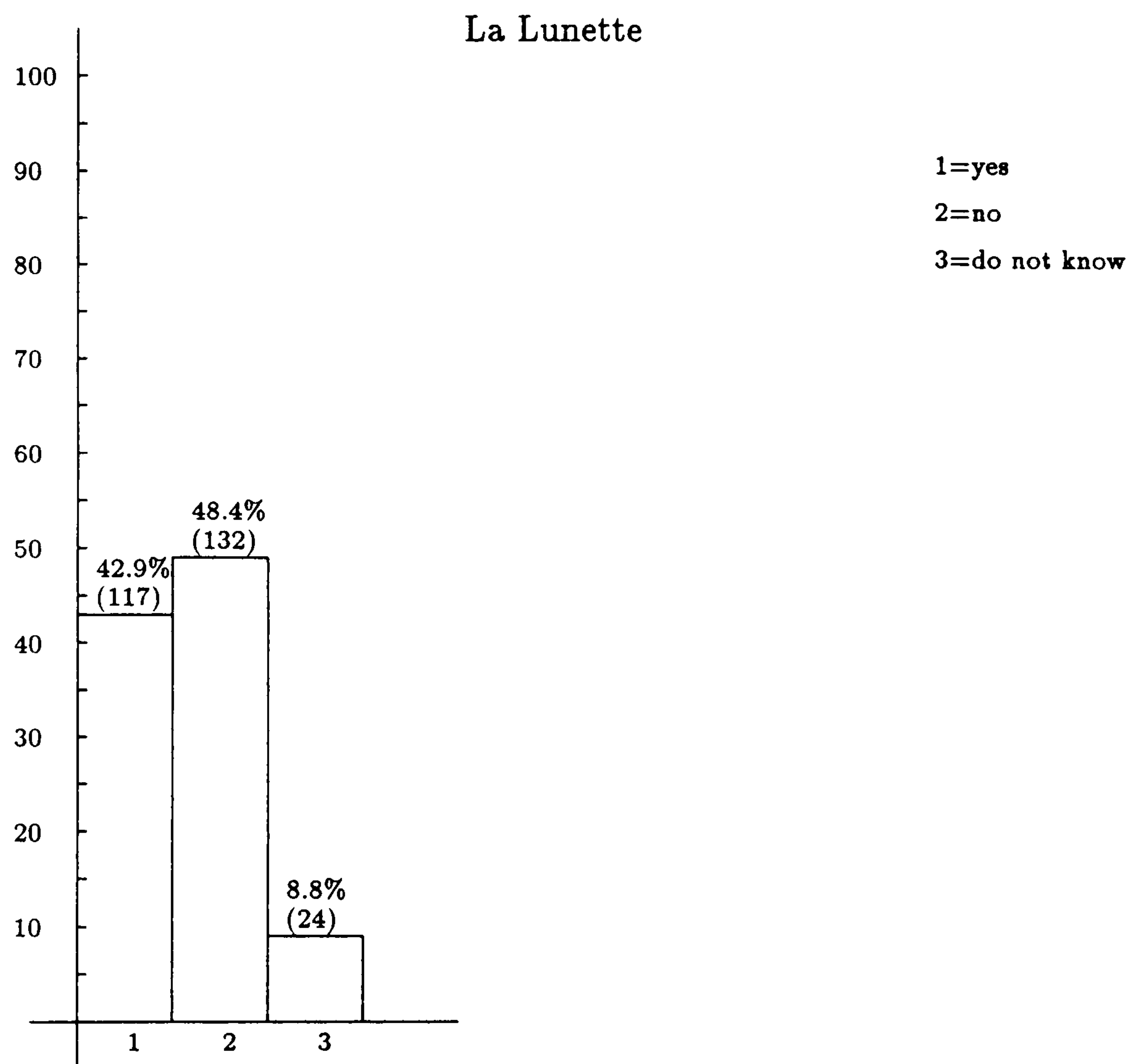
The breakdown by sex shows little significant difference of opinion between men and women on this matter: the only noticeable difference is a higher percentage of women responding "do not know", especially in Saint Mathieu.

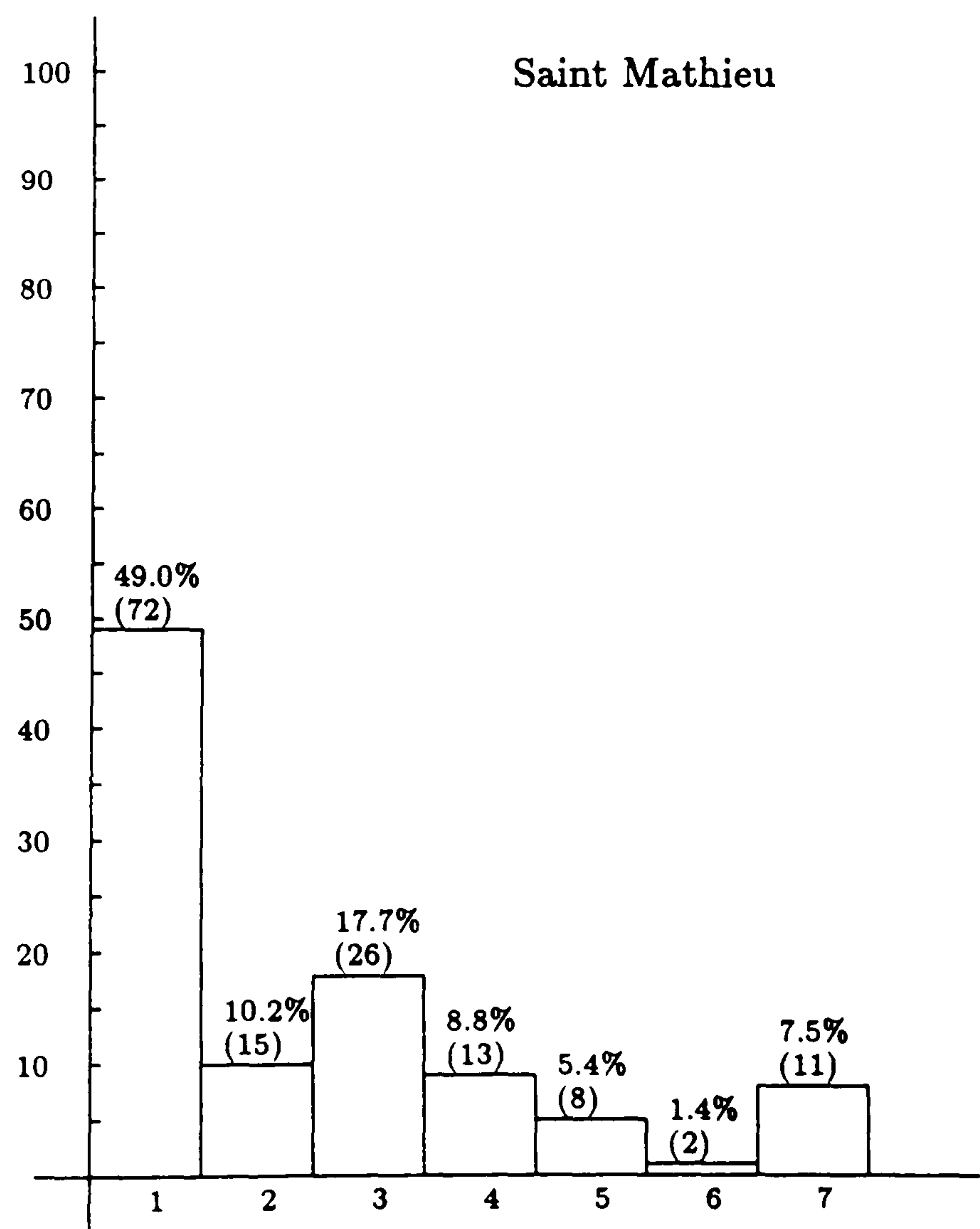
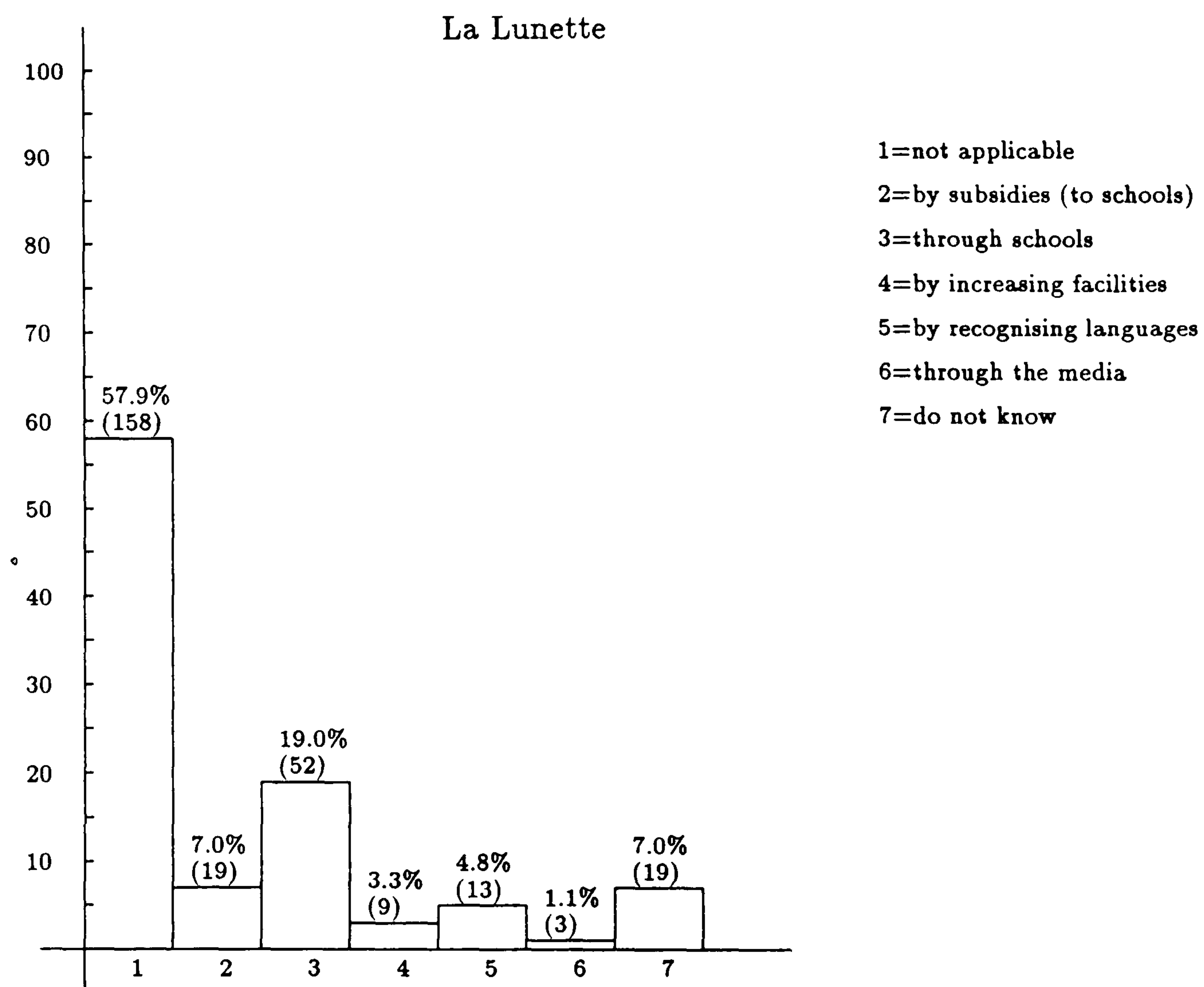
Noticeably more women than men in Saint Mathieu consider that government involvement should be through subsidies, but this difference exists in reverse, and less noticeably, in La Lunette.

On the subject of who else should be involved the only common factor between the two *quartiers* seems to be that there are fewer females who do not know.

Similarly the breakdown by age suggests that age has little to do with feelings about government or any other kind of involvement in regional languages. In La Lunette the youngest group is the least in favour, and in Saint Mathieu it is the most in favour. In fact, in Saint Mathieu the percentage in favour of government involvement decreases with age, whereas in La Lunette the oldest group has a lower percentage in favour than the middle two.







27 How government should be involved



Government involvement in regional languages:breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
yes	42.5% (48)	43.1% (69)
no	51.3% (58)	46.3% (74)
do not know	6.2% (7)	10.6% (17)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
yes	54.1% (33)	50.0% (43)
no	36.1% (22)	31.4% (27)
do not know	9.8% (6)	17.4% (15)
no reply		1.2% (1)

26 Should government be involved in regional languages.

La Lunette

	men	women
not applicable	58.4% (66)	57.5% (92)
by subsidies (to schools)	9.7% (11)	5.0% (8)
through schools	15.9% (18)	21.3% (34)
by increasing facilities	3.5% (4)	3.1% (5)
by recognising languages	4.4% (5)	5.0% (8)
through the media	0.9% (1)	1.3% (2)
do not know	7.1% (8)	6.9% (11)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
not applicable	47.5% (29)	50.0% (43)
by subsidies (to schools)	4.9% (3)	14.0% (12)
through schools	19.7% (12)	16.3% (14)
by increasing facilities	9.8% (6)	8.1% (7)
by recognising languages	6.6% (4)	4.7% (4)
through the media	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1)
do not know	9.8% (6)	5.8% (5)

27 How the government should be involved.

Government involvement in regional languages: breakdown by age

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	34.2% (13)	47.9% (34)	50.0% (31)	38.2% (39)
no	47.4% (18)	47.9% (34)	35.5% (22)	56.9% (58)
do not know	18.4% (7)	4.2% (3)	14.5% (9)	4.9% (5)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
yes	50.0% (16)	34.4% (11)	32.6% (14)	12.5% (3)
no	34.4% (11)	32.6% (14)	12.5% (3)	43.8% (21)
do not know	15.6% (5)	14.0% (6)	16.7% (4)	12.5% (6)
no reply				2.1% (1)

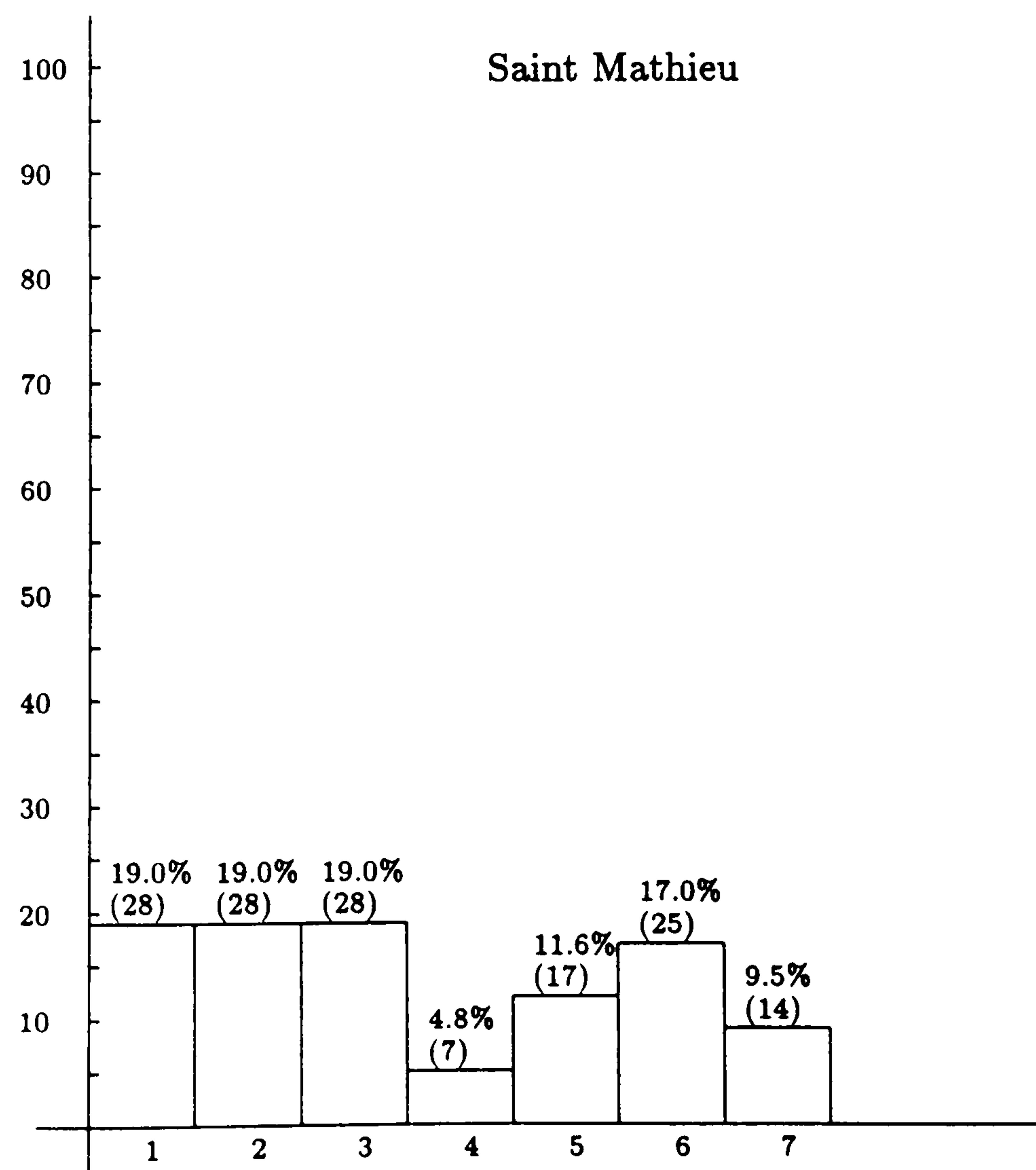
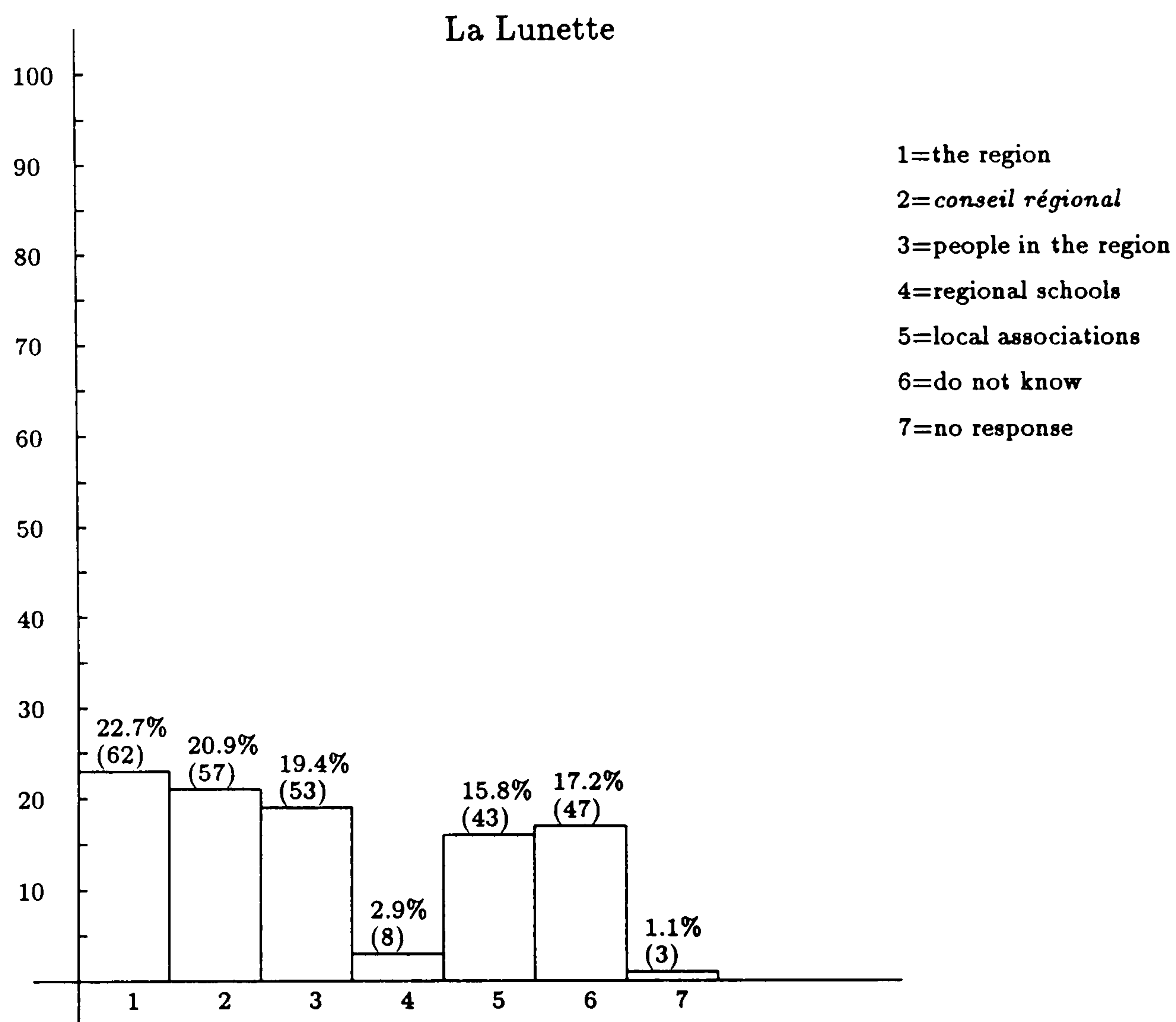
26 Should government be involved in regional languages.

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	68.4% (26)	50.7% (36)	53.2% (33)	61.8% (63)
by subsidies (to schools)	2.6% (1)	5.6% (4)	6.5% (4)	9.8% (10)
through schools	13.2% (5)	26.8% (19)	19.4% (12)	15.7% (16)
by increasing facilities	5.3% (2)	7.0% (5)	3.2% (2)	
by recognising languages		2.8% (2)	11.3% (7)	3.9% (4)
through the media	2.6% (1)	2.8% (2)		
do not know	7.9% (3)	4.2% (3)	6.5% (4)	8.8% (9)

Saint Mathieu				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	50.0% (16)	46.5% (20)	33.3% (8)	58.3% (28)
by subsidies (to schools)	9.4% (3)	14.0% (6)	8.3% (2)	8.3% (4)
through schools	12.5% (4)	25.6% (11)	20.8% (5)	12.5% (6)
by increasing facilities	9.4% (3)	4.7% (2)	12.5% (3)	10.4% (5)
by recognising languages	6.3% (2)	2.3% (1)	16.7% (4)	2.1% (1)
through the media	3.1% (1)		4.2% (1)	
do not know	9.4% (3)	7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)	8.3% (4)

27 How the government should be involved.





Other involvement in regional languages: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
not applicable	0.9% (1)	0.6% (1)
the region	28.3% (32)	18.8% (30)
<i>conseil régional</i>	23.9% (27)	18.8% (30)
people in the region	14.2% (16)	23.1% (37)
regional language schools	1.8% (2)	3.8% (6)
associations	16.8% (19)	15.0% (24)
do not know	14.2% (16)	19.4% (31)
no reply		0.6% (1)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
not applicable	3.3% (2)	2.3% (2)
the region	16.4% (10)	20.9% (18)
<i>conseil régional</i>	6.6% (4)	27.9% (24)
people in the region	27.9% (17)	12.8% (11)
regional language schools	1.6% (1)	7.0% (6)
associations	13.1% (8)	10.5% (9)
do not know	24.6% (15)	11.6% (10)
no reply	6.6% (4)	7.0% (6)



Other involvement in regional languages: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable			1.6% (9)	1.0% (1)
the region	23.7% (9)	18.3% (13)	21.0% (13)	26.5% (27)
<i>conseil régional</i>	15.8% (6)	25.4% (18)	16.1% (10)	22.5% (18)
people in the region	21.1% (8)	18.3% (13)	17.7% (11)	20.6% (21)
regional language schools	5.3% (2)	5.6% (4)	1.6% (1)	1.0% (1)
associations	5.3% (2)	14.1% (10)	22.6% (14)	16.7% (17)
do not know	28.9% (11)	16.9% (12)	19.4% (12)	11.8% (12)
no reply		1.4% (1)		

•

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
not applicable	3.1% (1)		4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
the region	6.3% (2)	20.9% (9)	12.5% (3)	29.2% (14)
<i>conseil régional</i>	12.5% (4)	20.9% (9)	20.8% (5)	20.8% (10)
people in the region	18.8% (6)	16.3% (7)	33.3% (8)	14.6% (7)
regional language schools	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
associations	25.0% (8)	14.0% (6)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
do not know	21.9% (7)	16.3% (7)	16.7% (4)	14.6% (7)
no reply	9.4% (3)	4.7% (2)	4.2% (2)	8.3% (4)

## 8.5 Relative importance of different languages

As with question 16, the responses to this question could not very well be put into a histogram, and so are displayed in tabular form. On the questionnaire the languages were presented in alphabetical order, but in the table they have been rearranged in order of importance: that is, the first language on the list is the one that most informants classified in some way, the last is the one classified by fewest informants.

The languages informants had to classify are on the left hand side of the table, the numbers across the top refer to the rating given to each language.

The reason for not placing all languages was usually that informants felt unable or unwilling to classify more than three or four languages, considering that they were the only ones of any real value. It may be noted, for example, that 78.4% of informants in La Lunette and 68.7% in Saint Mathieu did not place Catalan at all, a reflection of the widespread thought that Catalan is only of importance as part of the cultural heritage, and is not worth learning as a living language. At the other end of the scale, only 2.6% in La Lunette, and 9.5% in Saint Mathieu did not place English anywhere, suggesting a widespread awareness of the value of learning English.

As can be seen quite clearly in the tables, the most common response was simply to place English, Castilian and German and to forget the others. There is a noticeable drop in the number of informants who classified any other language - more marked in La Lunette than in Saint Mathieu. In La Lunette for example, only 35.9% did not place German, whereas 75.8% did not place the next language, Russian. In Saint Mathieu the drop is not quite so dramatic, but is nonetheless from 42.9% for German to 68.7% for Catalan. In some cases this order was reversed: German was rated almost equally in second and third place (28.6% and 25.3% in La Lunette, 21.1% and 23.1% in Saint Mathieu). Castilian was usually given second place, showing the high degree of importance it has in Perpignan, but acknowledging the wider importance of learning English - only 8.8% of informants gave Castilian first place. These three popular, classic school languages are never placed lower than fifth, and very few informants placed them even that low.

In contrast to this uniformity, no other language occupied less than six places, despite the fact that a very limited number of informants classified them at all. Arabic, for example, is classified in every position from first to eighth in La Lunette, yet only 15.8% of informants classified it. It would be difficult to suggest any valid reasons for the way in which informants classified these languages, as the majority who did so simply felt that they must classify all eight, but after the first three or four they did it without great conviction. It may be noted that for Russian, Arabic and Portuguese the highest score is at position four or five: very few people were prepared to place these languages in the first three positions, and equally few bothered to put any language in the last three.



Attitudes of speakers of these less popular languages will be discussed in chapter nine (Catalan) and ten (Castilian, Portuguese and Arabic).

La Lunette

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	81.7% (223)	10.3% (28)	2.9% (8)	0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)				2.6% (7)
Castilian	8.8% (24)	47.3% (129)	24.2% (66)	2.2% (6)	0.4% (1)				16.1% (44)
German	2.6% (7)	28.6% (78)	25.3% (69)	5.5% (15)	1.1% (3)				35.9% (98)
	(24)	(129)	(66)	(6)	(1)				(44)
Russian		1.5% (4)	4.8% (13)	11.7% (32)	3.7% (10)	0.7% (2)	0.7% (2)		75.8% (207)
Catalan	3.7% (10)	5.5% (15)	4.0% (11)	0.7% (2)	1.5% (4)	1.8% (5)	2.9% (8)	0.4% (1)	78.4% (214)
Arabic	0.4% (1)	0.4% (1)	2.6% (7)	2.9% (8)	5.1% (14)	2.6% (7)	0.4% (1)	0.4% (1)	84.2% (230)
Portuguese	0.4% (1)		1.8% (5)	1.8% (5)	2.2% (6)	4.0% (11)	1.8% (5)	0.4% (1)	86.4% (236)
Other	0.4% (1)	0.4% (1)	2.9% (8)	5.5% (15)	0.7% (2)	0.4% (1)	1.1% (3)	0.7% (2)	86.8% (237)

Saint Mathieu

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	72.1% (106)	7.5% (11)	3.4% (5)	1.4% (2)					9.5% (14)
Castilian	8.8% (13)	46.3% (68)	19.7% (29)	2.0% (3)					17.0% (25)
German	0.7% (1)	21.1% (31)	23.1% (34)	4.1% (6)	2.0% (3)				42.9% (63)
Catalan	7.5% (11)	4.1% (6)	2.0% (3)	3.4% (5)	1.4% (2)	4.8% (7)	2.0% (3)		68.7% (101)
Russian		1.4% (2)	4.1% (6)	8.8% (13)	2.0% (3)	2.0% (3)	4.1% (6)		71.4% (105)
Portuguese		0.7% (1)	2.0% (3)	2.7% (4)	4.1% (6)	1.4% (2)	1.4% (2)	5.4% (8)	76.2% (112)
Arabic	0.7% (1)		2.7% (4)	4.8% (7)	4.8% (7)	1.4% (2)	2.0% (3)		77.6% (114)
Other		1.4% (2)	3.4% (5)	6.8% (10)	1.4% (2)	1.4% (2)	1.4% (2)	0.7% (1)	77.6% (114)

29 Relative importance of different languages.

N.B. The percentages here do not add up to 100, because three informants (1.1%) in La Lunette and nine (6.1%) in Saint Mathieu did not respond.



Relative importance of different languages: breakdown by sex

La Lunette: men

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	80.5% (91)	12.4% (14)	2.7% (3)	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)				2.7% (8)
Castilian	9.7% (11)	51.3% (58)	21.2% (24)	1.8% (2)	0.9% (1)				15.0% (17)
German	0.9% (1)	24.8% (28)	30.1% (34)	5.3% (6)	0.9% (1)				38.1% (43)
Catalan	4.4% (5)	7.1% (8)	3.5% (4)	1.8% (2)	0.9% (1)				77.9% (88)
Russian			5.3% (6)	10.6% (12)	2.7% (3)	1.8% (2)			90.3% (102)
Other	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	3.5% (4)	10.6% (9)	2.7% (1)	1.8%	(1)	(2)	79.6% (95)
Arabic	0.9% (1)		2.7% (3)	1.8% (2)	5.3% (6)	1.8% (2)		0.9% (1)	86.7% (98)
Portuguese	0.9% (1)		2.7% (3)	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	2.7% (3)	1.8% (2)		90.3% (102)

La Lunette: women

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	82.5% (132)	8.8% (14)	3.1% (5)	0.6% (1)	0.6% (1)				2.5% (3)
Castilian	8.1% (13)	44.4% (71)	26.3% (42)	2.5% (4)					16.9% (27)
German	3.8% (6)	31.3% (50)	21.9% (35)	5.6% (9)	1.3% (2)				34.4% (55)
Russian		2.5% (4)	4.4% (7)	12.5% (20)	4.4% (7)		1.3% (2)	1.9% (3)	73.1% (117)
Catalan	3.1% (5)	4.4% (7)	4.4% (7)		1.9% (3)	1.9% (3)	3.1% (5)	0.6% (1)	78.8% (126)
Arabic		0.6% (1)	2.5% (4)	3.8% (6)	5.0% (8)	3.1% (5)	0.6% (1)		82.5% (132)
Portuguese			1.3% (2)	2.5% (4)	3.1% (5)	5.0% (8)	1.9% (3)	0.6% (1)	83.8% (134)
Other			2.5% (4)	3.8% (6)	1.3% (2)	0.6% (1)	1.3% (2)		88.8% (142)

N.B. As in the preceding tables, the percentages here do not add up to 100, because 1.9% (3) of the women gave no reply to this question.

Saint Mathieu: men

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	63.9% (39)	8.2% (5)	4.9% (3)						13.1% (8)
Castilian	9.8% (6)	44.3% (27)	16.4% (10)	3.3% (2)					16.4% (10)
German	1.6% (1)	18.0% (11)	26.2% (16)	3.3% (2)	1.6% (1)				39.3% (24)
Catalan	8.2% (5)	3.3% (2)	1.6% (1)	4.9% (3)	3.3% (2)	8.2% (5)	3.3% (2)		57.4% (35)
Russian		1.6% (1)	3.3% (2)	9.8% (6)	3.3% (2)	1.6% (1)	8.2% (5)	9.8% (6)	62.3% (38)
Other			3.3% (2)	8.2% (5)	1.6% (1)	3.3% (2)	3.3% (2)	1.6% (1)	68.9% (38)
Arabic			1.6% (1)	3.3% (2)	8.2% (5)	3.3% (2)	3.3% (2)		70.5% (43)
Portuguese				1.6% (1)	3.3% (2)	1.6% (1)		13.1% (8)	70.5% (43)

Saint Mathieu: women

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	77.9% (67)	7.0% (6)	2.3% (2)	2.3% (2)	3.5% (3)				7.0% (6)
Castilian	8.1% (7)	47.7% (41)	22.1% (19)	1.2% (1)					17.4% (15)
German		23.3% (20)	20.9% (18)	4.7% (4)	2.3% (2)				45.3% (39)
Catalan	7.0% (6)	4.7% (4)	2.3% (2)	2.3% (2)		2.3% (2)	1.2% (1)		76.7% (66)
Russian		1.2% (1)	4.7% (4)	8.1% (7)	1.2% (1)	2.3% (2)	1.2% (1)	3.5% (3)	77.9% (67)
Portuguese		1.2% (1)	3.5% (4)	3.5% (7)	4.7% (1)	1.2% (2)	2.3% (1)	(3)	80.2% (69)
Arabic	1.2% (1)		3.5% (3)	5.8% (5)	2.3% (2)		1.2% (1)		82.6% (71)
Other		2.3% (2)	3.5% (3)	3.5% (5)	5.8% (1)	1.2%			83.7% (72)

N.B. In the above table 9.8% (9) men did not respond.



Relative importance of different languages: breakdown by age

La Lunette: 15-24

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	84.2% (32)	10.5% (4)	2.6% (1)						
Castilian	7.9% (3)	60.5% (23)	23.7% (9)						5.3% (2)
German		21.1% (8)	39.5% (15)	15.8% (6)	2.6% (1)				18.4% (7)
Catalan	2.6% (1)	5.3% (2)	7.9% (3)		2.6% (1)	7.9% (3)	2.6% (1)		68.4% (26)
Russian			5.3% (2)	13.2% (5)	10.5% (4)				68.4% (26)
Arabic			5.3% (2)	10.5% (4)		5.3% (2)		2.6% (1)	73.7% (28)
Portuguese					7.9% (3)	5.3% (2)	2.6% (1)		81.6% (31)
other							5.3% (2)		92.1% (35)

La Lunette: 25-44

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	80.3% (57)	12.7% (9)	2.8% (2)	1.4% (1)					2.8% (2)
Castilian	14.1% (10)	45.1% (32)	25.4% (18)	2.8% (2)					12.7% (9)
German	2.8% (2)	26.8% (19)	28.2% (20)	8.5% (6)	2.8% (2)				31.0% (22)
Catalan	1.4% (1)	8.5% (6)	5.6% (4)		4.2% (3)	2.8% (2)	7.0% (5)	1.4% (1)	69.0% (49)
Arabic		1.4% (1)	4.2% (3)	5.6% (4)	9.9% (7)	5.6% (4)	1.4% (1)		69.0% (49)
Russian			4.2% (3)	12.7% (9)	7.0% (5)		1.4% (1)		74.6% (53)
Portuguese			2.8% (2)	2.8% (2)	1.4% (1)	8.5% (6)	4.2% (3)	1.4% (1)	78.9% (56)
Other		1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	5.6% (4)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)	88.8% (61)

La Lunette: 45-60

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	75.8% (47)	12.9% (8)	6.5% (4)						3.2% (2)
Castilian	11.3% (7)	48.4% (30)	21.0% (13)	3.2% (2)					14.5% (9)
German	3.2% (2)	29.0% (18)	27.4% (17)	3.2% (2)					35.5% (22)
Russian		1.6% (1)	4.8% (3)	14.5% (9)		1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)		74.2% (46)
Catalan	6.5% (4)	4.8% (3)					1.6% (1)		85.5% (53)
other			3.2% (2)	6.5% (4)					88.7% (55)
Arabic					6.5% (4)	1.6% (1)			90.3% (56)
Portuguese					3.2% (2)	3.2% (2)			91.9% (57)

La Lunette: 60+

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	85.3% (87)	6.9% (7)	1.0% (1)	2.0% (2)				2.9% (3)	
Castilian	3.9% (4)	43.1% (44)	25.5% (26)	2.0% (2)	1.0% (1)				23.5% (24)
German	2.9% (3)	32.4% (33)	16.7% (17)	1.0% (1)					46.1% (47)
Russian		2.9% (3)	4.9% (5)	8.8% (9)	1.0% (1)	1.0% (1)			80.4% (82)
Catalan	3.9% (4)	3.9% (4)	2.0% (2)			1.0% (1)		84.3% (86)	
other	1.0% (1)		4.9% (5)	6.9% (7)	1.0% (1)		1.0% (1)	84.3% (86)	
Portuguese	1.0% (1)		2.9% (3)	2.9% (3)		1.0% (1)	1.0% (1)		90.2% (92)
Arabic	1.0% (1)		2.0% (2)		2.9% (3)				93.1% (95)

N.B. the percentages in these tables do not add up to 100, because 2.6% (1) of the informants in age group 1 and 1.6% (1) in age group 3 gave no reply to this question.



Saint Mathieu: 15-24

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	96.9% (31)			3.1% (1)					
Castilian		75.0% (24)	18.8% (6)	3.1% (1)					3.1% (1)
German		18.8% (6)	34.4% (11)	6.3% (2)	3.1% (1)				37.5% (12)
Russian		3.1% (1)	9.4% (3)	15.6% (5)	6.3% (2)	3.1% (1)	15.6% (5)		46.9% (15)
Arabic			9.4% (3)	12.5% (4)	18.8% (6)	6.3% (2)	3.1% (1)		50.0% (16)
Catalan	3.1% (1)	3.1% (1)		6.3% (2)	6.3% (2)	18.8% (6)	9.4% (3)		53.1% (17)
Portuguese				3.1% (1)	3.1% (1)	6.3% (2)	6.3% (2)	25.0% (8)	56.3% (31)
other			6.3% (2)	9.4% (3)	6.3% (2)	6.3% (2)	3.1% (1)		62.5% (20)

Saint Mathieu: 25-44

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	76.7% (33)	9.3% (4)	7.0% (3)						2.3% (1)
Castilian	11.6% (5)	51.2% (22)	18.6% (8)						14.0% (6)
German		16.3% (7)	23.3% (10)	4.7% (2)	2.3% (1)				48.8% (21)
Catalan	4.7% (2)	7.0% (3)	2.3% (1)	4.7% (2)		2.3% (1)			74.4% (32)
Russian				4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)			79.1% (34)
Arabic	2.3% (1)		2.3% (1)	4.7% (2)	2.3% (1)		2.3% (1)		81.4% (35)
other			4.7% (2)	7.0% (3)					83.7% (36)
Portuguese		2.3% (1)		2.3% (1)	4.7% (2)				86.0% (37)

Saint Mathieu: 45-60

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	54.2% (13)	20.8% (5)							20.8% (5)
Castilian	12.5% (3)	20.8% (5)	25.0% (6)	4.2% (1)					33.3% (8)
German		20.8% (5)	16.7% (4)	4.2% (1)					54.2% (13)
Catalan	16.7% (4)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (1)					66.7% (16)
Portuguese			4.2% (1)		12.5% (3)				79.2% (19)
other		4.2% (1)	4.2% (1)						83.3% (20)
Russian				4.2% (1)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (1)			83.3% (20)
Arabic				4.2% (1)			4.2% (1)		87.5% (21)

La Lunette: 60+

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
English	60.4% (29)	4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)	2.1% (1)				16.7% (8)	
Castilian	10.4% (5)	35.4% (17)	18.8% (9)	2.1% (1)					20.8% (10)
German	2.1% (1)	27.1% (13)	18.8% (9)	2.1% (1)	2.1% (1)				35.4% (17)
Catalan	8.3% (4)	2.1% (1)	2.1% (1)						75.0% (36)
Russian	(4)	(4)	2.1% (2)	10.4%		(1)		(86)	75.0%
other		2.1% (1)		6.3% (3)					79.2% (38)
Portuguese			4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)					79.2% (38)
Arabic									87.5% (42)

N.B. the percentages in these tables do not add up to 100, because 4.7% (2) of the informants in age group 2, 4.2% (1) in age group 3 and 12.5% (6) in age group 4 gave no reply to this question.



“Other” languages suggested by informants.

Most informants found that the list of languages presented in question 29 included all those which might possibly be worth learning, and usually several which might not. However, a certain number of informants did include “other” among the languages they felt should be learnt. A few informants actually classed “other” without specifying another language, but this was generally only in cases where the questionnaire was filled in by the informant.

The other languages which were specified were the following: Italian, Chinese, Japanese, “Asiatic”, Dutch and Esperanto.

Although there was not a great variety in the languages suggested, the position they were accorded in relation to other languages did vary considerably, as the tables show.

Esperanto is a rather special case, because it was not usually classified with other languages, but seen as an alternative to them. One informant did put English in first place and Esperanto in second, but the other three declined to classify any other language, feeling that it would be far simpler if everyone learn Esperanto. (Incidentally, a surprisingly large number of informants expressed the view that it would make life easier if everyone spoke English, and one informant even believed that in fifty years time all of Europe would speak English.)

The most significant “other” language is Italian, whose popularity may be attributed to several factors: a number of informants had Italian origins and therefore felt a personal attachment to the language; for others it is a beautiful language and worth learning for cultural reasons; for yet others it is useful simply because it is a European language and close to French. In any case, Italian is traditionally offered as a second or third foreign language in French schools, so it is one that would immediately come to the mind of many French people.

Chinese and Japanese are very far from being traditional items on the French school curriculum, but were considered important by several informants, primarily for economic reasons. Japan’s economic and technical strength is widely recognised, and China is considered important mainly because of its size. More informants mentioned Chinese than Japanese, despite the superior economic importance of Japan and thus potential trade and business links with France. This could be due to the presence of Chinese immigrants in France, or to a general ignorance about the Far East, which means that for some people, all orientals are “Chinese”. This vagueness is expressed more explicitly by those who wanted to add the language “Asiatic”, thus showing an awareness of the importance of Asia but a total ignorance of the linguistic situation in that continent.

La Lunette

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not placed
Italian	1		3	7	1		1	1
Chinese			1	5	1	1		1
Japanese				1				
Chinese/ Japanese		1	3					
“Asiatic”				1			1	
Dutch			1					

Saint Mathieu

	1	2	3	4	5	not placed
Italian		1	1	5		
Chinese			3	2		
Japanese			1			
“Asiatic”				1	1	
Esperanto		1				3



## 8.6 Opinions on Perpignan

The final part of the section on attitudes contained some questions about how people view Perpignan. In the first of this series, informants were asked to listen to a list of adjectives which could be used to describe Perpignan, and to say whether or not they thought each was applicable.

The histogram shows the percentages for those who replied positively in each case.

Because not everybody felt able to say whether or not Perpignan is Catalan or typically French the subsequent questions were irrelevant for some people. Consequently 12.5% (34) of informants in La Lunette and 13.6% (20) in Saint Mathieu did not respond to question 31.

### Mediterranean

For most informants (virtually 92.0%) this question was hardly worth asking: Perpignan is practically on the Mediterranean coast, therefore it must be a Mediterranean town. The other 8.0%, however, saw the issue differently; they compared Perpignan with other Mediterranean towns, such as Nice and Marseille, and decided that Perpignan did not have the same atmosphere. They conceded that geographically Perpignan is a Mediterranean town, but considered that it could not really be put in the same category as other “typical” Mediterranean towns.

### Touristic

Again, for a majority of informants the answer was self-evident - 87.9% responded positively. The climate and geographical setting of Perpignan make it an ideal tourist centre, and thus tourism is not limited to the summer, as people also come to the region for winter sports. The 12.0% who replied negatively did so for two main reasons: firstly, they considered that tourists do not really visit Perpignan itself, but use it as a starting point for going to the mountains or the coast, or possibly spend a day there before passing on to more interesting places. The second reason was a feeling that the local authorities and the inhabitants of Perpignan do not do enough to exploit the advantages of the town and to encourage tourism. This second comment was most frequently expressed by non-natives, who saw it as part of the general unfriendliness of the native Catalans.

### Historic

Not quite such a big majority was sure of the historic nature of their town - only 78.9% in Saint Mathieu. For most informants Perpignan is “historic” because it has several historical monuments, such as the Palace of the Kings



of Majorca and the Castillet, or because of historical events connected with them. In many cases those who said it was not historic often had little idea of what was meant by the term, or knew little or nothing about Perpignan's history.

#### Catalan

Responses to this will be discussed below ("What makes Perpignan Catalan").

#### Lively - Dead

These two responses should be taken together, as an informant who replied "yes" to the first one must reply "no" to the second. In actual fact, if the two sets of responses are added together, it is clear that a relatively large number of informants were unwilling to commit themselves (31.5% in La Lunette and 23.1% in Saint Mathieu). The lower rate of response in La Lunette is probably due to the fact that there are a higher number of residents there who have only come to Perpignan for their retirement and therefore do not feel qualified to judge whether or not it is lively. Despite the frequent comment that Perpignan is a "ville de retraités", a very significantly higher number consider it to be lively rather than dead. Those who consider it "dead" were generally younger people, which would probably be the case in any provincial town. In La Lunette 21.1% of the youngest age group and 16.9% of the second group are of this opinion, compared to 4.8% and 2.9% in the older two groups. In Saint Mathieu there are only 9.4% in the youngest group, but 20.9% in the second, and only 4.2% of both older groups.

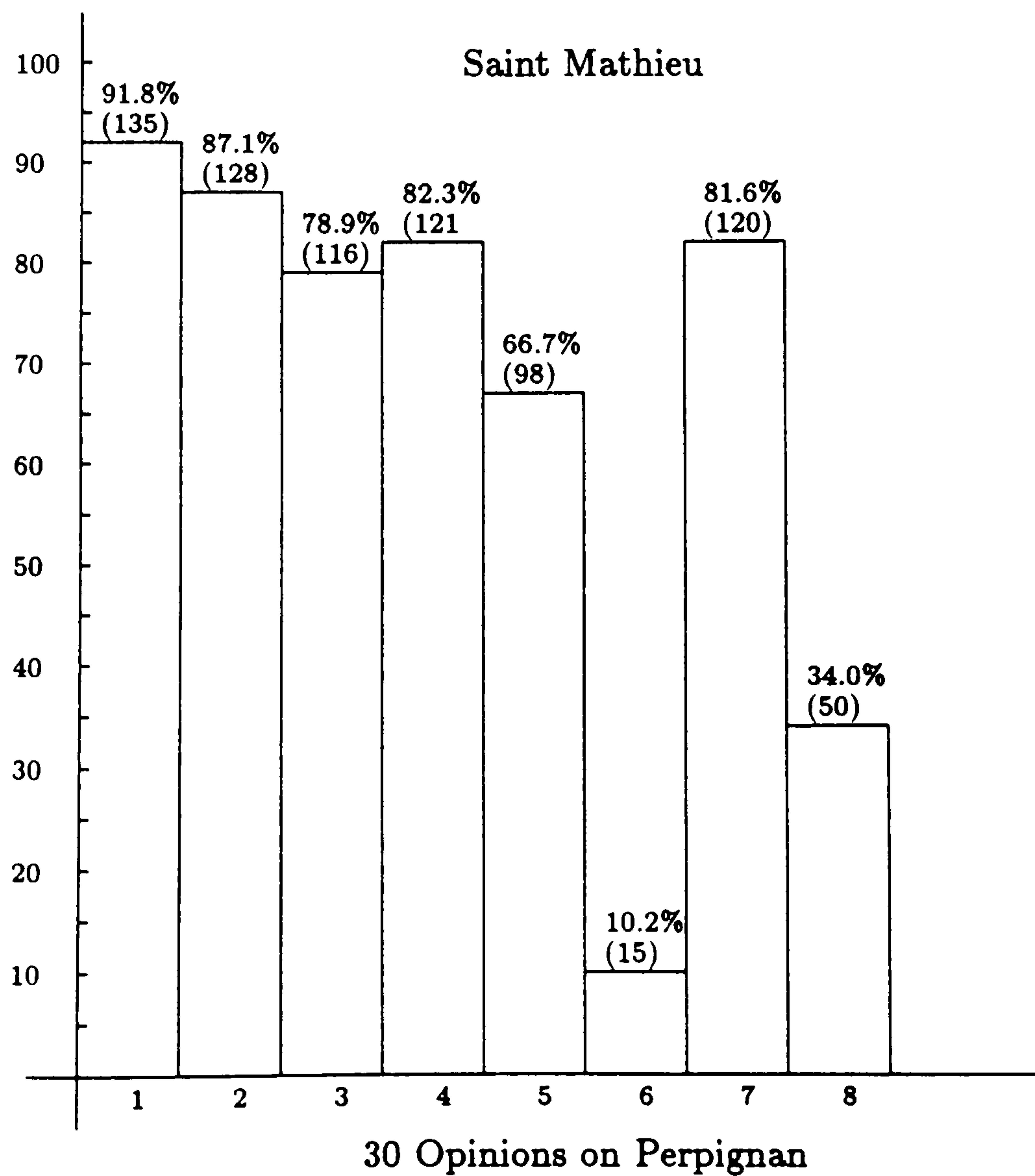
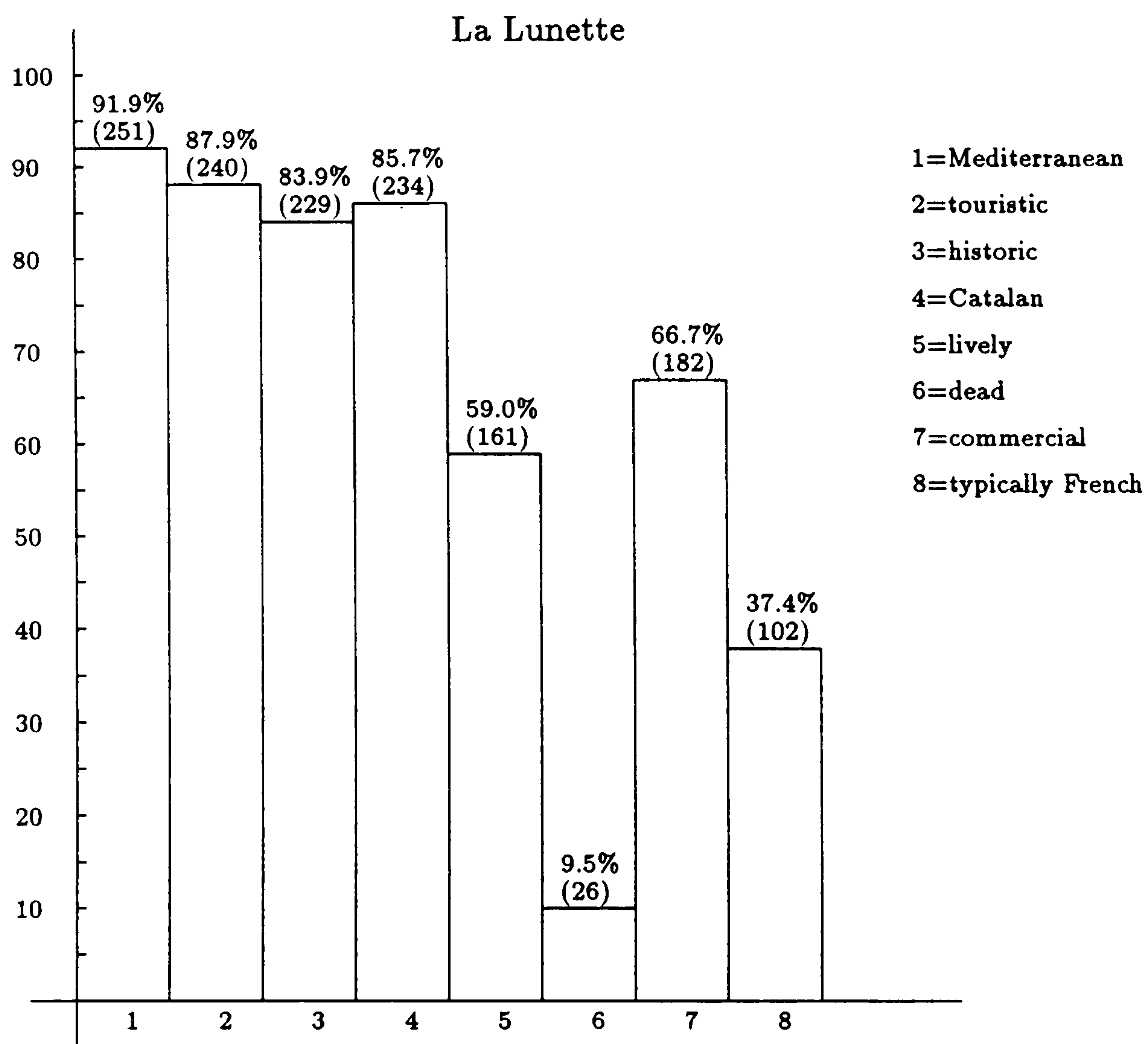
#### Commercial

There is a rather significant difference of opinion between informants of La Lunette and Saint Mathieu on this point - only 66.7% in La Lunette, and 81.6% in Saint Mathieu. This difference could be due to the fact that many informants in La Lunette have spent much of their working lives in big industrial cities, and Perpignan by comparison is not commercial, whereas many informants in Saint Mathieu have always lived there, or have come from industrially less developed places. Several La Lunette informants also made a distinction between "commerçant" and "commercial", claiming that Perpignan was the former but not the latter. For the majority of informants, Perpignan is commercial because it is the only important commercial centre in the region.

#### Typically French

Responses to this will be discussed below ("What makes Perpignan French").





## What makes Perpignan Catalan

The percentages in figures 31.1 and 31.2 do not add up to 100.0% because some informants gave no response. (In 31.1 the non-responses were 12.5% (34) in La Lunette and 13.6% (20) in Saint Mathieu, and in 31.2 an even higher rate of abstention: 15.0% (41) and 14.3% (21) respectively). This was either because they had said that they did not think Perpignan was a Catalan (or a French) town, or because they were unable to formulate an explanation for their response.

As figure 31.1 shows, there is a wide range of opinions as to what makes Perpignan a Catalan town. Most often mentioned, in both *quartiers*, is the history of the town, referring to the fact that until 1659 Perpignan did not belong to France, and had known its most prosperous era as capital of the Kingdom of Majorca. Even if Perpignan today seems outwardly little different from other French towns, it cannot deny its history, and there are still signs of its Catalan origins.

In La Lunette, Perpignan's history is by far the most popular explanation for its Catalan nature. In Saint Mathieu, however, it is much more closely followed by the factors of tradition and language. Traditions are actually mentioned by the same percentage in both *quartiers* (16.8% in La Lunette and 17.0% in Saint Mathieu). Many informants mentioned specific traditions, in particular *sardanes*, but for the majority it was simply the way of life in general which was different from that of other French towns. This factor is closely related to that of mentality, which came in third place in La Lunette, and fourth in Saint Mathieu. As in the case of traditions, the percentages for the two *quartiers* are very similar - 13.6% in La Lunette and 12.2% in Saint Mathieu. In saying this, informants meant that natives of Perpignan had a different mentality from other French people - not usually a favourable comment when made by non-Catalans.

The Catalan language takes only third place in Saint Mathieu, and only fourth in La Lunette and is clearly not seen as the most important factor in defining Perpignan as a Catalan town. The language itself is apparently much less in evidence than the culture it represents.

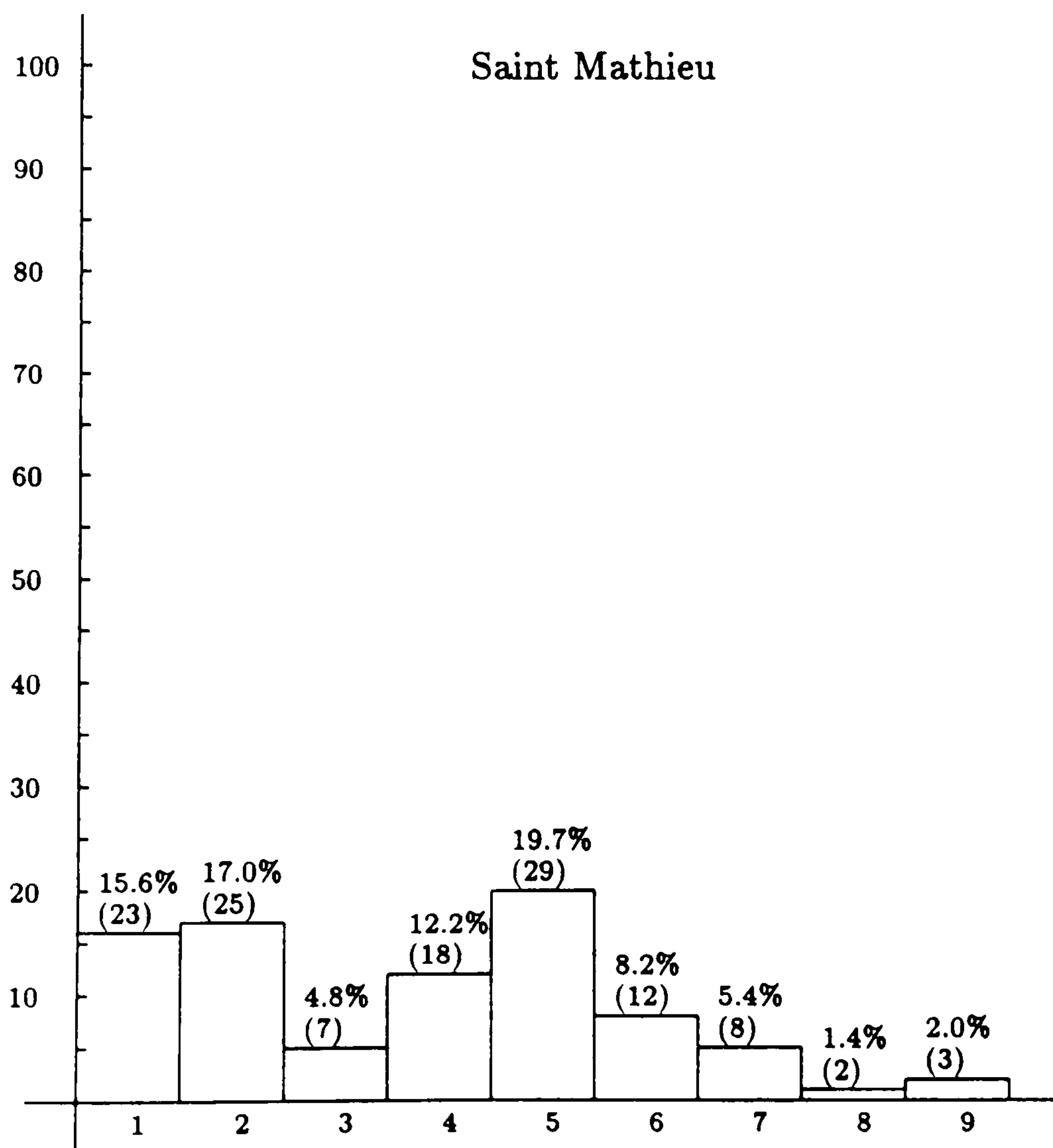
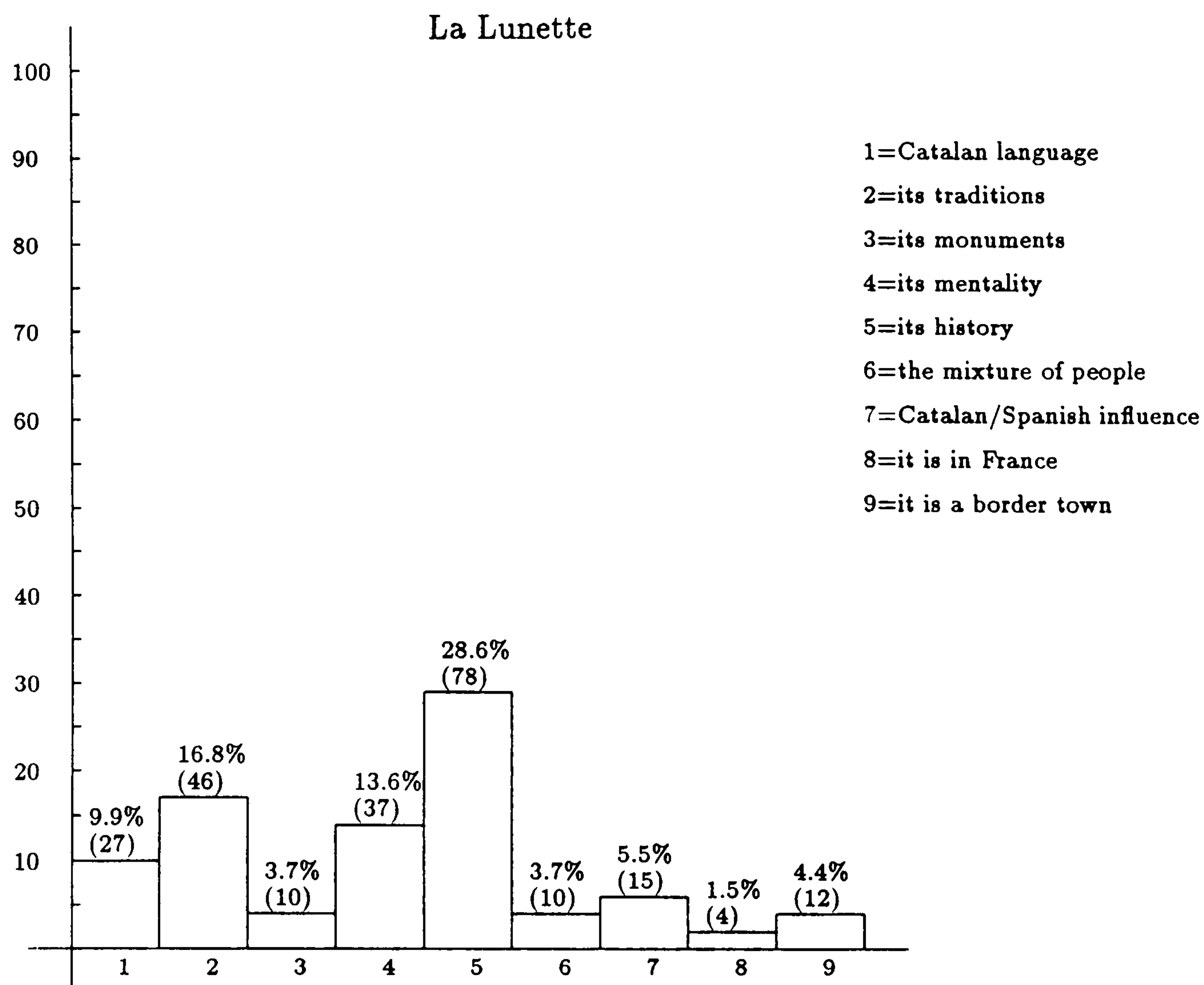
A small percentage saw influence from Spain and South Catalonia as a factor. This suggests that they do not consider Perpignan as naturally Catalan, but that the Catalan element is simply caused by an outside influence. A few informants expressed a similar sentiment in saying that Perpignan is a border town, and therefore open to influence from across the border.

The two remaining columns are really reasons for not classifying Perpignan as a Catalan town: either for the simple reason that it is in France, or because it has become too multiracial and multicultural to be able to say that it is predominantly Catalan.

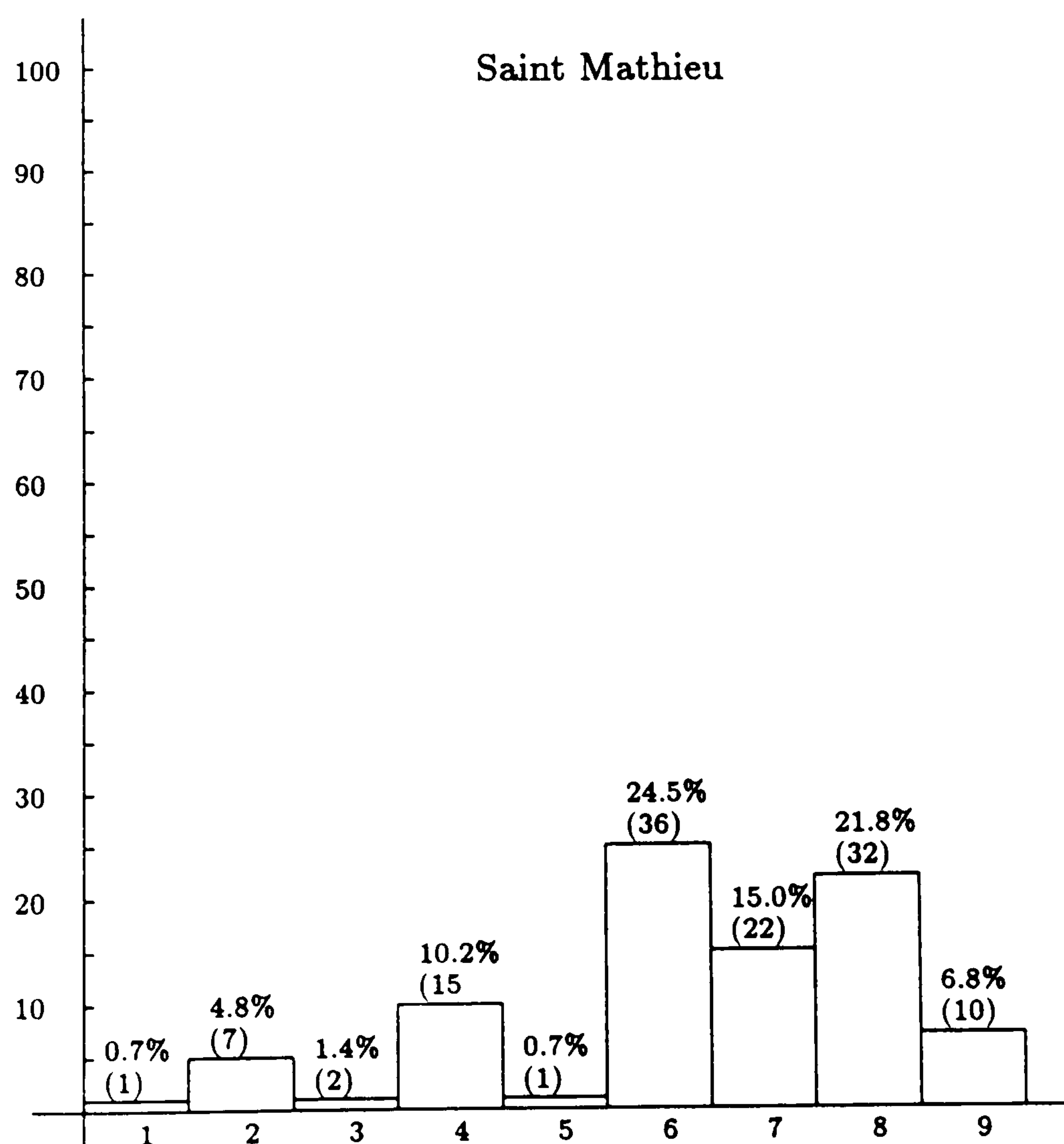
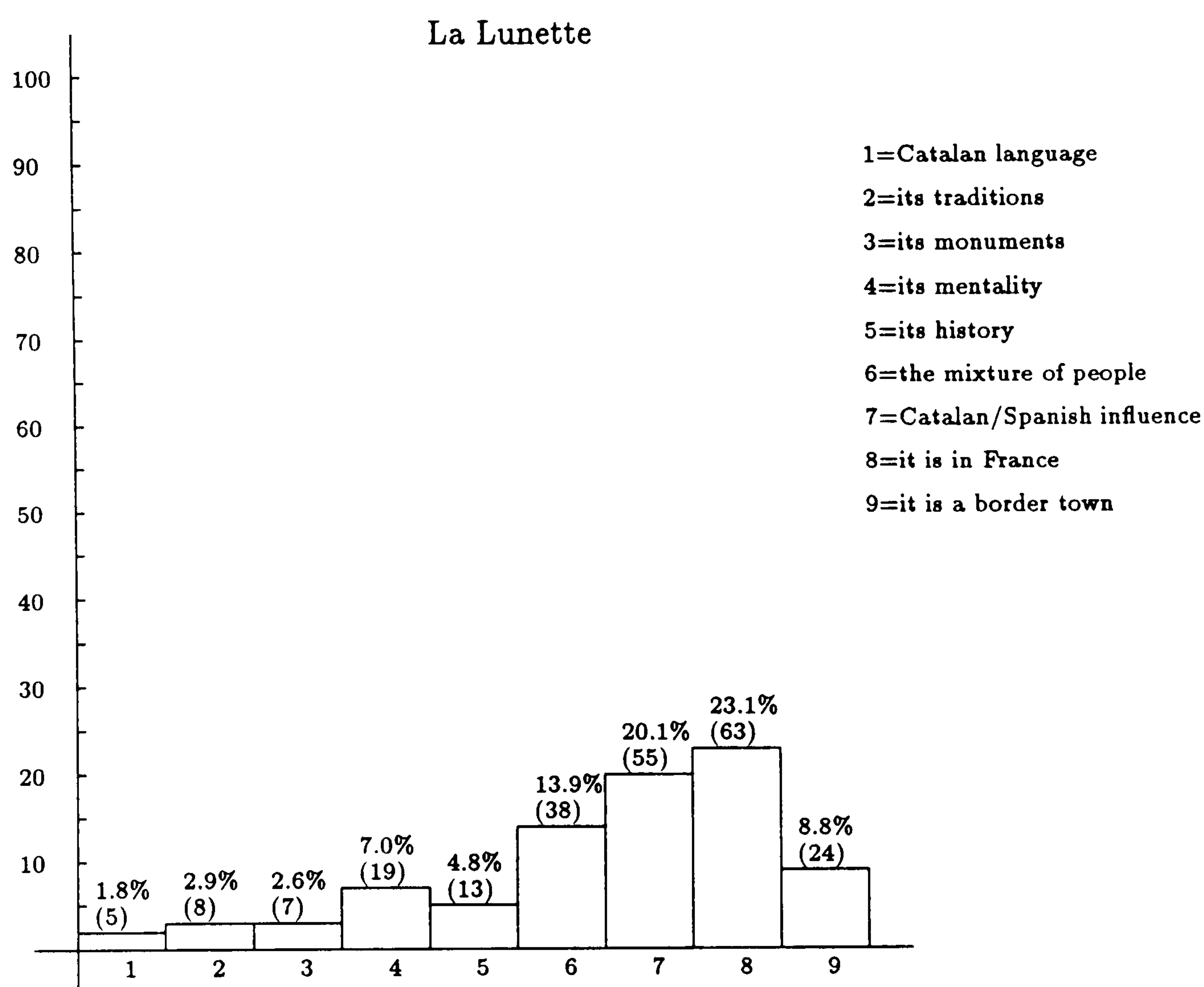


## What makes Perpignan French

Since only a relatively small percentage of informants considered Perpignan to be typically French, the majority of responses in 31.2 are negative. Of the 37.4% in La Lunette who thought that Perpignan is typically French, 23.1% gave the reason "because it is in France", in Saint Mathieu the proportion was 21.8% out of 34.0%, so only 14.3% and 12.2% respectively had any other reason. For some informants, the recent history, and present mentality implanted by the French, made it a French town. One informant claimed it was "the bad organisation" and another "the taxes" which proved that Perpignan was French.







Opinions on Perpignan: breakdown by sex

La Lunette

	men	women
mediterranean	92.0% (104)	91.9% (147)
touristic	84.1% (95)	90.6% (145)
historic	85.8% (97)	82.5% (132)
Catalan	79.6% (90)	90.0% (144)
Alive	58.4% (66)	59.4% (95)
Dead	12.4% (14)	7.5% (12)
Typically French	35.4% (40)	38.8% (62)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
mediterranean	86.9% (53)	95.3% (82)
touristic	80.3% (49)	91.9% (79)
historic	65.6% (40)	88.4% (76)
Catalan	77.0% (47)	86.0% (74)
Alive	63.9% (39)	68.6% (59)
Dead	11.5% (7)	9.3% (8)
Typically French	26.2% (16)	39.5% (34)



La Lunette

	men	women
The Catalan language	0.9% (1)	2.5% (4)
Its traditions	5.3% (6)	1.3% (2)
Its monuments	4.4% (5)	1.3% (2)
Its mentality	3.5% (4)	9.4% (15)
Its history	6.2% (7)	3.8% (6)
The mixture of people	15.0% (17)	13.1% (21)
Catalan/Spanish influence	15.0% (17)	23.8% (38)
It is in France	20.4% (23)	25.0% (40)
It is near the border	8.8% (10)	8.8% (14)

Saint Mathieu

°	men	women
The Catalan language	1.6% (1)	
Its traditions	4.9% (3)	4.7% (4)
Its monuments	3.3% (2)	
Its mentality	11.5% (7)	9.3% (8)
Its history		1.2% (1)
The mixture of people	21.3% (13)	26.7% (23)
Catalan/Spanish influence	19.7% (12)	11.6% (10)
It is in France	14.8% (9)	26.7% (23)
It is near the border	6.6% (4)	7.0% (6)

31.1 What makes Perpignan French.

La Lunette

	men	women
The Catalan language	9.7% (11)	10.0% (16)
Its traditions	12.4% (14)	20.0% (32)
Its monuments	5.3% (6)	2.5% (4)
Its mentality	9.7% (11)	16.3% (26)
Its history	33.6% (38)	25.0% (40)
The mixture of people	3.5% (4)	3.8% (6)
Catalan/Spanish influence	6.2% (7)	5.0% (8)
It is in France	2.7% (3)	0.6% (1)
It is near the border	2.7% (3)	5.6% (9)

Saint Mathieu

	men	women
The Catalan language	11.5% (7)	18.6% (16)
Its traditions	9.8% (6)	22.1% (19)
Its monuments	3.3% (2)	5.8% (5)
Its mentality	19.7% (12)	7.0% (6)
Its history	18.0% (11)	20.9% (18)
The mixture of people	9.8% (6)	7.0% (6)
Catalan/Spanish influence	8.2% (5)	3.5% (3)
It is in France	1.6% (1)	1.2% (1)
It is near the border	3.3% (2)	1.2% (1)

31.2 What makes Perpignan Catalan.



Opinions on Perpignan: breakdown by age

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
mediterranean	94.7% (36)	84.5% (60)	90.3% (56)	97.1% (99)
touristic	92.1% (35)	84.5% (60)	87.1% (54)	89.2% (91)
historic	68.4% (26)	84.5% (60)	88.7% (55)	86.3% (88)
Catalan	89.5% (34)	78.9% (56)	83.9% (52)	90.2% (92)
alive	34.2% (13)	39.4% (28)	64.5% (40)	78.4% (80)
dead	21.1% (8)	16.9% (12)	4.8% (3)	2.9% (3)
commercial	60.5% (23)	57.7% (41)	61.3% (38)	78.4% (80)
typically French	34.2% (13)	32.4% (23)	32.3% (20)	45.1% (46)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
mediterranean	87.5% (28)	95.3% (41)	87.5% (21)	93.8% (45)
touristic	87.5% (28)	86.0% (37)	75.0% (18)	93.8% (45)
historic	59.4% (19)	83.7% (36)	79.2% (19)	87.5% (42)
Catalan	75.0% (24)	88.4% (38)	75.0% (18)	85.4% (41)
alive	43.8% (14)	60.5% (26)	70.8% (17)	85.4% (41)
dead	9.4% (3)	20.9% (9)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
commercial	78.1% (25)	81.4% (35)	66.7% (16)	91.7% (44)
typically French	25.0% (8)	20.9% (9)	33.3% (8)	52.1% (25)

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
the Catalan language	13.2% (5)	8.5% (6)	8.1% (5)	10.8% (11)
its traditions	15.8% (6)	23.9% (17)	14.5% (9)	13.7% (14)
its monuments	2.6% (1)	5.6% (4)		4.9% (5)
its mentality	7.9% (3)	21.1% (15)	17.7% (11)	7.8% (8)
its history	26.3% (10)	15.5% (11)	30.6% (19)	37.3% (38)
the mixture of people	2.6% (1)	5.6% (4)	6.5% (4)	1.0% (1)
Catalan/Spanish influence	5.3% (2)	4.2% (3)	6.5% (4)	5.9% (6)
it is in France	2.6% (1)	2.8% (2)	1.6% (1)	
it is near the border	7.9% (3)	2.8% (2)	1.6% (1)	5.9% (6)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
the Catalan language	21.9% (7)	9.3% (4)	12.5% (3)	18.8% (9)
its traditions	15.6% (5)	9.3% (4)	29.2% (7)	18.8% (9)
its monuments	12.5% (4)	7.0% (3)		
its mentality	18.8% (6)	20.9% (9)		6.3% (3)
its history	6.3% (2)	20.9% (9)	16.7% (4)	29.2% (14)
the mixture of people		11.6% (5)	12.5% (3)	8.3% (4)
Catalan/Spanish influence	6.3% (2)	7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)
it is in France	3.1% (1)	2.3% (1)		
it is near the border		2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	2.1% (1)

31.1 What makes Perpignan a Catalan town.



La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
the Catalan language	2.6% (1)	2.8% (2)		2.0% (2)
its traditions	7.9% (3)	1.4% (1)	3.2% (2)	2.0% (2)
its monuments	5.3% (2)	2.8% (2)		2.9% (3)
its mentality	7.9% (3)	11.3% (8)	11.3% (7)	1.0% (1)
its history	5.3% (2)	1.4% (1)	4.8% (3)	6.9% (7)
the mixture of people	5.3% (2)	8.5% (6)	16.1% (10)	19.6% (20)
Catalan/Spanish influence	31.6% (12)	21.1% (15)	17.7% (11)	16.7% (17)
it is in France	10.5% (4)	25.4% (18)	21.0% (13)	27.5% (28)
it is near the border	7.9% (3)	7.0% (5)	9.7% (6)	9.8% (10)

Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
the Catalan language			4.2% (1)	
its traditions	3.1% (1)	7.0% (3)	8.3% (2)	2.1% (1)
its monuments		2.3% (1)	4.2% (1)	
its mentality	21.9% (7)	14.0% (6)		4.2% (2)
its history		2.3% (1)		
the mixture of people	18.8% (6)	30.2% (13)	20.8% (5)	25.0% (12)
Catalan/Spanish influence	9.4% (3)	20.9% (9)	16.7% (4)	12.5% (6)
it is in France	15.6% (5)	7.0% (3)	16.7% (4)	41.7% (20)
it is near the border	9.4% (3)	9.3% (4)	4.2% (1)	4.2% (2)

31.2 What makes Perpignan a French town.

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## Chapter 9: The situation of Catalan in Perpignan

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### 9.1 Introduction

This chapter will take up and examine in detail some of the issues concerning the Catalan language in Perpignan. The importance of Catalan in the town has been seen already: chapter two made clear its sociohistorical status, and the fact that it is still an important language in Perpignan is attested to by the 54.6% of the sample who claim a knowledge of the language and the 84.0% who consider Perpignan to be a Catalan town.

The situation of Catalan in Perpignan will be considered from two major perspectives: firstly, by an analysis of those informants who claimed a knowledge of Catalan; secondly by looking at *Catalanisme* and analysing a small group of people actively involved in promoting the survival of the Catalan language.

### 9.2 General opinions of Catalan and the Catalans

This section does not attempt to exploit any particular part of the questionnaire, but rather to present some of the attitudes and opinions which were gathered, often indirectly, whilst conducting the survey. In many cases, people intentionally volunteered this information, often before any question had been asked. In others it would come across through the replies given. The fact that everyone had opinions on the Catalan language and the mentality of its speakers would seem to be an indication of its continuing presence, even though the figures show a low number of speakers.

The questionnaire was presented to informants in a way intended to show its interest in all varieties of language existing in Perpignan. Nevertheless, a significant number of informants immediately assumed it was interested only in Catalan: indeed, the initial reaction of a number of people, particularly in La Lunette, was to say that they would be of no help as they did not speak Catalan. Evidently the presence of the Catalan language is still strongly felt by non-Catalan speakers living in Perpignan.

The general image that non-Catalans have of their Catalan neighbours is rather a negative one: the most frequently-voiced opinion on the subject of their indigenous neighbours was that they are proud and unfriendly. One man went so far as to accuse them all of being *grossiers* and *chauvins*, but most people were not so extreme. A common example used by non-Catalans to demonstrate the coldness of the Catalan nature was the fact that, in all the years they had lived in Perpignan, they had never been invited into



a Catalan home. Some Catalans also shared this opinion, saying that the traditional Catalan in the region was proud and *renfermé*.

Since people have this negative view of Catalans as a distinct ethnic group, it would seem logical that they should have a similarly negative attitude towards the Catalan language. "The fact that languages are not only objective, socially neutral instruments for conveying meaning, but are linked up with the identities of social or ethnic groups has consequences for the social evaluation of, and the attitudes towards languages" (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 16). In fact it would seem that the tendency is often towards total indifference, as many non-Catalans have little or no contact with the language. The percentage of informants who responded "do not know" to the questions concerning Catalan, and the comments that they made suggest that it is not a question that concerns many people. However, it could be said that they feel indifferent precisely because the language is little used - many informants would perhaps have a lot more to say if they felt a real "threat" to French from Catalan.

Many non-Catalans tended to deplore the fact that Catalans considered themselves more Catalan than French: they were not opposed to Catalan language and culture as long as they remained folkloric, but they could not accept the idea of a Catalan identity coming before a French identity. This attitude can be traced back to the conclusions of the Grégoire report (1793) which identified patriotism with speaking French and considered anyone with another language loyalty as a potential traitor. It may seem strange that so many informants should have this impression, as the majority of indigenous informants, even if they called themselves Catalan, almost invariably claimed that they were proud to be French. The reasons for Catalans feeling attached to France and the French language have already been considered (4.4.3.), and they explain why most Catalans, even those who did claim to be "catalans d'abord" were anxious to point out that they were not separatist. Whilst it is true that many Catalans are attached to their cultural heritage, and in a number of cases try to cultivate their *catalanitat*, the number of those who actually feel opposed to the French state is very low. However, the fact that so many non-Catalans mentioned this tendency suggests two things: firstly, that there really is very little contact between them and the Catalans, and consequently they are unaware of what most Catalans are thinking; secondly, that *catalanistes* have been effective in publicising themselves and giving the impression that there is a widespread desire among Catalans to have an identity distinct from the rest of France.

In actual fact, this movement is in general limited to intellectuals (see 9.4) and most Catalans, even though they are proud of their individual culture are aware that they are primarily French citizens.

There was one common exception to the general feeling that Catalan should be maintained at a purely cultural level: a number of informants saw the potential usefulness of Catalan in economic terms. Many people consid-



ered that after 1992 it would make sense to increase economic links with Barcelona, or even to go there in search of work. In recent years young people have drifted towards Paris in search of employment, but the proximity of Barcelona, and its economic power, make it a more logical choice, and knowledge of Catalan is an absolute necessity for working in this city.

In general, attitudes towards Catalan and the Catalans would seem to be unfavourable due to lack of information. Many Catalans are suffering an identity crisis, to a lesser or greater extent, provoked by their conflicting attachments to two cultures. In many cases they feel despised by other French citizens because of their Catalan accent, and yet they do not feel they are “real” Catalans, because they speak only a reduced form of the language. As one informant said, “le peuple roussillonnais a perdu courage, il ne croit plus à son pays”, yet they are not regarded by outsiders as true French citizens. The *catalaniste* movement seems to be succeeding inasmuch as it is making a number of people aware that being Catalan is not something to be ashamed of, and it is even possible to be proud of having a Catalan culture. On the other hand, at a practical level most people can see no use for Catalan, and cannot believe in the possibility of a real French Catalonia, similar to the *Principat* across the border.

The rest of this chapter will look in more detail at these Catalans, their knowledge and practice of the language, and attitudes towards it.

### 9.3 Identification of those who know Catalan

#### 9.3.1 Breakdown by age and sex

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
male	9.1% (6)	19.7% (13)	19.7% (13)	51.5% (34)
female	9.8% (8)	29.3% (24)	20.7% (17)	40.2% (33)

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
male	11.1% (3)	18.5% (5)	22.2% (6)	48.1% (13)
female	9.3% (5)	20.4% (11)	20.4% (11)	50.0% (27)

La Lunette		Saint Mathieu	
male	44.6% (66)	male	33.3% (27)
female	55.4% (82)	female	66.7% (54)

breakdown by sex.



La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
15-24	9.5%	(14)	15-24	9.9%	(8)
25-44	25.0%	(37)	25-44	19.8%	(16)
45-60	20.3%	(30)	45-60	21.0%	(17)
60+	45.3%	(67)	60+	49.4%	(40)

breakdown by age.

There is a clear predominance of females in both *quartiers* - in Saint Mathieu there are exactly twice as many women as men who claim to know Catalan.

The number of informants who know Catalan seems to increase with the older age groups, thus confirming a point mentioned earlier (2.1.6; 4.4.3), that Catalan has not been passed down by older people to the same extent that it would have been in previous generations. The only exception is the second group in La Lunette, which is slightly higher than the third, otherwise the correlation between age and knowledge of Catalan is very uniform.

Thus for both sexes there are substantially more informants in the oldest age group. In Saint Mathieu virtually half the informants of both sexes are over sixty. In La Lunette this is true of men, but there is a very substantial percentage of women in the second group, almost 30.0%. It should be borne in mind though that there is a significant surplus of women in this age group in La Lunette. There is almost no difference between the number of each sex in the youngest age group - slightly above or below 10.0%.

9.3.2 Where do they come from?

This section will consider the origin of this subsample, and discover whether they are mostly local “Roussillonnais”, or if Catalan is maintained in Perpignan by refugees from the Spanish side of Catalonia.

Nationality and origin

La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
French	93.9%	(139)	French	84.0%	(68)
Spanish	6.1%	(9)	Spanish	14.8%	(12)
			Moroccan	1.2%	(1)

Nationality

La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
Spanish	6.1%	(9)	Spanish	6.2%	(5)
Catalan	40.5%	(60)	Catalan	45.7%	(37)
Other	1.4%	(2)*	Pieds-noirs	2.5%	(2)

#### Origin

\*The two informants of "other" origin were German and Greek.

Clearly it is primarily natives of the region who know Catalan, although there is a sizeable minority of Spaniards in Saint Mathieu. There is also a Moroccan, which may seem surprising, but in fact this is a young informant brought up in Perpignan, who learnt Catalan at school, and thus cannot be considered a Catalan any more than a Frenchman who learnt Arabic at school could be considered an Arab.

About half of the group claimed a Catalan origin, demonstrating the importance that they give to this identity.

The following tables will help to show to what extent this subsample can be considered a group of "ethnic Catalans".

#### Place of birth

Although there is some variation in informants' place of birth, the majority in both *quartiers* were born in Roussillon, with most of the others being born elsewhere in France or in South Catalonia. Interestingly a higher percentage in La Lunette than in Saint Mathieu were born in Roussillon: 64.9% compared to 53.1%, and the number of parents born in Roussillon is even lower in Saint Mathieu. 49.4% of fathers and 48.1% of mothers in Saint Mathieu were born in Roussillon, compared to 64.2% of fathers and 62.2% of mothers in La Lunette. However, whilst the numbers of informants born in South Catalonia are very similar in the two *quartiers* (11.1% in Saint Mathieu and 10.5% in La Lunette), there is a substantial difference between the number of informants' parents born there: 19.8% of fathers and 17.3% of mothers in Saint Mathieu and only 10.8% of fathers and 10.1% of mothers in La Lunette. These facts show that there are actually fewer Roussillonnais speaking Catalan in Saint Mathieu than in La Lunette, which is perhaps to be expected, given that overall there are fewer informants born in the region in Saint Mathieu than in La Lunette.



La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
Roussillon	64.9%	(96)	Roussillon	53.1%	(43)
France	18.2%	(27)	France	19.8%	(16)
South Catalonia	10.1%	(15)	South Catalonia	11.1%	(9)
Spain	2.7%	(4)	Spain	9.9%	(8)
Europe	0.7%	(1)	Morocco	2.5%	(2)
Morocco	1.4%	(2)	Algeria	3.7%	(3)
Algeria	1.4%	(2)			
Other	0.7%	(1)			

Place of birth

La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
Roussillon	64.2%	(95)	Roussillon	49.4%	(40)
France	16.2%	(24)	France	13.6%	(11)
South Catalonia	10.8%	(16)	South Catalonia	19.8%	(16)
Spain	6.1%	(9)	Spain	11.1%	(9)
Europe	1.4%	(2)	Europe	1.2%	(1)
Algeria	1.4%	(2)	Morocco	1.2%	(1)
			Algeria	3.7%	(3)

Father’s place of birth

La Lunette			Saint Mathieu		
Roussillon	62.2%	(92)	Roussillon	48.1%	(39)
France	18.2%	(27)	France	14.8%	(12)
South Catalonia	10.1%	(15)	South Catalonia	17.3%	(14)
Spain	5.4%	(8)	Spain	12.3%	(10)
Europe	1.4%	(2)	Portugal	1.2%	(1)
Algeria	2.7%	(4)	Europe	1.2%	(1)
			Morocco	1.2%	(1)
			Algeria	3.7%	(3)

Mother’s place of birth.

Where these informants have lived during their lives

Where informants lived in childhood is often the same as their place of birth, although the slightly higher figures for childhoods spent in Roussillon suggest that a number of informants born elsewhere were brought to the region as infants (6 in La Lunette, 2 in Saint Mathieu). Rather more informants came

to Saint Mathieu during their youth, and even more during working life, whereas in La Lunette the figure remains constant for childhood and youth and actually drops slightly for working life. Thus a much more significant proportion of people in La Lunette spent at least part of their working life elsewhere in France or in another country, compared to Saint Mathieu, where only 11.0% had spent any of their working life away from the region - this could explain in part the lower occurrence of knowledge of Catalan in La Lunette.

La Lunette

	childhood	youth	working life	retirement
Roussillon	70.9% (104)	70.9% (104)	68.2% (101)	46.6% (69)
France	14.9% (22)	17.6% (26)	10.1% (15)	
South Catalonia	7.4% (11)	6.1% (9)	0.7% (1)	
Spain	2.0% (3)	0.7% (1)		
Europe	0.7% (1)			
Morocco	1.4% (2)	0.7% (1)		
Algeria	1.4% (2)	0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)	
other	1.4% (2)	3.4% (5)	10.8% (16)	

Saint Mathieu

	childhood	youth	working life	retirement
Roussillon	55.6% (45)	63.0% (51)	79.0% (64)	53.1% (43)
France	14.8% (12)	12.3% (10)	8.6% (7)	
South Catalonia	8.6% (7)	9.9% (8)		
Spain	11.1% (9)	9.9% (8)		
Morocco	2.5% (2)	1.2% (1)		
Algeria	3.7% (3)	2.5% (2)	1.2% (1)	
other	3.7% (3)	1.2% (1)	1.2% (1)	

#### How informants learnt Catalan

In Saint Mathieu the number of informants claiming to have learnt Catalan in the home corresponds exactly to the number born in the region, whereas in La Lunette it is slightly lower. It is nonetheless still higher than in Saint Mathieu. The most interesting distinction between the two *quartiers* is the higher percentage in Saint Mathieu who learnt Catalan in the region. This seems to corroborate the comments of some informants in response to the question on the importance of speaking Catalan in Perpignan: several said it was still spoken in *vieux quartiers* and it would seem that several strangers to the region felt the need, or at least the utility of learning Catalan when they settled in Saint Mathieu, which is not so much the case in La Lunette.



La Lunette

N/A	4.7%	(7)
in the home	61.5%	(91)
in the region	29.7%	(44)
at school	0.7%	(1)
through travel/war	0.7%	(1)
correspondence/self-taught	1.4%	(2)
through a relative	1.4%	(2)

Saint Mathieu

in the home	53.1%	(43)
in the region	40.7%	(33)
at school	3.7%	(3)
correspondence/self-taught	1.2%	(1)
through a relative	1.2%	(1)

How informants learnt Catalan.

9.4 Who actually speaks Catalan?

The following tables show how many of those who claim to know Catalan can actually speak, read or write it.

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
know	53.8% (148)	55.0% (81)
understand	97.3% (144)	100.0% (81)
speak	73.0% (108)	76.5% (62)
read	33.1% (49)	43.2% (35)
write	14.2% (21)	21.0% (17)

N.B. The figures for “knowing” Catalan are shown as a percentage of the total sampled population; the subsequent figures are percentages of the sub-sample.

These figures show that it would be inaccurate to refer to the whole of this subgroup as *Catalanophones* - in fact only 75.0% *can* speak the language and it is unlikely that all of them do speak it regularly. For many older people it is the language of their childhood, which they gave up speaking when they had children. Conversely, for some younger people it is a language they learnt merely to communicate with their grandparents.

The percentage of informants who can *read* Catalan is strikingly low, and the percentage of those who can write even lower. This fact is not surprising, given that it has only been in recent years that the teaching of Catalan in schools has been permitted, and so it is only younger people, on the whole, who have had the opportunity to become literate in this language.

9.4.1 The real Catalanophones

This section will now examine the subsample of informants who claim to *speak* Catalan, 108 informants in La Lunette and 62 in Saint Mathieu, which should reveal more clearly to what extent Catalan is really spoken in Perpignan. In this section percentages will refer to the subsample of those who claim to *speak* Catalan.

Breakdown by age and sex

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
male	47.2% (51)	40.3% (25)
female	52.8% (57)	59.7% (37)

Breakdown by sex.

The gap between the sexes is narrower here compared to the complete subsample, suggesting that many more women than men have only a passive knowledge of the Catalan language.

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
15-24	6.5% (7)	8.1% (5)
25-44	25.9% (28)	17.7% (11)
45-60	19.4% (21)	21.0% (13)
60+	48.1% (52)	53.2% (33)

Breakdown by age.

The most notable change between the age breakdown in 9.2.2. and here is found in the first and fourth age groups. The percentage of younger people who speak is significantly smaller than of those who understand, and for older people is significantly higher, reinforcing the hypothesis that many older people actually grew up in Catalan-speaking homes, whereas younger people have only learnt Catalan in order to understand their grandparents (or have learnt it at school and cannot speak it, as in the case of the Moroccan informant).

Nationality

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
French	94.4% (102)	85.5% (53)
Spanish	5.6% (6)	12.9% (8)
Moroccan		1.6% (1)



Origin

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
Spanish	6.5% (7)	8.1% (5)
Catalan	48.1% (52)	51.6% (32)
Pieds-noir		3.2% (2)
other	0.9% (1)	

In both *quartiers* there is a noticeable difference in the percentages of this subsample and of the wider one: the proportion of informants of French nationality is higher, and those of Spanish nationality therefore lower, and the proportion of informants claiming Catalan origin is higher.

Thus, taken together, these four sets of figures suggest that Catalanophones in Perpignan are for the most part “Roussillonnais”, mainly older people and slightly more women than men.

Another important factor to be taken into consideration when identifying the Catalanophones is how they learnt Catalan, which can be seen in the following table.

How Catalanophones learnt Catalan

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
in the home	75.9% (82)	64.5% (40)
in the region	19.4% (21)	29.0% (18)
at school	0.9% (1)	4.8% (3)
through travel/war	0.9% (1)	
self-taught/correspondence	0.9% (1)	1.6% (1)
through relative	0.9% (1)	

The fact that the majority learned Catalan in the home seems to correspond to the fact that the majority of Catalanophones are *Catalans de souche*. Quite a substantial number also learnt in the region, suggesting that the language is still noticeably present, as most people do not make the effort to learn a language unless they think it will be of some use to them.

Profession and level of education of Catalanophones

La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
agric. landowners				3.8% (2)
traders, artisans	14.3% (1)	7.1% (2)	4.8% (1)	7.7% (4)
liberal professions		25.0% (7)	33.3% (7)	21.2% (11)
intermediate		21.4% (6)	14.3% (3)	23.1% (12)
employees		17.9% (5)	14.3% (3)	17.3% (9)
workers	28.6% (2)	7.1% (2)	4.8% (1)	1.9% (1)
no profession	57.1% (4)	21.4% (6)	28.6% (6)	25.0% (13)

Saint Mathieu

°	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
traders, artisans		18.2% (2)	30.8% (4)	21.2% (7)
liberal professions			7.7% (1)	3.0% (1)
intermediate		9.1% (1)	23.1% (3)	9.1% (3)
employees		54.5% (6)	23.1% (3)	18.2% (6)
workers		9.1% (1)	7.7% (1)	36.4% (12)
no profession	100.0% (5)	9.1% (1)	7.7% (1)	12.1% (4)

*Professions of Catalanophones*

There are not really many great variations from the professions of the over-all sample: in both *quartiers* the older age groups have virtually the same percentages in each socioprofessional category as do the tables for the whole sample. The only real differences seem to be in the second age group, where there are fewer employees in La Lunette and more liberal professions, and about half as many traders and artisans. In Saint Mathieu there is a higher percentage of employees in this group, and a lower percentage of informants with no profession. In the first age group there are rather more workers in La Lunette, and in Saint Mathieu more with no profession. However, the differences are small and not the same in the two *quartiers*, which suggests that it would be unfair to say that Catalanophones could be classified according to socioprofessional category, as they may be found in every category.



### La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
none		7.1% (2)		5.8% (3)
up to age 14			14.3% (3)	5.8% (3)
brevet	42.9% (3)	14.3% (4)	23.8% (5)	28.8% (15)
certificat d'études		7.1% (2)	9.5% (2)	17.3% (9)
baccalauréat	14.3% (1)	25.0% (7)	19.0% (4)	9.6% (5)
bac + 1/2	28.6% (2)	21.4% (6)		
licence	14.3% (1)	3.6% (1)	4.8% (1)	3.8% (2)
études sup.		21.4% (6)	28.6% (6)	28.8% (15)

### Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
none				24.2% (8)
up to age 14			30.8% (4)	24.2% (8)
brevet	20.0% (1)	18.2% (2)	23.1% (3)	24.2% (8)
certificat d'études		18.2% (2)	30.8% (4)	18.2% (6)
baccalauréat	80.0% (4)	27.3% (3)	7.7% (1)	6.1% (2)
bac + 1/2		18.2% (2)		
licence		9.1% (1)		
études sup		9.1% (1)	7.7% (1)	3.0% (1)

### *Level of schooling of Catalanophones*

In general it would seem that the level of schooling is rather higher than in the sample as a whole. In the youngest age group there is a higher percentage in La Lunette with a *licence* than in the general sample, although only half the number of *baccalauréats*, whilst in Saint Mathieu Catalanophones have almost twice as many *baccalauréats* as the total sample. Categories two and three have a very high number of informants with *études supérieures* in La Lunette, and category four is almost the same as in the whole sample. In Saint Mathieu there are more informants with a decent level of schooling than in the whole sample, in group two, and the other two categories are very similar to the overall sample. Thus the general trend is for Catalalophones to be at least as well educated, if not better, than the average Perpignanais.

### 9.4.2 Where is Catalan spoken?

This section will seek to make clear exactly how much Catalan is really spoken. It will be immediately obvious that it is not as widely spoken as may have been supposed by looking at the number of informants who claim to speak it.

In the family

The following tables give details of how Catalan is used in families of informants claiming to know the language. The first column shows with whom the informant uses Catalan and the second column shows which other members of the family use Catalan. The sample is broken down by age and numbers of informants are given as percentages of the age group.

La Lunette

age	informant uses Catalan			other members of family		
15-24	with parents	28.6%	(2)	parents	28.6%	(2)
	with g'parents	14.3%	(1)	g'parents' gen*	57.1%	(4)
	with whole family	14.3%	(1)	whole family	14.3%	(1)
	with nobody	42.9%	(3)			
25-44	with spouse	10.7%	(3)	spouse with family	7.1%	(2)
	with parents	17.9%	(5)	parents	21.4%	(6)
	with children	3.6%	(1)	parents' gen	14.3%	(4)
	with g'parents	7.1%	(2)	g'parents' gen	14.3%	(4)
	with whole family	7.1%	(2)	whole family	10.7%	(3)
	with nobody	53.6%	(15)			
45-60	with spouse	9.5%	(2)	spouse with family	4.8%	(1)
	with parents	19.0%	(4)	parents	9.5%	(2)
	with child	4.8%	(1)	parents' gen	23.8%	(5)
				g'parents' gen	4.8%	(1)
	with whole family	9.5%	(2)	whole family	14.3%	(3)
				in-laws	10.7%	(3)
60+	with nobody	57.1%	(12)	nobody	14.3%	(4)
	with spouse	13.5%	(7)	spouse with family	3.8%	(2)
	with parents	11.5%	(6)	parents	19.2%	(10)
				parents' gen	15.4%	(8)
				g'parents' gen	9.6%	(5)
	with whole family	15.4%	(8)	whole family	15.4%	(8)
				in-laws	1.9%	(1)
	with nobody	59.6%	(31)	nobody	34.6%	(18)

\* *gen* is the abbreviation for *generation*.



Saint Mathieu

age	informants use Catalan			other members of family		
15-24	with parents	40.0%	(2)	parents	40.0%	(2)
	with whole family	40.0%	(2)	whole family	40.0%	(2)
	with nobody	20.0%	(1)	nobody	20.0%	(1)
25-44	with g'parents	9.1%	(1)	spouse with family	18.2%	(2)
				parents	18.2%	(2)
				parents' gen	27.3%	(3)
	with whole family	9.1%	(1)	whole family	18.2%	(2)
	with nobody	81.8%	(9)	nobody	18.2%	(2)
45-60	with spouse	15.4%	(2)	spouse with family	7.7%	(1)
	with parents	7.7%	(1)	parents	30.8%	(4)
				parents' gen	23.1%	(3)
				g'parents' gen	15.4%	(2)
	with whole family	7.7%	(1)	whole family	7.7%	(1)
	with nobody	69.2%	(9)	nobody	15.4%	(2)
60+	with spouse	21.2%	(7)	spouse with family	6.1%	(2)
	with parents	6.1%	(2)	parents	18.2%	(6)
				parents' gen	6.1%	(2)
				own gen	6.1%	(1)
	with whole family	33.3%	(11)	whole family	42.4%	(14)
	with nobody	36.4%	(12)	nobody	21.2%	(7)

One fact that is immediately striking from the above tables is that instances of informants using Catalan with a younger generation are very rare. In fact, only three informants specifically mention that they speak Catalan with their children, although there are several informants who claim to speak Catalan with the whole family (28 cases) and therefore presumably use it with younger as well as older relatives. However, it should be noted that the majority of informants using Catalan with the whole family fall into the older age groups: 17 of the 28 are in the over 60 category, and only three are under 25. Thus it may be reasonable to suppose that not many younger people actually speak Catalan in those families; they simply know enough to communicate with their older relatives. That this is the case would seem to be borne out by the vast majority of informants who use Catalan only to speak to parents or grandparents, and in many cases do not use it themselves, but claim that their parents or grandparents do.

These figures therefore represent a worrying trend for the role of Catalan in the home. Even before looking at the details of the tables, there is the noticeable difference between those who claim to know Catalan - 147 in La Lunette, and 81 in Saint Mathieu - and those who use it in the home: 47 and 31 respectively. This represents 35.1% of the subsample of informants who know Catalan (35.0% in La Lunette and 38.2% in Saint Mathieu), and 19.2% of the total sample (17.2% and 21.1% respectively).

Having said all this however, an interesting trend may be noticed in La

Lunette: although the number of speakers increases with each age group - from seven in the youngest group to 52 in the oldest - the *percentage* of each group not using Catalan in the home also increases with age. Thus only 42.9% of younger speakers do not use it, compared to 59.6% of older informants. In Saint Mathieu there does not seem to be such a regular pattern: again the lowest percentage of non-users is in the youngest age group, but the highest percentage is in the second age group, where only 18.2% actually use Catalan in the home.

These responses then seem somewhat contradictory: on the one hand the overall tendency seems to be that informants use Catalan primarily with older relatives whilst at the same time few of the older informants claim to use Catalan. A simple hypothesis could be ventured to explain this apparent contradiction: it has already been seen (2.1.6.; 4.4.3.) that many older people tend to associate the use of Catalan with being punished in childhood and see it as something to be ashamed of, so their tendency would be to hide the fact that they use this language, even now. Consequently many middle-aged informants also feel a sense of shame about Catalan, and more often are aware that they speak only a very reduced form of it and thus may indeed not use it at all. The very young however have no feelings of shame about using Catalan, and the few young informants who know Catalan seem proud to say so.



Outside the family

The following table shows in which situations Catalanophones actually speak Catalan outside the family. The second row of figures each time indicates those who speak a mixture of Catalan and French or Catalan and Castilian.

La Lunette

situation	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2	F3	F4
colleagues	0	1	4	0	1	2	0	1
	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
clients	0	1	3	0	0	1	1	1
	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
shops	0	1	2	4	0	2	1	5
	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	1
street	0	2	3	4	0	2	2	12
	0	0	2	4	0	1	1	3
villages	0	4	5	7	1	3	4	11
	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0
sports	1	1	4	4	0	0	0	0
	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
café	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0
	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1
assoc'ns	0	0	4	4	1	0	0	2

Saint Mathieu

situation	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2	F3	F4
colleagues	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
clients	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
shops	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	3
	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	5
street	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	5
	0	2	2	5	0	1	1	7
villages	0	3	3	3	0	1	3	8
	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	2
sports	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1
	0	2	2	3	0	0	0	1
café	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0	2	2	3	0	0	0	2
assoc'ns	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Key

M = male; F = female; 1 = 15-24; 2 = 25-44; 3 = 45-60; 4 = 60+.

If Catalan is not widely spoken in the home, it would appear to be even less widespread outside. The above tables show that it is only older people who use it in several circumstances, and even then it is by no means all older Catalanophones who use their language.

In the youngest age group not one person in Saint Mathieu uses Catalan outside the home, and in La Lunette there is only one male and one female (the female being a full-time student of Catalan). With each age group there is an increase in the number of informants who use Catalan. Thus in the second group there are one or two speakers for several categories. Interestingly, although in both *quartiers* there are more women than men in this age group, there are more men who use Catalan. Women only use Catalan in shops, in the street and in villages, and in four cases, at work, whereas men also use it in cafés and when playing or watching sport. This may be attributed to the fact that fewer women frequent cafés and sports grounds, or to an increased desire on the part of women to conform to the norm required for social advancement, as compared to a kind of “covert prestige” on the part of men, who use Catalan as a sort of code at all-male gatherings.

The disparity between male and female speakers is even more marked in the third age group: in La Lunette there are several male speakers for every situation, and only one or two females who speak with their clients, in shops, in the street and in villages. In Saint Mathieu the situation is similar: there are male speakers for every situation except associations, and women speakers only for shops, street and villages.

There is less disparity between the sexes in the fourth age group, where women seem to use Catalan in a wider variety of situations, although there are still more men who use Catalan during leisure activities - in cafés and sports events - and apparently more men than women are involved in Catalan associations. Only one woman in this age group claimed to use Catalan at work, but in fact there are very few informants overall who do so.

In every age group, and for both sexes, there are three situations which clearly come first for speaking Catalan: in shops, in the street, and in villages. It must be made clear that by “shops” informants did not mean the chain stores in the town centre or the out of town *grandes surfaces*, but rather the small local shops. For both “shops” and “street” it may be added that informants generally meant that they used Catalan with their acquaintances in the neighbourhood. The situation “villages” is important because it indicates that many informants feel that Catalan is no longer a viable language in Perpignan itself, but only in the surrounding villages, and they are more likely to use it there.

The concept of social network (Milroy, 1987) would be an interesting framework within which to examine more closely the use of Catalan outside the home. The information on informants is insufficient to take this approach



very far, but from what was said, either explicitly or implicitly during interviews, it is possible to make a hypothesis about the relationship between social network and use of Catalan.

It would appear that it is men rather than women, and in particular middle-aged men, who form a denser and more multiplex network, involving more speakers of Catalan. This supposition can be made on the basis of several comments: firstly the fact that more women than men did not admit to using Catalan in many circumstances because they claimed that the situations were not relevant to them. In other words, they had a relatively limited social network, whereas many more men are involved in activities outside the home. One example of this would be the *boules* club, where the man who took responsibility for allowing interviewing to be conducted there claimed that the members were all either *pieds-noirs* or Catalan. Thus men would seem to make an effort to associate with other members of their ethnolinguistic group in a way that women apparently do not. An extreme example of this would be the elderly *catalaniste* (see 9.6) who tries to associate as often as possible with other Catalan speakers, with the express purpose of speaking Catalan together. Thus it is not necessarily the case that women wish to use Catalan less, simply that they do not have the same social networks as men and thus have fewer opportunities to use it.

To give a clearer image of how Catalanophones feel about using their language, the following are some of the comments made whilst answering the question "In which situations do you speak Catalan?"

- pour plaisanter, ou si le mot n'existe pas en français.
- pour s'adresser à des ouvriers agricoles.
- avec des amies de mon âge. (Woman, 4th age group.)
- seulement si je suis obligé.
- quand l'occasion se présente.
- avec des gens qui le parlent.
- si les gens ne comprennent pas le français.
- autant que possible. (Barrere, president of *Unitat Catalana*.)
- en Andorre.
- avec camarades/copines/amis. (Several similar responses.)
- si l'on me parle en catalan.
- aux *Cadres Catalans*.
- seulement avec des Catalans.
- le moins possible.

- en Catalogne-Sud.
- avec gens de la frontière.
- pour parler d'une façon intime, secrète avec quelqu'un - un code.

### 9.4.3 Feelings about speaking and hearing Catalan

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
N/A	27.9% (41)	25.9% (21)
yes	48.3% (71)	58.0% (47)
no	15.0% (22)	13.6% (11)
does not offend	2.7% (4)	
indifferent	4.8% (7)	2.5% (2)
adore	1.4% (2)	

Feelings about speaking Catalan.

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
N/A	69.4% (102)	70.4% (57)
yes	21.8% (32)	21.0% (17)
no	4.8% (7)	4.9% (4)
does not offend	2.0% (3)	1.2% (1)
indifferent	2.0% (3)	2.5% (2)

Feelings about hearing Catalan.

These two questions (“Do you like *speaking* Catalan?” and “do you like *hearing* Catalan?”) should have been mutually exclusive, as an informant who can speak should only have answered the first question, and one who cannot speak the language, logically should only answer the second. Yet if the number of informants listed as “non-applicable” in each case is added together, it is clear that some informants - three in each *quartier* - answered both questions.

Despite this, the results are very clear: the majority of those who can speak Catalan say that they like doing so, and of the others, a majority claim to like hearing the language even though they are unable to speak it themselves.

This may seem an encouraging statistic for those seeking a revival of the Catalan language, but there is still a vast gulf between the number of informants who claim to like speaking and those who claim actually to speak. Perhaps for many of the former it would be more correct to say that they



*would* like to speak it, if only they had the opportunity. However, at present it would appear that very few Catalanophones insist on speaking their language. They claim to like it for its richness of expression, and for the culture it represents, but in everyday life French must come first.

A sizeable minority however do say that they dislike speaking Catalan, a fact which is not totally unexpected, as it has already been seen that there are a number of reasons why Catalans reject their language. The following tables give some information about the informants who do not like speaking or hearing Catalan. The tables list the age category, the informant's ability in Catalan, his/her nationality and in some cases specific comments made to explain their response.

La Lunette

age	ability	nationality and comments
1	US	French - always lived in region
	U	French - always lived in region
2	US	French - always lived in region (2)
	US	French - born and lived in Barcelona
	US	French - always lived in region
		"catalan n'est pas très fin"
	USRW	French - always lived in region
	USRW	Sp/Fr - born S.Catalonia
3	US	French - always lived in region
	US(R)	French - always lived in region
	USRW	French - born Pau, 25 years here
4	US	French -always in region (6)
		"français d'abord, j'étais dans la guerre"
		"catalan était mal vu quand j'étais petite"
		"française d'abord"
	US	French - in Perpignan for retirement
	US(R)	French - nearly always lived in region
		"depuis l'âge de dix ans, catalan était interdit"
	USR	"française avant tout mais catalane"
	USR	French - Languedocien
	USRW	French

Saint Mathieu

age	ability	nationality and comments
1	USRW	Moroccan - always lived in region
2	US	French - lived in Morocco for 20 years
	US	French - lived in various places
3	US(R)	French (Catalan) - always in region
4	U	Spanish - Perpignan since '63
	U(SR)	French (Catalan) - always in region
	US	French (Catalan) - always in region
		"Roussillon is not Spanish, has been French for 300 years"
	US	French by marriage (Spanish) - always in region
	US	French - Algeria until age 10, then Perpignan
	US(R)	French - Perpignan since '40
	USR	French - lived Perpignan as child and retired

*Catalanophones who do not like speaking Catalan*

Code: U = understands; S = speaks; R = reads; W = writes.



### La Lunette

age	ability	nationality and comments
1	U	Spanish
	U	French - always lived in region
2	U	French (Spanish)
	U	French (Catalan) - always in region
4	U	French - in region for 42 years
	U	French - in Perpignan as child and retired
	U(S)	French - in Perpignan for retirement

### Saint Mathieu

age	ability	nationality and comments
1	(USRW)	French
2	U	French - always in region
4	US	French - lived in Paris

*Informants who know Catalan and do not like hearing it*

Code: U = understands; S = speaks; R = reads; W = writes.

Two facts become apparent in the above tables, which may be relevant in considering why these informants do not like the Catalan language. Firstly, they are almost without exception illiterate in this language: of the 43 informants listed in the above tables, only five claimed to be able to read and write in Catalan. (Three claimed they could read, six said they could read with difficulty, and one claimed to read and write with difficulty.) This would seem to confirm the point made by an elderly *catalaniste* (see 9.6.) that because people in Roussillon are illiterate in Catalan they consider it an inferior language and are ashamed of it. Often they do not realise that it has the potential to be as widely used as French, for them it is nothing more than a village *patois*. This is further confirmed by the fact that several people claimed they did not watch TV3 because they did not understand the Catalan of Barcelona. Believing this form of the language to be “correct” their inability to understand would have reinforced their belief that they speak only an inferior, impure form of the language. Particularly telling also are some of the remarks made by the older informants in La Lunette, which confirm the comments made earlier about people’s attachment to France and rejection of Catalan (4.4.3.).

The second point is related to the first: the majority of these informants have spent all or most of their lives in the region (only 12 informants have spent a substantial part of their lives elsewhere). This fact would have aggravated the first one in the sense that they have always lived in the same atmosphere which is oppressive to Catalan, and have had the same sentiments continually pressed upon them. Thus they have accepted, because their experience seems to prove that it is true, that Catalan is inferior to French, and have conformed not only in their language use but also in attitude.



## 9.5 Interest in Catalan in leisure activities

This section will consider the questions concerning the use of Catalan in leisure activities to see whether Catalanophones take a greater interest than the sample in general.

### 9.5.1 Possession of Catalan books

The percentage who claim to have any Catalan books is almost identical in the two *quartiers*: 51.9% in La Lunette and 51.6% in Saint Mathieu - only slightly over half. This figure is well above that of the total sample, where only 31.9% in La Lunette and 29.9% in Saint Mathieu claimed to have any Catalan books. Nevertheless it appears to be low for a group of speakers of Catalan, but once again it must be taken into account that by no means all of these speakers are literate in Catalan.

Most of the bigger collections of Catalan books can be found in this little group, but inevitably the majority have only a few books.

### 9.5.2 Possession of Catalan records

Contrary to the general sample, this little group seems less interested in Catalan music than in Catalan books. Nonetheless, the percentage who possess any at all is still considerably higher than in the overall sample: 50.0% in La Lunette and 45.2% in Saint Mathieu, compared to 33.0% and 31.3% overall. As with books, the majority have only a few records - just over half of those who claim to have some records have “a few”, “one or two” or “three or four”. Again as with the books, it may be noted that all the collections of over fifty belong to Catalanophones.

### 9.5.3 Watching TV3

Catalanophones seem to watch more Catalan TV than the average informant: 54.6% in La Lunette and 54.8% in Saint Mathieu claimed to watch it, compared to only 45.4% and 40.8% in the whole sample. The majority of these informants however, as in the overall sample, only watch rarely: 19.4% and 22.6%. However, the next highest response is “often” - 14.8% and 11.3%, which is significantly higher than overall (by 9.5% in La Lunette and 4.8% in Saint Mathieu).

In both *quartiers* informants claim that their families watch TV3 more often than they do: 15.7% in La Lunette and 19.4% in Saint Mathieu claim that the family watches often, and consequently the figure for those who watch rarely is slightly lower than for informants themselves - 18.5% in La Lunette and 12.9% in Saint Mathieu.



The clear conclusion which can be drawn from this brief survey of Catalan in leisure activities is that Catalanophones seem to take a greater interest in Catalan than the majority of the population, but it is still by no means all of them. Of course it must be borne in mind that the majority of Catalan books and music are predominantly from South Catalonia, and TV3 is broadcast from Barcelona, which discourages many people from taking an active interest in it, either because of simple prejudice against “l'autre côté” or because they do not understand this variety of Catalan.

### 9.5.4 Attitudes towards the Catalan language

In this section the questions dealing with attitudes towards the Catalan language will be looked at in some detail. For each question there will be a table showing codified results for the subsample, followed by some comments: in this way it is possible to see both the general attitudes of informants, and some of the responses which were less easy to codify.

#### The future of Catalan in the region

La Lunette		
do not know	8.1%	(12)
none	34.5%	(51)
good, will develop	25.0%	(37)
revival now, but unsure	13.5%	(20)
good because of Barcelona/1992	6.8%	(10)
will stay the same	11.5%	(17)
will never die	0.7%	(1)

Saint Mathieu		
do not know	7.4%	(6)
none	34.6%	(28)
good, will develop	28.4%	(23)
revival now, but unsure	9.9%	(8)
good because of Barcelona/1992	6.2%	(5)
will stay the same	12.3%	(10)
will never die	1.2%	(1)

#### General comments

If these figures are compared with those for the general population, some interesting distinctions may be noted. In the first place, the percentage of those unable to give an answer is almost halved in La Lunette, where the overall percentage of “do not know” responses was 14.3%, and more than halved in Saint Mathieu, where the overall figure was 15.6%. This suggests that Catalans tend to have more of an idea, one way or the other, about



the future of their language, and are not quite so inclined as the rest of the population simply to dismiss it.

The fact that they think about the issue clearly does not mean that they necessarily see a rosy future for their language. The percentage of Catalans who see no future for it is almost as high as that of the whole sample - only 1.8% lower in La Lunette and 6.2% in Saint Mathieu. As with the whole sample, this response is the most popular, although it does not have such a wide majority among Catalans as from the total sample. The next response - that Catalan has a good future - was rather more popular with Catalans than with the whole sample, but once again the difference is quite small, particularly in La Lunette - only 1.6% more, and 6.6% more in Saint Mathieu.

In general it would seem that Catalans in Saint Mathieu are more aware of their language and more optimistic about its future than those in La Lunette. On the other hand, fewer in Saint Mathieu seem to be aware of the current attempts to revive the language, but are rather more attached to the idea that it will stay as it is.

#### La Lunette

Among those who said there was no future for Catalan, two said that English was more important, one that "other" languages were more important, and a large number said that French was more important. One informant was vaguely optimistic that 1992 might change the situation, but that in any case Catalan would die out in the region within fifty years.

Some informants were cynical about the revival of Catalan, saying it was being artificially resuscitated, that it only had a cultural or intellectual future and would only ever be used in intellectual circles, not in business and industry, as in South Catalonia.

Others were more hopeful: several people felt that the condition of Catalan in the region would improve because it was taught in schools, but one informant said that a lot of effort was needed. Two informants hoped its future would be secure because young people seemed to like it. Another said that the language had survived so far and would continue to retain its vitality. Others felt it would resist because of such institutions as the *Bressola* and the *Université d'été*, and one said its future was secure because over the previous fifteen years many people had come to his voluntary classes and could now read and write Catalan. He added that still more would learn now for economic reasons - the opening of the single European market.

One final optimistic comment from La Lunette, which seems in direct contradiction to so many others: "il faut que le catalan prime sur la langue française".



Saint Mathieu

Several informants in Saint Mathieu saw no future for Catalan because all young people speak French, and one because it is “not interesting, it is only a dialect”.

As in La Lunette, one informant believed it would only have a good future at an intellectual level, while a few others felt it would only be conserved in the villages and *vieux quartiers*.

Many were more optimistic, however, feeling there had been some progress in attempts to revive the language recently. Others believed the future of the language was assured by the existence of the *Université d’été* and the fact that masses have been held in Catalan every Sunday since 1973.

In Saint Mathieu too there was one extremely optimistic informant, who believed that before the year 2 000 everyone would speak Catalan. He believed that Catalan would become more important than French, and added that people in Perpignan speak French badly anyway.

Maintaining Catalan in the region

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
yes	87.8% (130)	84.0% (68)
no	9.5% (14)	11.1% (9)
do not know	2.0% (3)	4.9% (4)
no reply	0.7% (1)	

Should Catalan be maintained in the region.

La Lunette

it is the language of region	12.2% (18)
for regional identity	16.2% (24)
shame to lose a language	3.4% (5)
it is widely spoken	0.7% (1)
for traditions/culture	41.2% (61)
for Barcelona/1992	7.4% (11)
it is a nice/living language	6.8% (10)
French is more important	2.7% (4)
it is of no interest	7.4% (11)
no reply	2.0% (3)

### Saint Mathieu

it is the language of the region	14.8%	(12)
for regional identity	21.0%	(17)
it is a shame to lose a language	6.2%	(5)
it is widely spoken	2.5%	(2)
for traditions/culture	22.2%	(18)
for Barcelona/1992	4.9%	(4)
it is a nice/living language	9.9%	(8)
French is more important	4.9%	(4)
it is of no interest	6.2%	(5)
no reply	7.4%	(6)

Why it should be maintained.

9

### General comments

The percentage in favour of maintaining Catalan is rather higher than among the whole sample (6.1% higher in La Lunette and 5.1% in Saint Mathieu). As a consequence there are fewer against, although there is only 1.8% difference in Saint Mathieu, and the percentage of informants without an opinion is virtually halved. This could be seen as an encouraging sign: although people's language usage and the response to the previous question seemed to suggest that there is little likelihood of maintaining the language, this response shows that the vast majority of Catalans do feel a need to maintain it.

As in the general population, the most popular reason was "for traditions and culture". In fact it seemed slightly *more* popular among Catalans (2.0% more in La Lunette and 3.2% more in Saint Mathieu). The other important responses, again coinciding with the general population, were those connected to the region.

The most unpopular reason was that the language is widely spoken - the percentage of Catalans who gave this reason is lower even than that of the total sample. This may be due to different terms of reference: for a native of the region who maybe remembers a time when Catalan was spoken almost as much as French, it would appear that it is scarcely spoken at all now. At the opposite extreme, an informant who had spent most of his or her life in the north of France would find any amount of spoken Catalan a lot compared to what he or she had been used to. Fewer Catalans claimed that their language was of no interest, but a small percentage did, and the percentage of Catalans claiming that French is more important is virtually identical to that of the total sample in both *quartiers*. This reflects a way of thinking induced by years of centralising linguistic policy, convincing people that a united France means a monolingual France.



A large number of informants who said that Catalan should be maintained for cultural reasons were quick to add that it should definitely *not* be for independence, or to the detriment of French, or even for regular use. One informant said that it “ne sert à rien” and another did not like the idea of a united Catalonia. One said that it was not good to encourage regionalism, and one that the people of this region were not separatists. A final reason for being against the maintenance of Catalan was that the Catalan of the region was too “francisé”.

Many people expressed a belief that they would be losing something important if they did not maintain Catalan: “language reflects culture, and if a language dies the people die too”, “it is part of the identity and richness of the region”, “it is a shame to lose our roots”. Several comments also revealed a sense of pride in their Catalan heritage: “it is a privilege to have our own language”, “it is a complementary culture”, “it reflects our tradition and mentality”, it is “partie de la terre” and should be maintained “out of respect for our ancestors”.

In contrast to those informants mentioned earlier, one claimed to be a regionalist and considered this sufficient answer to the question; one said Catalan should be imposed on people, and another said it should be maintained in order for the region to be independent.

#### Saint Mathieu

One informant said that Catalan could not be maintained in the region because people did not have the right mentality to do so. Another felt there were not enough Catalans to maintain it and another that it was too small on a world-scale to make it worth maintaining.

Only one informant in Saint Mathieu actually said that it should not be maintained in order to seek autonomy.

Several informants felt it should be spoken in the region, for contact with older people, or simply because it is a part of Catalonia. One even said “c’est une région où il *faut* le parler”. The view was expressed that a living language should not be allowed to disappear, and that it should be maintained “so that it does not die out”.

The qualities of the language were used by several informants as reasons for maintaining it. It is “riche, imagée”, or simply “jolie”, and is a nice language which relates to others. It is also widely spoken: in seventy different countries, and by fifteen million people. Thus it is “une langue dispersée partout, une langue qui sert”.

As in La Lunette, there were a few separatists: one said he was a federalist and believed that each region should have its own language and identity; another said they must maintain the doctrine of French Catalonia, or the region would disappear.

One informant added a caution about maintaining Catalan: it should be to “refléter l’image, l’esprit des gens - pas pour les touristes”.

The importance of speaking Catalan in the region

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
yes	60.1% (89)	64.2% (52)
no	38.5% (57)	33.3% (27)
do not know	1.4% (2)	2.5% (2)

Is it important to speak Catalan in the region?

La Lunette

French is more important	16.9% (25)
it is of no importance	11.5% (17)
it is a <i>Pays Catalan</i>	7.4% (11)
useful for some people	7.4% (11)
because of Barcelona	22.3% (33)
only old people speak it	6.1% (9)
to communicate with locals	5.4% (8)
for the EC	5.4% (8)
for cultural reasons	13.5% (20)
no reply	4.1% (6)

Saint Mathieu

French is more important	18.5% (15)
it is of no importance	8.6% (7)
it is a <i>Pays Catalan</i>	22.2% (18)
useful for some people	7.4% (6)
because of Barcelona	8.6% (7)
only old people speak it	9.9% (8)
to communicate with locals	3.7% (3)
for the EC	4.9% (8)
for cultural reasons	13.6% (11)
no reply	2.5% (2)

Why it is important.



## The importance of speaking Catalan in the region

As in the preceding set of questions, the percentage of Catalans who responded positively is higher than in the overall sample, and the percentage who responded negatively is lower.

Nevertheless, although the superior importance of French ranks second here, compared to first in the total sample, it is not far behind the most popular responses, and the response that Catalan is of no importance is almost as popular with Catalans as with the general population.

There is a great difference between the two *quartiers* as to the most popular response, which in each case corresponded to the second most popular in the overall sample of that *quartier*, but with a noticeably higher percentage. In La Lunette this response was "because of Barcelona" and in Saint Mathieu "because the region is a *Pays Catalan*". This would suggest a difference in outlook between the two *quartiers*: the Catalans in La Lunette feel that the importance, now and in the future, of their language, lies in gaining support from outside, while Catalans in Saint Mathieu are more inward-looking, and for them the language is important as a representation of the *catalanitat* of the region.

The first of the above tables shows that a clear majority of informants felt that it was important to speak Catalan in the region, and the second table shows how varied were the reasons for such a response. It does not, however, give the whole range of responses, which will now be discussed.

As far as negative responses are concerned, most people in La Lunette felt either that French was more important or simply that Catalan in itself was not important. This second idea was expressed by one informant who said that there were already "too many languages". Quite a large number of informants said that it was not important because it was no longer spoken very much, and several others said it was only useful in the country, not in the town. One person said it was "not good to encourage regionalism".

In Saint Mathieu too, several informants said that there were not many Catalans now, so the language was of no importance, and one informant said that not enough "important people" spoke it. One informant was against Catalan because "each country should have one language", and another because "it is not useful professionally". Two informants could see a limited importance for Catalan - with *Catalanistes*, or with Spain - but did not feel it was a necessity for the region.

There was a greater variety of responses on the positive side - mainly variations on the general responses shown in the table. Several informants saw it as important for maintaining tradition, or in order to appreciate the two cultures of the region, whilst others - notably in Saint Mathieu - said it brought a "plus" to one's personal culture, and that it played an important



role in preserving the culture and personality of the region. One informant in La Lunette felt that with the evolution of Europe, it would be useful to maintain Catalan values; he did not elaborate on what he meant by “values”. Informants in both *quartiers* also felt it was important to speak Catalan because it is another language, and being able to speak more than one language is always an advantage. One person in Saint Mathieu said it is the language of the region and everyone should speak it. A number of informants recognised a certain need to speak Catalan in the region, saying for example: “some people need it to communicate”, “it is useful for some jobs”, “it sometimes helps” and “you learn it through living here”. Some informants in Saint Mathieu also felt it was important to preserve a link with the past: one informant said that the language represented “un passé auquel on est attaché” and another said that if the language were not spoken, it would be lost. A few informants in La Lunette also took into account outside influences: one said that the importance of Catalan in Roussillon depended on the influence of South Catalonia, and two others said it was important because of the world importance of Catalan, with six million speakers worldwide. Finally, one informant in La Lunette said it was important because there were quite a lot of *catalanistes* in the region.

Government involvement in regional languages

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
yes	45.9% (68)	54.3% (44)
no	47.3% (70)	30.9% (25)
do not know	6.8% (10)	13.6% (11)
no reply		1.2% (1)

Should government be involved in regional languages?

La Lunette	
by subsidies	8.1% (12)
through schools	18.2% (27)
by increasing facilities	2.7% (4)
by recognising languages	6.1% (9)
through the media	2.0% (3)
do not know	8.8% (13)
no reply	54.1% (80)



Saint Mathieu

by subsidies	12.3%	(10)
through schools	16.0%	(13)
by increasing facilities	12.3%	(10)
by recognising languages	6.2%	(5)
through the media	1.2%	(1)
do not know	6.2%	(5)
no reply	45.7%	(37)

How the government should be involved.

La Lunette

the region	20.9%	(31)
<i>conseil régional</i>	20.9%	(31)
people in the region	20.9%	(31)
regional schools	2.7%	(4)
associations	20.9%	(31)
do not know	12.2%	(18)
no reply	1.4%	(2)

Saint Mathieu

the region	25.9%	(21)
<i>conseil régional</i>	27.2%	(22)
people in the region	17.3%	(14)
regional schools	4.9%	(4)
associations	6.2%	(5)
do not know	9.9%	(8)
no reply	8.6%	(7)

Who else should be involved in regional languages.

Comparison with the overall sample

The percentage of Catalans in favour of government involvement is slightly higher than the overall percentage, and the percentage against is slightly lower.

Although “through schools” was the most popular response with Catalans as with the total sample, it did not have such a wide majority: “by subsidies” came a lot closer in both *quartiers*. Otherwise there are only minor differences: most Catalans apparently have as vague an idea as the rest of the population as to how government could help their language.

As for other bodies or individuals who could have a responsibility, in Saint Mathieu Catalans give a very distinct preference to the region and the *con-*

*seil régional* (6.9% and 8.2% more respectively than for the total sample of the *quartier*). In La Lunette, however, equal importance is given to four responses, including "associations", which had a noticeably lower score overall.

Apparently Catalans give very little importance to regional schools - percentages are almost identical to those of the total sample: low.

The percentage of informants who have no answer to this question is significantly lower among Catalans. Taking together the two categories of "do not know" and "no response", there are 4.7% fewer in La Lunette and 8.0% fewer in Saint Mathieu, suggesting once again that Catalans are rather more concerned about seeing something done for their language, especially at a regional level.

#### Government involvement in regional languages

Informants for and against government involvement were almost evenly divided in La Lunette, whereas in Saint Mathieu considerably more informants were in favour. In both cases it is clear that the majority of those in favour felt that the government should act through schools, and by providing subsidies. Several informants in Saint Mathieu elaborated on the idea of government intervention in schools: one said that the government should put competent teachers in schools, another that it should "encourage children to learn" and another that Catalan should be made obligatory as from *sixième*. Several informants in La Lunette saw it as more important to concentrate on higher education and to create a chair of Catalan at Montpellier University.

As the tables show, a number of informants thought that the government should increase facilities for learning Catalan - by providing a ministry for regional languages, or via the Ministry of Culture, or by creating Catalan institutions to protect the language.

A few informants were unable to formulate a very coherent reply: one informant in La Lunette said the government should be involved "by all possible means" and two Spanish informants, one in each *quartier*, said it should help "como puede". Another informant in La Lunette said that the government should respect interior minorities, and one that the government should be involved, but should not try to make the region autonomous.

#### Other involvement in regional languages.

As is clear from the tables, most people felt that essentially it is the region itself which in some way must be responsible for maintaining its local language. Many responses were very simple - "la région", "les intéressés", "la mairie", but there were a number of more interesting, and sometimes surprising responses.



Still thinking on a political level, one informant in Saint Mathieu replied rather indirectly that Catalan is “une langue qui n’a rien à voir avec la politique”. Other informants thought differently, one in Saint Mathieu claiming that departmental autonomy was needed, and one in La Lunette that Catalan was the affair of “séparatistes et autonomistes”, whilst another thought that education ought to be decentralised. One Saint Mathieu informant thought that the *Generalitat* (the autonomous government of South Catalonia) should be concerned.

Other informants replied on a more cultural level: in La Lunette, two people said that local songs were important, one adding that priests could be instrumental, whilst another informant said that Jordi Barre, a popular local singer, should be responsible. A few informants in La Lunette thought that voluntary teachers were important, and one informant in Saint Mathieu felt that it was the responsibility of the universities.

A few informants in La Lunette did not wish to give anybody responsibility, saying that everyone should have the freedom to choose, and one saying that interest in Catalan must come spontaneously. One rather pessimistic informant in Saint Mathieu feared it was too late for a spontaneous revival: “le peuple roussillonnais a perdu courage, il ne croit plus à son pays. On a réussi à faire endormir la région”. Perhaps agreeing with those sentiments, another Saint Mathieu informant said it was up to foreigners to “véhiculer la langue dans d’autres pays”.

How Catalan is seen with regard to other languages

Question 29 asked informants to classify a number of languages, including Catalan (see 8.5.). The following table takes just Catalan and shows how informants with a knowledge of this language classified it in relation to other modern languages.

La Lunette		
position given		
1	4.7%	(7)
2	6.8%	(10)
3	5.4%	(8)
4	1.4%	(2)
5	1.4%	(2)
6	1.4%	(2)
7	2.0%	(3)
8	0.7%	(1)
9	0.7%	(1)
not placed	75.7%	(112)

### Saint Mathieu

position given		
1	9.9%	(8)
2	4.9%	(4)
3	3.7%	(3)
4	2.5%	(2)
5	2.5%	(2)
6	3.7%	(3)
7	1.2%	(1)
9	7.4%	(6)
not placed	64.2%	(52)

This table requires very little comment: the final figure in the column would be sufficient to show the relative importance given by Catalans to their language. In La Lunette three-quarters of those who know Catalan do not consider it worthy of a place next to a selection of other languages. In Saint Mathieu this figure is slightly lower, but is still well over half. In both cases the figure is slightly lower than for the whole sample - 2.7% lower in La Lunette and 4.5% in Saint Mathieu. On the whole, informants in Saint Mathieu seem to give more importance to their language than do informants in La Lunette, virtually ten percent giving it first place, compared to less than five percent in La Lunette. These figures may suggest that speakers of Catalan consider it a worthless language, but at the same time it must be taken into account that informants were comparing it with what they recognise as international languages, in particular English, German and Castilian Spanish. Thus it does not necessarily mean that informants see no value in learning Catalan, but rather they do not consider it appropriate to compare it with international business languages.

It could also be pointed out that although a very small percentage of Catalans rated the language very highly, they nonetheless represent the majority of informants in the total sample to do so. For example, in La Lunette, only ten informants put Catalan in first place, of whom seven were Catalans, and in Saint Mathieu eight out of the eleven to place Catalan first were Catalans.

### Attitudes towards Perpignan

This section will consider the questions on Perpignan, looking at whether this subsample views Perpignan as more French or Catalan.

#### La Lunette

	yes	a little
Catalan	88.5% (131)	6.1% (9)
typically French	38.8% (57)	10.2% (15)



Saint Mathieu

	yes	a little
Catalan	84.0% (68)	11.1% (9)
typically French	37.0% (30)	13.6% (11)

Is Perpignan a Catalan town or a typically French town?

The above table shows that a clear majority sees Perpignan as a Catalan town, although this apparently does not prevent a certain number of informants from considering it to be typically French: 17.2% in La Lunette and 21.0% in Saint Mathieu obviously answered “yes” to both questions. (The column “a little” refers to informants who were not quite willing to commit themselves to saying yes.)

Interestingly, these figures are higher than those of the total sample for both opinions. Apparently a slightly higher percentage of Catalans find the town both Catalan and typically French.

The following two sets of tables present the reasons informants gave for saying that Perpignan was Catalan or typically French.

La Lunette

the Catalan language	6.1% (9)
its traditions	14.2% (21)
its monuments	4.7% (7)
its mentality	14.9% (22)
its history	37.8% (56)
the mixture of people	4.7% (7)
Spanish/Catalan influence	2.7% (4)
it is in France	0.7% (1)
it is near the border	4.1% (6)
not applicable	10.1% (15)

Saint Mathieu

the Catalan language	11.1% (9)
its traditions	27.2% (22)
its monuments	1.2% (1)
its mentality	2.5% (2)
its history	25.9% (21)
the mixture of people	7.4% (6)
Spanish/Catalan influence	6.2% (5)
it is near the border	2.5% (2)
not applicable	16.0% (13)

What makes Perpignan a Catalan town.

### La Lunette

the Catalan language	1.4%	(2)
its traditions	2.0%	(3)
its monuments	4.1%	(6)
its mentality	5.4%	(8)
its history	6.1%	(9)
the mixture of people	14.2%	(21)
Spanish/Catalan influence	20.3%	(30)
it is in France	27.0%	(40)
it is near the border	7.4%	(11)
not applicable	12.2%	(18)

### Saint Mathieu

its traditions	6.2%	(5)
its monuments	1.2%	(1)
its mentality	3.7%	(3)
its history	1.2%	(1)
the mixture of people	23.5%	(19)
Spanish/Catalan influence	11.1%	(9)
it is in France	32.1%	(26)
it is near the border	7.4%	(6)
not applicable	13.6%	(11)

What makes Perpignan a typically French town.

### Comparison with the whole sample

In La Lunette the most popular response - the history of the town - is the same for Catalans as for the whole sample. In fact, it is 9.2% more popular with Catalans. In Saint Mathieu however, history only takes second place here, and the most popular response among Catalans is “traditions”.

Most responses correspond more or less to those of the whole sample, but in Saint Mathieu there is one other major change. The percentage who mentioned a “Catalan mentality” was much lower among Catalans - only 2.5% compared to 12.2% overall.

As for what makes Perpignan a French town, the clear majority of those who saw it as such did so “because it is in France”. This was also the most popular response overall in La Lunette, but was overtaken in Saint Mathieu by the mixture of people of different races.

### Perpignan as a Catalan town

Clearly the presence of the Catalan language is not considered an important factor for those who see Perpignan as a Catalan town. Far more important



are its traditions and, above all, its history. For a relatively large number of informants it is the fact that Perpignan had been capital of the Kings of Majorca, and has only been in France for three hundred years that makes it a Catalan town. The few people who said that Perpignan was Catalan because of its monuments were in fact referring to the Palace of the Kings of Majorca. Those who mentioned a Spanish influence often referred to the history of the town, and the fact that it was closer to Spain than to France.

In La Lunette a substantial percentage mentioned the "Catalan mentality", which for most of them could be summed up in the word *renfermé*. One informant expressed it more crudely, saying that "le Catalan est bourru" and another said that "il reste un esprit un peu chauvin, au niveau langage". Yet another informant said of the Perpignanais "ils ont une mentalité à part, ni catalane, ni française". One informant in Saint Mathieu agreed with this, adding however, that "les gens sont gentils quand on les connaît". One Saint Mathieu informant, commenting on the Catalan mentality, mentioned that they did not like people who do not speak their language: "il faut qu'on parle catalan pour être reçu". One informant in La Lunette did not mention the mentality, simply the fact that three-quarters of the inhabitants of Perpignan are Catalans, and that there are many regionalists.

One informant did not attempt to give a specific example of the Catalan nature. He claimed that "on essayait d'étouffer le catalan, mais malgré tout c'est catalan".

Those who did not see Perpignan as a Catalan town can be placed for the most part in two categories: those who felt that other influences, and especially the mixture of races present had effaced the Catalan character of the town; secondly those who saw it as Mediterranean rather than Catalan. Within these two categories there was a variety of responses however: several informants claimed that Perpignan used to be more Catalan, and one said that it was less Catalan than South Catalonia. Several also claimed that if Perpignan appeared to be Catalan, it was not a reality: "le passé était catalan - maintenant c'est artificiel", "catalanisme est factice. Les gens d'ici ne sont pas séparatistes", "c'est faussement catalan - on veut se donner l'image de la catalanité mais il ne reste plus qu'un tiers de natifs". These informants, with others, regretted the fact that Catalan was disappearing, but one informant approved of this, saying that "ce n'est pas bien de ressortir le catalan". That Perpignan was losing its Catalan aspect was due to what one informant called "l'accélération de processus qui anivellent au norme français".

### Perpignan as typically French

Clearly not many informants thought of Perpignan as typically French, and almost all those who did reasoned that it is in France, therefore it is French. Some people offered other reasons, however: several felt that the people lived and thought in the same way as other French citizens, one informant



saying the town was French because of "les Français et leur esprit", another because the inhabitants are losing their old ways. Two informants in La Lunette said that the taxation was typically French, and one mentioned "la mauvaise façon d'organisation". Among the more unexpected reasons given were "les plaques minéralogiques", "le monument aux morts" and "les machins".

In both *quartiers* people mentioned that Perpignan has been French for three hundred years (although for many this was a reason for it not being typically French). Another reference to history was made by one informant who said Perpignan was French because "Louis XIV l'a voulu". According to one informant in La Lunette, Perpignan "revendique le droit d'être français", and another claimed that "les gens d'ici sont patriotes français. En Catalogne-Sud ils sont contre l'Espagne". One informant in Saint Mathieu claimed that "la culture, la construction, le mode de vie reflètent l'esprit cartésien".

Most of those who did not see Perpignan as typically French attributed it to the Catalan influence, or to the mixture of people there (described by one informant as "babel"). Some informants thought the lifestyle was different from other French towns, closer to that of Spain, and some said it was simply Mediterranean. One La Lunette informant said it was not like other towns, but was "misogyne".

Perhaps inevitably, there were also a few informants who could not give a clear answer, as they felt that there is no such thing as a "typically French town".

## Conclusions

The figures concerning the use of Catalan seem pessimistic for its survival - a very small percentage of the sampled population actually speak the language, and even fewer are literate in it. However, the attitudinal questions suggest that it is not altogether doomed - the majority of those with a knowledge of Catalan say they like this language and a majority want to see it maintained, although many are unsure about its future. In every question it has been noted that the percentage of Catalans in favour of maintaining or promoting the language is higher than that of the general population, showing that the majority feeling among Catalans is favourable towards their language. A very clear majority see Perpignan as a Catalan town, and a point worth making is that there is a general awareness of Catalan in the town. At the moment it would appear that actual Catalanophones are on the decline, but the sense of *catalanitat* is still present: Catalan names of streets, cafés and so on, an increased interest in Catalan traditions such as *sardanes*. While it is true that for a variety of reasons Catalan is not widely spoken (see 2.1.7.), there is reason for optimism for the future of this language. There is a general awareness that it would be sad, even tragic, to allow a language to disappear, connected to a desire to preserve a cultural heritage. At the same time there is the realisation that the most important



economic centre for Perpignan is Barcelona, where Catalan is the daily language of business, commerce and industry, and therefore that Catalan could become an important commercial language for people in Roussillon too.

## 9.6 Catalanisme

As has been mentioned before (9.1.), regionalism in North Catalonia is apparently not very widespread: the majority of Catalans interviewed did not claim to desire an independent state, although a certain number do see increased links with South Catalonia as desirable. Nonetheless, *Catalanisme* is a force in the region which has to be taken into account. A considerable number of informants mentioned local *catalanistes* who they felt would be better qualified to assist in the survey: thus it is clear that these people are well-known and respected. Moreover, almost all informants at some point in the interview mentioned *Arrels* and the *Bressola*, the two Catalan-speaking schools, showing that they too, although very small, are widely-known. Also, the fact that they should so quickly say this hints at a widespread feeling that the important linguistic issue in Perpignan is the situation of Catalan.

One informant, who showed a great interest in the subject, suggested that it was only intellectuals who had the time to be concerned with promoting a minority language, whereas most people had to think primarily in utilitarian terms: French is the language needed for work, and Catalan can only be cultivated as a leisure activity. Several others agreed that the apparent revival of Catalan would remain merely an intellectual revival which ordinary people could not afford to take part in. Some people regretted this fact, and one informant was angry that the ordinary Catalan-speaking people of the region had allowed themselves to be convinced that it must be the case.

During the course of the fieldwork a number of people with *catalaniste* sympathies were interviewed: one middle-aged Catalan claimed he felt more and more Catalan as he grew older, and a younger colleague of his felt a deep resentment at the repression of his language; a young informant had opted to spend a further three years at university purely to improve her knowledge of Catalan. The fact that these informants are so memorable is an indication that they were not numerous, but nevertheless they are there, and it would seem that opinion among other Catalans at least is generally favourable towards them. The next part of this section will be largely anecdotal, looking at the views expressed by three of the more informed and outspoken *catalanistes* who live in La Lunette and were thus interviewed at random.

### Three *catalanistes*

Two of these *catalanistes* were retired, and had taken the opportunity, during their retirement, to improve their knowledge of Catalan language and culture.



One had been a journalist and had spent most of his working life away from his native region, but had always intended to retire there. On his retirement he had followed a year's course in Catalan at the university of Perpignan, thus enabling him to read the Catalan daily *Avui* and the local weekly *Punt Diari Catalunya-Nord*. He also belongs to the *Fanal de Sant-Vicens*, a Catalan choir led by the well-known local singer, Jordi Barre. He makes a conscious effort to speak Catalan as often as possible, and has many Catalan-speaking friends of like mind.

He believes that the Catalan language, having survived three hundred years of persecution, would not die out, particularly now that a lot of effort is being put into cultural associations. He foresees Europe after 1992 as "l'Europe des régions", meaning that regional identity would become more important than national identity. He also saw it as quite plausible that Roussillon would be reintegrated into South Catalonia. He felt that it is important that Catalan be maintained in the region, so that it does not die out, and to defend it against the invasion of French. He was definite in his conviction that the government should have a concern for regional languages, but felt it was also the "Roussillonnais moyen" who should be concerned, by supporting and participating in Catalan radio, schools and cultural associations. He described his nationality as "Français du sud, Catalan du nord", a French citizen belonging to the Catalan nation.

The second retired informant had been a teacher: originally a teacher of French literature, he had taken a diploma in Catalan in order to be able to teach it, and hoped to see it further developed in schools. He and his wife are natives of Roussillon, and keen promoters of the Catalan language, although they habitually speak French together and with their children. He lamented the fact that many people in Roussillon believe their language is inferior and inadequate, because they are illiterate in it, and know only the reduced form needed in villages. He felt it important that both schools and regional associations should make an effort to make people aware that Catalan is as good as any other language, to awaken a sense of Catalan identity and to end the *mépris* which exists towards Catalan.

Undoubtedly the most outspoken and recognised *catalaniste* to be interviewed was Andreu Barrere, who is president of a recently formed regionalist party, *Unitat Catalana*, and who for fifteen years has been voluntarily teaching Catalan to adults in local schools. He estimates that in that time at least 2000 people have learnt to read and write the language and therefore considers that its future is assured in the region. Moreover, the economic power of South Catalonia will draw people to Catalan. French centralism has caused people to look down on Catalan, but he is optimistic that it will not die out.

For his own part, he claims to exercise the right to speak Catalan in Catalonia, even in public administration, and he conducts professional meetings (at the insurance company where he works) in Catalan. He uses French only



as a concession to people who are unable to communicate in Catalan, and although he knows Castilian, he has rejected it “par chauvinisme”. On the other hand, he has learnt Occitan in order to use it with Occitans in their region.

Using the legal definition of a nation, “un peuple, sur un territoire, avec une langue et une culture”, he claims to be of Catalan nationality, but of French identity as he is a citizen of the French state. He considers that people who live in Perpignan, and especially those in local government, should make the effort to learn the local language. It is the *conseils régionaux* and *municipalités* who should be concerned with it, as the centralised nature of the French government and educational system is such that it will never favour regional languages. Perpignan cannot lose its Catalan identity, and the Catalan culture existing there can only complement the overlaid French culture, thus enriching the life of its inhabitants.

#### 9.6.1 A telephone survey in Prades

To complete this section, there follows an account of a telephone survey conducted by *Unitat Catalana* in late 1987/early 1988 in the district of Prades ( a small town about thirty kilometres from Perpignan). The range of questions in this survey was very limited, as it aimed to find out the general degree of interest in Catalan prior to a local election in which *Unitat Catalana* had a candidate. It is added here in order to compare awareness of and interest in Catalan in a small town as opposed to Perpignan.

The following information is reproduced from *Lligam Butlleti Intern*, the newsheet of *Unitat Catalana*, which is of course printed in Catalan.

##### Telephone survey in the canton of Prades

The survey was conducted in eleven villages, and calls were made systematically to every home, but if there was no reply a second call was not made. In some villages everyone was called, and in others only part of the population. In all they made 1420 calls and had 783 responses. The survey was carried out on Saturdays or at mealtimes. In fact many houses are second homes, in villages such as Mosset, Campone, Molitg, Castell, etc. The population is, on the whole, old.

The survey was conducted in French, with a female voice, asking the following questions:

1. Parlez-vous catalan?
2. Lisez-vous le catalan? (*Indépendant*, *Punt Diari*, *LLibres*)
3. Le catalan vous intéresse à quel niveau? (Culture, Economie, Politique)

4. Connaissez-vous une association, manifestation ou personnalité catalanes?

Villages	Responses	Refusals
Mosset	41	5
Campone	15	7
Ria	181	59
Vilefranca	73	14
Castell	19	12
Molitg	36	12
Urbanya	13	7
Nohedes	12	3
Conat	16	13
Los Masos	25	11
Total villages	431	143
Prades	349	196

Initial responses.

	speak			read			interested		
villages	yes	no	little	yes	no	little	cult	econ	polt
Mosset	27	11	3	7	24	10	21	1	4
Campone	8	7	0	3	2	3	7	0	0
Ria	77	77	27	20	75	42	100	1	10
Vilefranca	32	16	25	34	29	1	24	4	2
Castell	4	12	3	1	17	1	1	0	0
Molitg	4	29	3	4	32	0	1	1	1
Urbanya	3	7	3	2	11	0	0	0	0
Nohedes	3	3	6	3	9	0	3	3	2
Conat	1	12	3	1	15	0	1	1	0
Los Masos	7	14	4	4	13	5	13	0	2
Total villages	166	188	77	79	227	62	171	11	21
Prades	140	109	100	121	227	1	53	32	20

Responses to questions 1, 2 and 3.

If columns one and two of the first table are compared, it would seem that in the villages 34.0% of the population is not interested in Catalan, and is often anti-catalan. This proportion rises to 56.0% in Prades. They also noted that most people were kind and helpful towards them, but a few displayed “un anti-catalanisme visceral”.



Question two

A lot of people, particularly in the villages, said that they could not read Catalan and yet every day they read the Catalan article in the *Indépendant*. In Prades as in the villages, a considerable number of informants read the Catalan articles in the *Indépendant*.

It would seem that about ten percent of people contacted have read books in Catalan. *Punt Diari* appears to be very little known. It could be assumed that sales of this paper could be increased, if there was an improvement in its “marketing” (in English in the original).

Read	Indépendant	Punt Diari	books
Villages	127	11	51
Prades	115	2	21

Question three

On a cultural level, the strangest result seems to be the low number of people in Prades who are interested in Catalan culture, about 15.0%, compared to about 40.0% in the villages; despite the fact that Prades has been home to Catalans of great talent and renown, such as Pau Casals and Pompeu Fabre, as well as twenty years of the *Universitat Catalana d’Estiu*.

On an economic and cultural level, it may be noted that it is the people who know most about the Catalan cultural movement and have the greatest hope for the development of the region who have any interest, and they are few in number.

Question four

Personalities, associations, manifestations known	villages	Prades
Jordi Barre	61	11
Gual or Terra Nostra	10	16
Andreu Barrere	10	4
Pau Casals	1	9
Jordi Pujol	2	7
Lluis Llach	6	2
L'Agram	4	2
Joan Cayrol	4	1
Joan Pere or La Bressola	3	2
Arrels	2	1
El Trabucaire	1	2
U.C.E.	2	0
Jordi Pere Cerda	1	1
Eliana Comelade	1	0
Albert Bueno	1	0

Jordi Barre is clearly the best-known Catalan personality. Senyor Gual (who is from Prades) and his magazine *Terra Nostra* come far behind the most famous singer in North Catalonia.

Senyor Barrere, President of *Unitat Catalana*, comes in third position (it was before he began his campaign in Prades) which shows a certain popularity.

The strangest result (which could be connected to the lack of interest in Catalan culture) is that nobody in Prades mentioned the U.C.E. (*Universitat Catalana d'Estiu*), and only two people in the villages. Clearly there is a problem of publicity.

It is worth noting that *Arrels* and *Bressola* are little known outside their immediate vicinity.

To end, on a sad note, the ten people who mentioned P. Casals all called him "Pablo" (the Castilian version of this name).

Conclusions

This survey, limited as it is, provides an interesting point of comparison, as it was conducted in a rural area where, theoretically, Catalan should be more in evidence and viewed more favourably. However, these results suggest that this is far from being the case. As mentioned above, there are a large number of second homes in the area, and it is possible that the original inhabitants are being overtaken by people who are not native to the region, and thus



Catalan is being eroded in villages as much as in the town.

## 9.7 Arrels

This section will present the results of the interviews held with teachers and parents at the *Escola Arrels*, a primary school which teaches in Catalan.

### 9.7.1 Background to the *Escola Arrels*

The *Association Arrels* was founded in May 1981, and the school itself opened in November 1981, with 12 pupils. At present it has about 60 pupils, aged from three to ten.

Previously the founders of *Arrels* had worked with the *Bressola*, the first Catalan school in Perpignan, but the new group came into being when the others involved in the *Bressola* were unwilling to extend the *maternelle* and take on primary classes. (This has since changed, and the *Bressola* too now takes children up to the age of eleven.)

At the *Escola Arrels* Catalan is the only language spoken, although there are French classes for the older children. There are four teachers, three Catalan and one French.

One of the Catalan teachers, Laure Manot, explained the purpose and objectives of the school: she claims that the school looks to the future, not the past; they are not trying superficially to maintain a dead language, but to prepare people for the future when links with Barcelona will be stronger, notably after the advent of the single European market in 1992. Laure Manot sees it as inevitable that after 1992 people in Perpignan will look more to Barcelona than to Paris for business, and will find it necessary to learn Catalan. Already there are local job opportunities for Catalan speakers: at the international market of Saint Charles, for example, secretaries are needed who are trilingual in English, Catalan and Castilian.

Economic necessity is not the only reason for seeking to maintain Catalan: there is also the need to fight against uniformity, and cultural and linguistic genocide. Every language represents a culture, and in losing a language a people loses part of its identity.

Twelve people were interviewed: two teachers (one of whom is also a parent), nine parents and a *surveillante*. The parents interviewed were chosen at random at the *Festa de l'Any* held on the last Saturday of the school year.

The objective in interviewing this specific group was to see how and perhaps why they differ from the "general public" who, for the most part, do not appear to share the concern that they feel for Catalan. Given this objective, only the parts of the questionnaire of direct relevance to Catalan will be



discussed.

### 9.7.2 Analysis of sample

Before looking at the linguistic and attitudinal questions it will be useful to look at the composition of the sample, which can be done in some detail as it comprises only twelve people.

#### Age and sex

- There were eight women and four men in the sample, an almost inevitable imbalance, given that it is usually mothers who accompany their children to school and attend such events as the end of term play.

The distribution of age was also inevitably restricted, as it is to be expected that the parents of young children will be somewhere between 25 and 45. The only exception was the *surveillante*, who was younger.

#### Nationality

All twelve informants were of French nationality, but eight of them claimed to be of Catalan origin. (The *surveillante*, who was actually born in Perpignan, to Spanish and Portuguese parents, claimed to be "Catalane d'adoption".) Only one informant was born in South Catalonia; three were born in other parts of France, and the other eight were born in Roussillon. Of the eight born in Perpignan, six had at least one parent also born there, and in two cases the other parent was born in South Catalonia. The informant born in South Catalonia had parents both born there too, so a high proportion of the sample were genuine *Catalans de souche*. The eight informants born in Perpignan had in fact spent virtually all their lives in the region, in three cases in Perpignan itself. The one informant born in South Catalonia had lived in Barcelona until coming to Perpignan, so three-quarters of the sample had always lived in Catalonia. The three born elsewhere in France had come to Perpignan during their working life.

#### Level of education

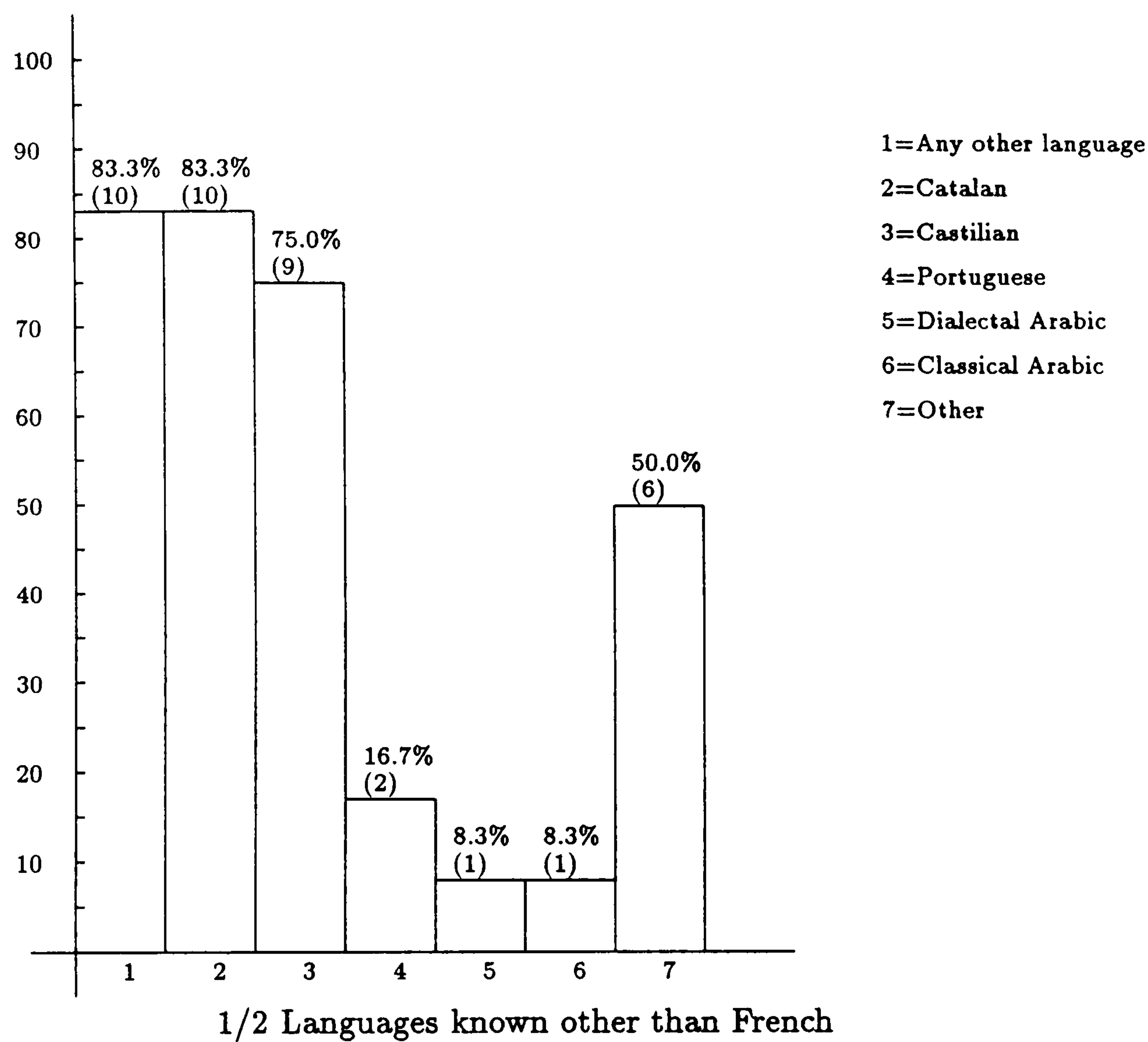
The general level of education was high among informants: only one man did not have the *baccalauréat* and seven of the twelve had *études supérieures*. Two had just the *baccalauréat* and one the *DEUG*. There is a similar homogeneity of profession: seven were teachers at various levels (in primary school, secondary school, university and special education) and one lady did not go out to work at the time of interview, but had a teaching diploma. The others were a bank manager, a nurse, a draughtsman and a student (the *surveillante*). Interestingly, however, the professions of informants' parents tended to be quite different, and generally less highly respected - manual



workers, small farmers and shopkeepers. This fact, together with the knowledge that most of the informants were born and brought up in the region and consider themselves *Catalans de souche* leads to a possible theory as to their particular enthusiasm for Catalan. It seems likely that they are, for the most part, people from working-class Catalan backgrounds, who have become middle-class through education and feel that they have lost something of their cultural heritage. (In the cases where the informant does not seem to fit this description, the husband or wife does, thus the only exception to this theory would seem to be the *surveillante*, who is only Catalan by adoption and learnt the language at school. She is also different from all the other informants in that she has no children.) For these people, ensuring that their children are able to speak Catalan is a way of regaining in the next generation what they feel has been lost in theirs. This theory seems to be borne out to a certain extent by their attitudes towards Catalan as expressed in section three of the questionnaire, discussed below (9.7.9.).

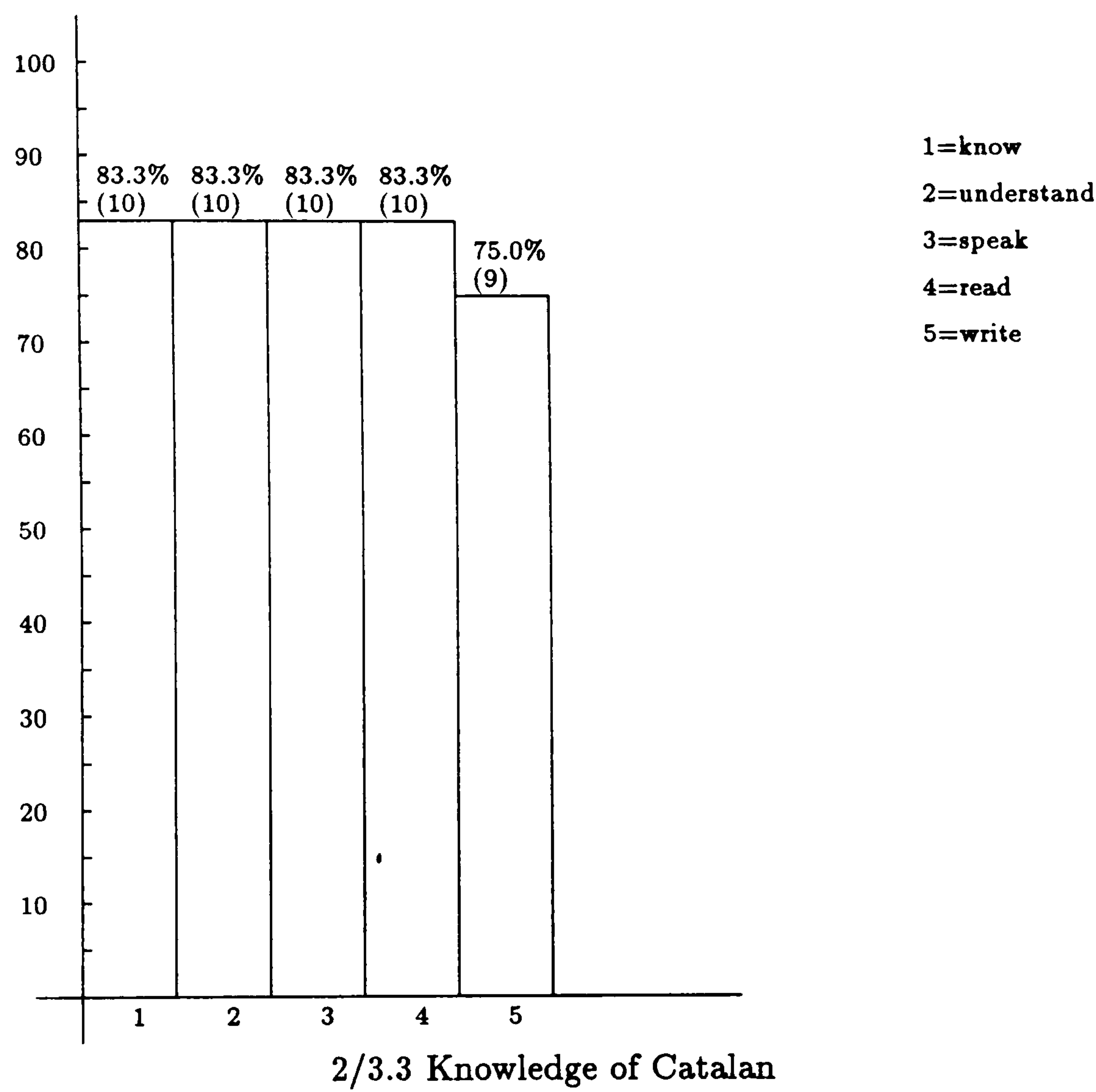
The following two pages contain histograms which show the other languages known and used by the informants at *Arrels*, and then their knowledge of Catalan. As is to be expected, the percentage of informants who know Catalan is exceptionally high in this group. Furthermore there is only one informant who does not possess all four language skills in Catalan.

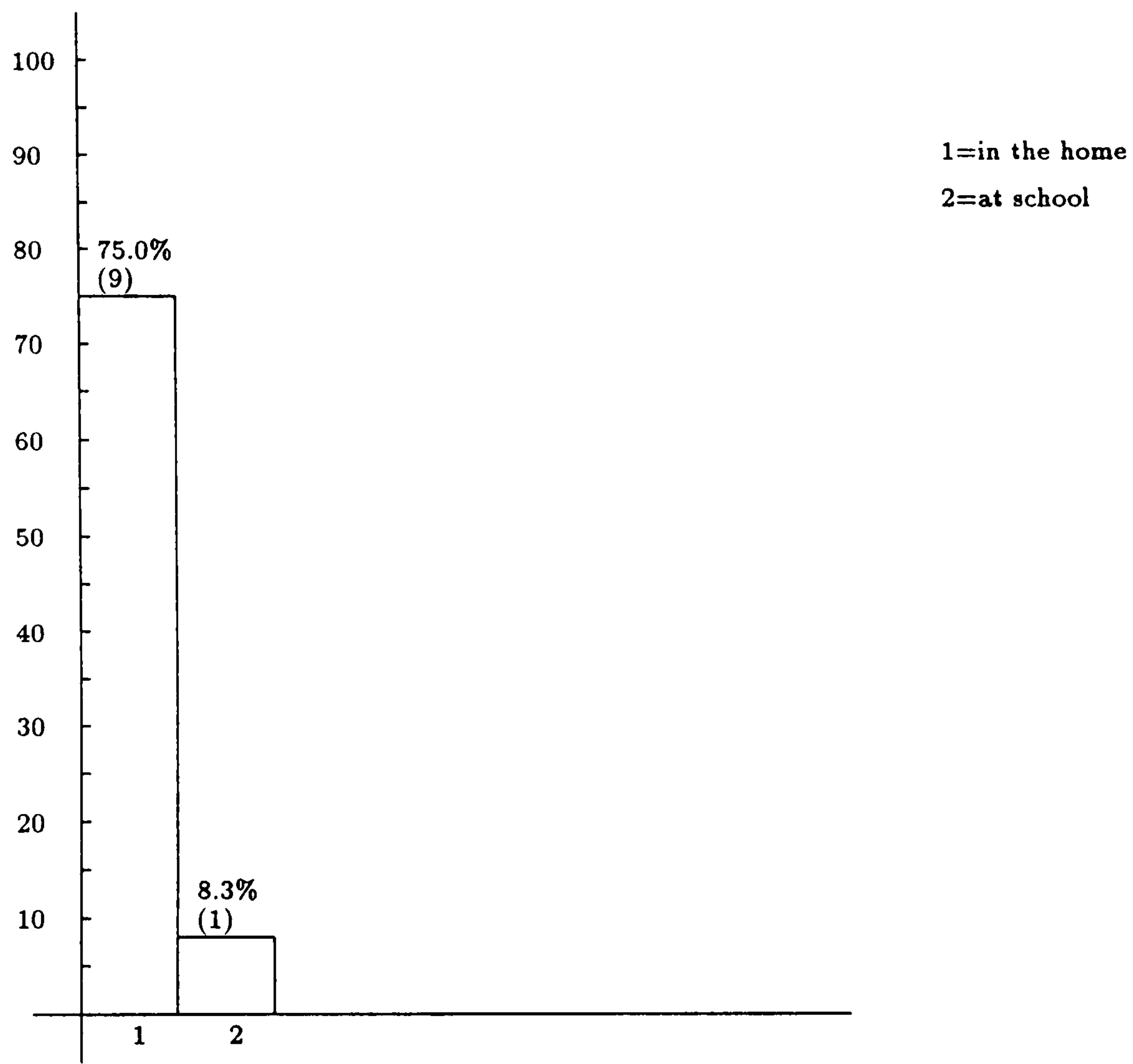
9.7.3 Languages known and used in Perpignan





9.7.4 Catalan





4.3 How Catalan was learnt



9.7.5 Other languages spoken in the family

Ten of the twelve informants said that they did use a language other than French in the home, and in the majority of cases this was Catalan. There were two exceptions, one being the informant whose father was Spanish, and who therefore used Castilian in the home; the other was an informant of Spanish origin, who claimed to use both Castilian and Catalan as well as French. In all ten cases the other language was used by all the family, and the two informants who did not speak Catalan themselves claimed that the rest of the family (spouse and children) did use it in the home. This contrasts sharply with the situation for most people who know Catalan, where it is rare to find the language spoken to or among young people.

9.7.6 Interest in Catalan in leisure activities

Books and records

All twelve informants claimed to have Catalan books and records in the house, but in some cases they admitted that so far it was only children's books. These informants were a good deal more specific about numbers of books and records than the general public - as the following tables show. From the kind of comments made concerning these questions, it is clear that for several of this little group, placing their children in a Catalan school is a way to improve their own knowledge of the language. Several informants are only now beginning to accumulate a Catalan library of their own.

Books

A few	33.3%	(4)
About ten	8.3%	(1)
Twenty to fifty	50.0%	(6)
Over a hundred	8.3%	(1)

Records

A few	58.3%	(7)
About ten	8.3%	(1)
Twenty to fifty	25.0%	(3)
About a hundred	8.3%	(1)

Catalan television

Nine of the twelve had a *téléviseur multistandard*, but they are not indiscriminate viewers of TV3 - only two watch it every day. In fact this is probably not the most valuable indicator of this group's interest in Catalan, as several of these informants stressed that they try not to watch too much television in any language.

### Watching TV3

if something interesting on	8.3%	(1)
often	41.7%	(5)
every day	16.7%	(2)
set does not work	8.3%	(1)

### Family watching TV3

rarely	8.3%	(1)
if something interesting on	8.3%	(1)
often	41.7%	(5)
every day	8.3%	(1)
set does not work	8.3%	(1)

### 9.7.7 Languages used outside the family

Generally speaking this question was answered with rather more precision by this group of informants than by the majority of other informants, as they are clearly much more aware of their language usage. The table shows that Catalan is obviously their preferred language, but that one informant also uses English and Castilian at work. Contrary to responses from the other samples, Catalan seems to be more widely used at work than in leisure activities (sports, café): this suggests that a high proportion of the sample work in Catalan-speaking institutions; it also draws attention to the fact that it is more difficult to socialise exclusively with Catalanophones. There does, however, seem to be a high usage of Catalan in shops and in the street. This could indicate that they deliberately frequent Catalan shops and speak as much as possible with Catalan-speaking neighbours. A relatively high percentage of this group seems to belong to Catalan associations.

	French	Catalan	French/Catalan	other/several
colleagues	41.7% (5)	41.7% (5)	8.3% (1)	8.3% (1)
clients	50.0% (6)	33.3% (4)	8.3% (1)	8.3% (1)
shops	41.7% (5)	33.3% (4)	25.0% (3)	
street	16.7% (2)	33.3% (4)	50.0% (6)	
villages	16.7% (2)	66.7% (8)	16.7% (2)	
sports	75.0% (9)	8.3% (1)	16.7% (2)	
café	66.7% (8)	8.3% (1)	25.0% (3)	
assoc'ns	25.0% (3)	58.3% (7)	16.7% (2)	

### 9.7.8 Personal feelings about speaking and hearing Catalan

The answers to these questions were totally predictable: the ten who speak Catalan like speaking it, the two who do not actually speak like hearing it.



### 9.7.9 Attitudes towards Catalan

In essence it may be said that the informants agreed with Laure Manot's view that Catalan should be maintained and promoted for two reasons: for utilitarian or economic reasons, in view of the improved possibilities of finding work in Barcelona after 1992, but also, of equal importance, for cultural reasons, as part of the fight against the uniformity imposed by a state which wishes to be monolingual and monocultural.

#### The future of Catalan in the region

When asked how they viewed the future of Catalan in their region, the majority were optimistic, primarily because of 1992. One informant, with extreme optimism, believed that in 1992, "le catalan éclatera", but most were more cautious, saying simply that people would feel more inclined to learn Catalan when they became aware of the job prospects that would then be open to them in Barcelona. One informant also mentioned the possibility that at some stage Roussillon would be linked economically or politically with Barcelona, thus freeing the region from the centralising policies which have until now tended to weaken the position of Catalan.

Other responses to this question were "There is still a lot of work to be done", "Catalan is marginalised, but it must stay alive in the region", "the future is good, because there is a strong force for renewal at the moment" and "Catalan is tending to become the second language in the region". Nobody, however, took the line of the majority in the other samples, predicting no future at all. Thus they seem to be in direct contrast with the rest of the population.

#### Maintaining Catalan in the region

It seems hardly necessary to mention that all these informants were in favour of maintaining Catalan. Equally inevitably, nobody felt that French was of greater importance than Catalan.

The responses to this and the next question were in many cases very similar, again usually involving the twin factors of utilitarian and cultural reasons. All twelve informants were agreed that Catalan should be maintained, but expressed their reasons in differing ways. On the economic side, six informants mentioned the improved work opportunities young people in the region could have after 1992, when they would be able to go to nearby Barcelona, where knowledge of Catalan is essential. On the cultural side, they felt that Catalan should be maintained for the following reasons:

- to fight uniformity
- it is part of our culture



- it forms part of our roots
- it brings a cultural richness
- it is the historical language of the region
- to preserve the regional identity
- because loss of a language entails a loss of identity
- in order to be *mieux dans sa peau* - people are ill at ease when they are deprived of their language.

These responses are not so vastly different from those of the “general public”, but they were perhaps expressed with greater conviction, as these people are actually doing something to ensure that Catalan is maintained.

### The importance of speaking Catalan in the region

Similar ideas to those listed above were put forward, ideas which seem to confirm the theory mentioned earlier (9.7.2.) that in trying to improve the position of Catalan in their community, they are restoring a part of their cultural heritage. Once again there is the belief that it brings a cultural richness, or simply a “plus” according to one informant. The idea that “qui perd sa langue perd son identité” was very strong, with one informant voicing the belief that people would be more secure socially if they knew their roots - knowing the language of their ancestors being the key to this - it would give them a sense of balance, and a knowledge of where they come from. This idea is a very important one, which is visibly being developed in various parts of the world at present - in Eastern Europe for example, as repressed peoples discover their identity and use their own language to express it. For yet another informant, it was important to speak Catalan so as not to lose contact with local people, and not to be cut off from the reality of the region.

On a more utilitarian note, three informants again said it was important to know Catalan in order to take advantage of the business prospects which would open up in 1992, and one informant suggested that after 1992 it will be the regions of Europe rather than the countries which will count, and Roussillon will be linked with the rest of Catalonia.

There was one dissenting voice on this question. The youngest informant claimed that it was *not* important to speak Catalan in the region, because most people do not make the effort and therefore it is not necessary. It could be said that she was simply approaching the question from a different angle: in all probability most of the others would agree that, at present, it seems unimportant to speak Catalan, but they are not prepared to accept this state of affairs, and their responses to the subsequent question explain why it must not be allowed to continue.



## Government involvement in regional languages

Only one informant felt that central government should not concern itself with regional languages, believing that it is up to the people who live in the region and are directly affected, who ought to be concerned for their regional language.

All the others felt that central government should do something for regional languages but not all of them were very clear about what should be done: one informant said simply that the government should do something only if it is going to do it well, and another said that government aid should be "natural and peaceful". The general consensus, however, was that the government should, in the first place, recognise the existence and value of regional languages and, secondly, provide resources to enable adequate teaching of them in schools: both state schools and private regional language schools. Thus they felt that central government has an essential role to play in making regional languages part of everyday life. In more general terms one informant suggested that the government should pass more liberal legislation, to improve the situation for regional languages.

They all agreed that action over regional languages should not be left entirely to the government, but that it had to be dealt with at local level. Regional and municipal authorities were mentioned as having a role to play, but essentially it is the local people and associations who must be concerned about preserving and advancing their language. People need to be aware of the importance of their regional language and act to prevent it from dying out. The local media, such as *Punt Diari*, should also have a greater role in the community, and together with associations such as *Arrels* should promote the Catalan language.

Finally on this point, one informant mentioned the European Parliament: he claimed that the government, by not giving full recognition to regional languages, was not respecting the opinions and decisions of Strasbourg, and felt that it was the European Parliament which ought to be involved in passing effective legislation concerning regional languages, because it was not bound by the historic prejudices of a national parliament.



### 9.7.10 Classification of languages

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	not placed
Catalan	75.0% (9)	8.3% (1)							16.7% (2)
English	16.7% (2)	16.7% (2)	25.0% (3)	16.7% (2)		8.3% (1)			16.7% (2)
Castilian		58.3% (7)	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)					16.7% (2)
German			16.7% (2)	25.0% (3)	16.7% (2)	25.0% (3)			16.7% (2)
Arabic			16.7% (2)	16.7% (2)	16.7% (2)	16.7% (2)			33.3% (4)
Portuguese			8.3% (1)	8.3% (1)	8.3% (1)	16.7% (2)	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)	33.3% (4)
Russian					16.7% (2)		33.3% (4)		50.0% (6)
Other					8.3%* (1)		8.3%* (1)	8.3%* (1)	75.0% (9)

\* The other languages suggested, as in the other samples, were Italian and Chinese.

This table shows a complete contrast to those of the other samples: the position of Catalan is completely reversed, thus totally displacing English. This reflects not only the importance given by this group to Catalan, but also their general desire to fight against uniformity: if French has for centuries imposed a kind of "linguistic imperialism", which has resulted in the falsely monolingual state of France today, the imperialism of English (primarily from the United States) would seem even more to be feared, as it threatens to impose its uniformity upon the whole of the western world. Thus English is given a particularly low rating. Although never placed first, Castilian is given a clearer second place than in the other samples.

An interesting difference overall is that a far higher percentage of these informants took the trouble to place all the languages. Admittedly only 25.0% added a ninth language to the list, but otherwise only Russian was omitted by a high percentage of the group, and even then the percentage who did not class it is considerably lower than the corresponding percentage in the other samples. Arabic fares surprisingly well - only 33.3% of this group of informants did not place it, compared to 80.9% of the total sample in La Lunette and Saint Mathieu. The same is true of Portuguese. It would seem that, being so aware of language learning, this little group give a greater importance to the learning of all languages, not only their own.



### 9.7.11 Opinions of Perpignan

	yes	a little
Mediterranean	91.7% (11)	8.3% (1)
touristic	91.7% (11)	8.3% (1)
historic	91.7% (11)	8.3% (1)
Catalan	75.0% (9)	25.0% (3)
lively	50.0% (6)	41.7% (5)
dead	8.3% (1)	
commercial	50.0% (6)	33.3% (4)
typically French	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)

#### Perpignan - French or Catalan

Only one informant was unable to formulate an opinion as to what did or did not make Perpignan French or Catalan (he felt it was Catalan and was not sure if it was typically French). Ten of the others said that Perpignan *was* Catalan, and one was unsure, saying simply that the local authorities made no effort to maintain the Catalan nature of the town. In explaining why they thought Perpignan was a Catalan town, two informants mentioned the presence of the Catalan language, three said was because of its history and the others all said it was due to the inhabitants: their mentality, their accent, their habits (type of food, *sardanes* and “regional peculiarities”).

Two of the eleven who answered this question felt that Perpignan was typically French, in one case because of its cosmopolitan nature, in the other because it was an “heir of the French Revolution”. Those who did not see Perpignan as typically French assigned this to a number of factors: the fact that it is near the border; that there is a great mixture of people of different races; the architecture and general lifestyle are not typical; it is more “typically Mediterranean”, influenced by the sea and the climate.

#### Conclusions

Although this sample is very small by comparison with the others, it is nonetheless useful, as it provides a very sharp contrast to them. This group shows that it is possible to have a different outlook on language usage in Perpignan. At the moment they appear, in the eyes of many, to be idealists trying to revive a dying language, with little or no institutional support. However, their attitudes towards their language are realistic and reasonable, bearing in mind the state of affairs in neighbouring South Catalonia. The major difference between this group and most of the other informants is that they are not prepared to accept that France is and must remain a monolingual state. They believe that their language is as valid as French, but is lacking the status, linguistic and social, and the institutional support necessary for it to be seen as such. They believe that the situation can change and are prepared to fight for their language.



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# Chapter 10: Other minority languages in Perpignan

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## 10.1 Introduction

It has become clear already in this study that Perpignan is far from being a monolingual town. The previous chapter has shown the extent to which Catalan, although now a minority language, is still very much present in the town. This chapter will consider, in a similar way, the situation of other minority languages in Perpignan, looking at the use of each, the attitudes of speakers towards their own language and also towards Catalan. This chapter will be considering the situation purely in the local context, and the following one will seek to relate this situation to the existing body of data on various language contact issues. It will concentrate first on three languages which are relatively widely known: Castilian, Portuguese and Arabic. These three will be followed by a series of very small minorities, both of regional French languages and languages from other ethnic minorities not mentioned in the INSEE figures. The final group to be considered in this chapter is not really a linguistic minority at all, but represents a statistical minority in Perpignan: monolingual French speakers.

Thus this chapter will analyse who these speakers of minority languages are, and consider again the question of who speaks a certain language to whom and why. It will also look at the way in which the different languages are perceived by their speakers and also how different minority groups regard Catalan and other regional languages.

### 10.1.1 Numbers of speakers

The following figures refer to responses to question two, where informants specified the language(s) other than French that they know.

Language	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
Castilian	44.3% (121)	47.6% (70)
Portuguese	2.2% (6)	4.8% (7)
Dialectal Arabic	4.0% (11)	9.5% (14)
Classical Arabic	1.5% (4)	3.4% (5)

It is immediately obvious that Castilian is much more widely known than the other two languages under consideration. Each language will now be considered in turn, and the reasons for this difference will become clear.



10.2 Castilian

Due to its statistical importance, Castilian will be considered first. The reasons for this importance are not hard to find: firstly, Castilian is regarded as an important language throughout France; secondly, this importance is particularly recognised in Perpignan because of the physical proximity of Spain; thirdly, there is a large community of Spanish immigrants in the town.

These factors will now be developed a little more. First of all, it is a fact that Castilian is an important world language, often considered second to English because of its geographical importance. For this reason it features on the school curriculum, usually as a second language, throughout France, so it would be quite possible that the percentage of informants who know Castilian would be relatively high in any French town. However, there are additional factors contributing to the high percentage in Perpignan. Its position near the Spanish border, for example, means that many more people can see a value in learning Castilian, as the chances that they will visit Spain, either for holidays or to work, are quite high. Finally, there is a very large community of Spanish immigrants, all of whom speak Castilian, either as their mother tongue or as a second language. A significant proportion of these immigrants is unable to communicate in French, and claims that it is not necessary in Perpignan as everyone understands Castilian. Other indicators of the importance of the language are comments of the kind made by several informants, not necessarily Castilian speakers, that most Perpignanais are half Spanish, or are of Spanish origin, and thus the Castilian language is not really foreign in Perpignan.

10.2.1 Analysis of informants who know Castilian

Breakdown by age and sex

The percentages in the following tables refer to the totality of informants who know Castilian, not the whole sample.

sex	La Lunette		Saint Mathieu	
male	43.8%	(53)	42.8%	(30)
female	56.2%	(68)	57.2%	(40)

	La Lunette		Saint Mathieu	
15-24	17.4%	(21)	27.1%	(19)
25-44	29.7%	(36)	25.7%	(18)
45-60	22.3%	(27)	15.7%	(11)
60+	30.6%	(37)	31.4%	(22)



There are rather more women than men claiming to know Castilian, but this is most probably due to the simple fact that there are more women than men in the sampled population. In actual fact, if these figures are compared to those for the whole sample, it will be seen that the proportion of men in La Lunette who claim to know Castilian is higher than the proportion of the whole sample (43.8% compared to 41.4%). In Saint Mathieu the representation of men is slightly lower than for the overall population (42.8% compared to 44.2%), but in both cases the differences are minimal.

As far as age is concerned, there appears to be a relatively even distribution of informants who know Castilian across the age groups. In La Lunette the distribution corresponds roughly to that of the total sample: the lowest percentage is in the youngest group and the highest in the oldest. However, the difference between these two groups is not so wide as in the total sample (13.2% compared to 23.5% difference). The second age group is slightly larger for informants who know Castilian than for the whole sample (29.7% compared to 26.0%). In Saint Mathieu there are very significant differences between the distribution of informants who know Castilian across the age groups and that of the total sample: most notably 27.1% of informants who know Castilian are in the first age group, which accounts for only 9.5% of the total sample. At the other end, only 31.4% of informants who know Castilian belong to the fourth age group, which constitutes 44.9% of the total sample. A possible explanation for this could be that many older people in Saint Mathieu have a low level of education, and among French people, only younger ones will have learnt a foreign language at school. Thus the youngest age group includes many people who have only a basic school level of Castilian.

Nationality and origin

	Nationality	Origin
French	86.7% (105)	
Spanish	11.6% (14)	9.1% (11)
Catalan		28.1% (34)
Chilian	0.8% (1)	
Italian	0.8% (1)	
Pieds-noirs		2.5% (3)
Greek		0.8% (1)
Réunionnais		0.8% (1)

	Nationality	Origin
French	75.7% (53)	
Spanish	18.6% (13)	12.8% (9)
Catalan		24.3% (17)
Algerian	1.4% (1)	1.4% (1)
Portuguese	4.3% (3)	
Pieds-noirs		2.8% (2)



Immediately striking is the fact that of those informants who know Castilian, only 11.6% in La Lunette and 18.6% in Saint Mathieu are of Spanish nationality, and only 8.3% and 14.3% respectively mention that they are of Spanish origin. The majority of informants who know Castilian are French, thus confirming to some extent the hypothesis that Castilian is viewed by natives of Perpignan as a language worth learning. Although it is possible that a number of these informants have achieved a high level of ability in Castilian, for most of them it does not form a regular part of their linguistic repertoire, and they could not be considered as part of an ethnolinguistic minority. For this reason the majority of this section will concentrate on informants of Spanish origin, in other words, those who have acquired Castilian either as a mother tongue or in some other "natural" context of language contact.

#### How informants learnt Castilian

how learnt	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
in the home	21.5% (26)	32.9% (23)
in the region	9.9% (12)	7.1% (12)
at school	62.0% (75)	41.4% (29)
at university	0.8% (1)	1.4% (1)
through travel/war	0.8% (1)	2.8% (2)
correspondence course	2.5% (3)	2.8% (2)
with a relative	2.5% (3)	1.4% (1)

This table confirms further the hypothesis mentioned above, revealing that over half the informants in La Lunette and almost half of those in Saint Mathieu learnt Castilian at school. Of those who remain, the next highest percentage is of informants who learnt "in the home". It must be pointed out that this does not necessarily mean that Castilian is the "mother tongue" for all these informants: for many it is the case, but for others it is simply a language they have always heard in the home - parents or grandparents habitually use it - and so they have acquired a certain knowledge of the language, but it takes second place to French. Those in the category "with a relative" are informants who learnt Castilian later in life, often with a spouse or their in-laws.

Quite a substantial number also claim to have learnt Castilian "in the region": due to the proximity of Spain it is perhaps inevitable that a number of informants should go there regularly for holidays, or in some cases to work, and thus acquire some knowledge of Castilian. Several informants claimed that most Perpignanais understood Castilian, and many felt that it had an important influence in the town.



Level of ability

ability	La Lunette		Saint Mathieu	
understand	93.4%	113	92.8%	65
speak	81.8%	99	88.6%	62
read	76.0%	92	71.4%	50
write	71.1%	86	64.3%	45

Relatively high percentages in both *quartiers* appear to be literate in Castilian, which is to be expected, given the high percentage of informants who learnt it at school.

10.2.2 Analysis of informants of Spanish origin

This section will now concentrate on those informants who are of Spanish nationality or origin, in other words, the Spanish immigrant community. As seen earlier (10.2.1.), this community represents only a small percentage of those who know Castilian (20.8% and 31.4%), but it represents the linguistic and ethnic minority in Perpignan and thus has a greater sociolinguistic interest than the other informants who, for the most part, do not habitually use Castilian in Perpignan.

In La Lunette there are 14 informants of Spanish nationality and 11 of Spanish origin. Taken together, they represent 9.2% of the total sample in that *quartier*. In Saint Mathieu there are 13 informants of Spanish nationality and 9 of Spanish origin, representing 15.0% of the whole sample.

As is usually the case, due to a higher proportion of women in the sample, there are more females than males in this subsample: in La Lunette 16 women to 9 men, and in Saint Mathieu 15 women to only 7 men. As has been said before, the over-representation of women makes it difficult to say whether or not this fact is significant.

The distribution over age groups, however, is more instructive:

age	La Lunette		Saint Mathieu	
15-24	12.0%	(3)	9.1%	(2)
25-44	28.0%	(7)	9.1%	(2)
44-60	24.0%	(6)	27.3%	(6)
60+	36.0%	(9)	54.5%	(12)

There is a clear predominance of older informants, particularly noticeable in Saint Mathieu. This indicates that the older generations retain their Spanish nationality and identity, whereas their children have assumed French nationality and in many cases do not even mention their Spanish origin. The major influx of Spanish immigrants was at the time of the Spanish Civil War, which would account for the informants in the older age groups. Most of



them produced families who also stayed in Perpignan and so it could be expected that there would be relatively more informants of Spanish origin (“second-generation immigrants”) in the younger age groups, but apparently the descendants of Spanish immigrants do not feel particularly attached to their Spanish origin<sup>1</sup>.

Where these informants come from and how long they have been in France

La Lunette			
	place of birth	of father	of mother
South Catalonia	12	10	8
Spain	9	13	13
Roussillon	1		
France	1		1
Algeria	2	2	3

Saint Mathieu			
	place of birth	of father	of mother
South Catalonia	8	9	9
Spain	9	12	12
Roussillon	3	1	1
France	1		
Germany	1		

Despite the fact that only 14 informants in La Lunette and 13 in Saint Mathieu have Spanish nationality, 21 and 17 respectively were born in Spain: only six informants in the whole subsample were born in France. Thus even those who have French nationality would appear to be, for the most part, “first-generation immigrants”.

La Lunette				
	Spain	South Catalonia	France	Other
childhood	13	5	5	2
youth	8	6	9	2
working life			23	1
retirement			9	

Saint Mathieu				
	Spain	South Catalonia	France	Other
childhood	11	5	5	1
youth	11	5	6	
working life			20	
retirement			12	

The above table, however, suggests that some of those informants born in Spain did not stay there very long: only 18 in La Lunette and 16 in Saint Mathieu spent their childhood in Spain and South Catalonia, therefore four

altogether must have been brought to France as infants. Another four in La Lunette came to France during their childhood or adolescence, and the others all came as adults (apart from the six who were born in France).

This subgroup then consists for the most part of middle-aged and elderly immigrants, with a few of their children.

### Level of education

Before looking more specifically at their knowledge and use of Castilian, a final detail which will give a picture of these informants is their level of education:

level of education	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
none	3	8
under 16	9	7
brevet	2	1
cert. d'études	2	4
baccalauréat	3	2
bac + 1/2	3	
licence	1	
études sup.	2	

This table shows that the general level of education among Spanish immigrants is significantly lower than that of the total sample. If the two *quartiers* are taken together, exactly half the informants in the total sample with no formal education are in this category: 11 out of 22. In the second category - those who have had some education, but have not reached the level of a basic school-leaver's certificate - Spanish immigrants make up almost the total number in La Lunette (9 out of 11), although they constitute less than a third of this category in Saint Mathieu (7 out of 25). The numbers of informants with any kind of academic qualification are very low, and in Saint Mathieu no informant has a level higher than the *baccalauréat*. This fact is not particularly outstanding however, as only 16 informants in Saint Mathieu have a post-*bac* diploma. In La Lunette the difference is more striking: only 6 informants have a post-*bac* diploma whilst there are 111 in the total sample. Thus only 5.4% of holders of post-*bac* diplomas are of Spanish origin.

### Ability in Castilian

how learnt	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
in the home	20	15
in the region	1	2
at school	4	4
during the war		1*
with a relative		1



ability	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
understand	25	22
speak	25	22
read	22	18
write	22	17

\*the mother tongue of this informant is Valenciano. N.B. One person in La Lunette claimed all four abilities “with difficulty”. One person in Saint Mathieu claimed to write “with difficulty”.

As is to be expected, the majority of informants of Spanish origin learnt Castilian in the home, sometimes as the sole mother tongue, sometimes with French or Catalan, depending on where they were brought up. Those who learnt at school are, for the most part, native Catalan speakers from South Catalonia, who were obliged to learn Castilian at school.

All informants in this group understand and speak Castilian, and only one informant claims to do so “with difficulty”. As far as reading and writing are concerned, there seems to be a paradox in Saint Mathieu: although eight informants claimed to have no schooling, it would appear that only four cannot read and five cannot write in Castilian. There are two simple explanations for this discrepancy: firstly, that these informants, although they have never been to school, have acquired some basic literacy skills in another way - with a relative, for example; secondly, that they gave a vague answer to the question on ability, implying that they were literate whereas in fact this is not the case.

### Use of Castilian

The following tables show the extent to which Spanish immigrants use Castilian in the home.

informant	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
with spouse	1	4
with parents	3	2
with grandparents	1	
with whole family	8*	10**
with family in Spain	1	

\*two of these are *mélangé*  
 \*\* four of these are *mélangé*

rest of family	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
parents	5	2
grandparents	2	
whole family	5	5
all (mixture)	5	6
own generation	1	2

A certain number apparently do not use Castilian at all in the home: eleven in La Lunette and four in Saint Mathieu. Of those who do use it, however, the highest proportion claim to use it with the whole family, although several of them qualify this as "*mélangé*". In other words they speak a mixture of French (or Catalan) and Castilian. It is also probable that in a number of cases younger members of the family tend to speak almost exclusively in French, but understand their parents and older relatives who address them in Castilian.

As with speakers of Catalan, it is noticeable that only older family members are specifically mentioned. There are no cases where an informant uses Castilian specifically with the younger generation. This further reinforces the hypothesis that children of immigrants tend to use Castilian much less than French.

#### Use outside the home

situation	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
colleagues	2 (1)	2 (2)
clients	3 (2)	2 (1)
shops	3 (3)	5 (6)
street	4 (5)	6 (6)
sports	1 (2)	1 (3)
café	1 (2)	5 (4)
association	5 (1)	4 (1)

These figures seem to suggest that informants use Castilian relatively little outside the home. However, it should be underlined again that a number of people said that many categories were irrelevant. Also, there were two informants who claimed that they always tried to speak French in France, despite the fact that it was impossible to interview them in that language. There were probably other cases, less extreme, where informants believed they spoke French, whereas they actually speak a kind of hybrid of French and Castilian. One informant (who did in fact speak French) claimed that



she preferred to speak Castilian all the time, and people always understood her. Thus it is possible that a great deal more Castilian is actually spoken than appears to be the case, as often people want to appear to use more French than they really do.

As in the case of Catalan speakers, the situations where Castilian is most used is in shops and in the street (i.e. with friends and neighbours). Even here though, slightly more informants use a mixture of French and Castilian than pure Castilian.

Feelings about speaking Castilian

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
like	18	19
dislike	1	
indifferent	1	

This table seems to speak for itself: the informants who speak Castilian are almost universal in liking this language. There is a very marked difference between this result and the same question for speakers of Catalan (9.4.3.). This bears witness to the fact that Castilian, generally speaking, has none of the negative connotations of Catalan, and speakers of Castilian are not ashamed to be known as such. It should however be noted that several informants among the immigrant group did not answer this question: five informants in La Lunette and two in Saint Mathieu did not feel that this question was applicable for them. Three in La Lunette preferred to answer that they like speaking English and did not mention Castilian - perhaps because they consider English to be more prestigious. The fourth informant can only understand Castilian, therefore really could not claim to like speaking it, and the fifth was a Catalan who claims to adore speaking Catalan, and consequently has a low regard for Castilian. The same is true for the two who did not respond in Saint Mathieu, one of whom is Catalan and the other Valenciano, for whom Castilian is not the mother tongue but a language they have been obliged to learn. The one indifferent speaker is of Spanish nationality but has lived in France since early childhood and considers herself to be French. She claims indifference to Castilian, which she uses with her mother, because she wants to be fully identified with France and would prefer to speak only French. The one speaker who claims to dislike speaking Castilian is from South Catalonia, and thinks Catalan is "joli". Like the other Catalans who did not respond to this question, she probably dislikes Castilian because of her experience of it under Franco.

For all the others though there is no hesitation - Castilian is their language and they like speaking it. Even if many find themselves obliged to use French most of the time, they are happy to be able to use Castilian too. Equally, those who say they would like to be able to speak French, or to speak it better, would not wish to do so in order to drop Castilian, but simply to facilitate life in France.



### 10.2.3 Non-French speakers

Several of the Spanish immigrants interviewed had difficulty expressing themselves in French, and in a number of cases habitually used hybrid expressions such as “yo te dis”, so that someone with no knowledge of Castilian would find comprehension difficult. In a small number of cases the interview was actually conducted in Castilian, as the informant’s command of French was insufficient to understand and answer the questions.

Ten interviews were conducted in Castilian: two in La Lunette and eight in Saint Mathieu. The two in La Lunette were both middle-aged women (45-60); in Saint Mathieu there were four men and four women, all in the oldest age group, except one woman who was in the 45-60 category.

All ten informants are of Spanish nationality, although one woman in Saint Mathieu claimed to be “francesa por los papeles”. They were all born in Spain and spent their early years there. With one exception - a *Valenciano* from Castellón - they all lived in South Catalonia or in Andalucia: four lived exclusively in South Catalonia, four in Andalucia, and one was born in Girona, spent her first 23 years in Granada, then seven years in Catalonia before coming to Perpignan. The time they had spent in Perpignan varies from 23 to 49 years: two had been there for 49 years, one for 31 and two for 29, the others for 28, 26, 25 and 23 years. Clearly this is a very long time to stay in a country without learning its language and indicates again the fact that Castilian is widely understood in Perpignan.

Obviously for most of these informants Castilian is the mother tongue. However there are three exceptions: the informant from Castellón gave Valenciano as his mother tongue and said that he learnt Castilian during the war; two other informants (also in Saint Mathieu) gave Catalan as their mother tongue and said they learnt Castilian at school.

This profile explains, to a certain extent, why these informants have never managed to master French: without exception they came to France as adults, in some cases as refugees, and in all cases probably because of economic necessity, and therefore would have found the whole process of adapting to another country difficult.

It is also likely that many of them did not intend to stay, and therefore did not make the initial effort to speak and understand French. Also, as may often be observed with immigrants, they may have clung to their language as a way of safeguarding their identity. Finally it must be reiterated that Castilian is widely understood in Perpignan, and thus the need to learn French was perhaps less pressing than in other French towns.



Ability

Yet another reason for their apparent inability to learn French may be found by looking at their abilities in Castilian, and their level of education in general.

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
understand	2	8
speak	2	8
read		6
write		6*

\*one informant claimed to write with difficulty.

Obviously all these informants speak and understand Castilian, but of the ten only six can read and write it, one of them being able to write only with difficulty. Moreover, even these figures may be regarded with some doubt when the level of education is taken into consideration: the four informants who cannot read and write in Castilian have no formal education, and neither do two of those who claim to be literate in Castilian. The remaining four informants gave the following responses concerning their level of education:

- colegio
- poco
- no había tiempo - aprendí en cárcel
- ocho o nueve años

Thus not one of the ten attended school for any substantial length of time, and none has even the most basic school certificate. It may be assumed that this influenced their learning of French: their lack of education would make any kind of study difficult for them, and often pride would prevent such people from even trying.

It is interesting to note that there is a relatively high number of Spanish immigrants who have not learnt French after thirty or forty years in France, and it is extremely rare to hear anyone complaining about the fact, whereas there is frequent criticism of North African immigrants who are in a similar position. Unfortunately a comparison between the two groups cannot be made, as it was impossible to conduct interviews with monolingual Arabic speakers.

10.2.4 Attitudes towards Catalan

One might expect to find two quite contrary trends among Castilian speakers concerning Catalan. A number of them, being immigrants from South

Catalonia, are in fact primarily Catalan speakers and so will tend to have a very favourable attitude. On the contrary, those who come from Andalucia are more likely to be inclined to view it as a mere dialect, and even to have anti-Catalan feelings. Any anti-Catalanism on the part of Spaniards however stems from completely different reasons from that witnessed in France. Catalonia has always been one of the most prosperous regions of Spain and has tended to see itself as apart from, and superior to, the rest of the country, which could well induce negative feelings towards the people and the language.

The following assessment of the attitudinal questions will show the general tendencies of Castilian speakers concerning Catalan and other regional languages.

### The future of Catalan

The number of Castilian speakers who see no future for Catalan is rather lower than in the total sample, and the number who do not know is more or less the same, so it would appear that they are relatively positive about it. In La Lunette the majority feel that Catalan has a good future - 32.0%, which is 8.6% higher than in the overall sample, whereas in Saint Mathieu the percentage who claimed that the future looked good was virtually identical to the total sample - 0.9% higher. The only other responses given in both *quartiers* were that there was a renewal but the future was still uncertain: 4.0% in La Lunette and 9.1% in Saint Mathieu, and that it would stay the same: 4.0% in La Lunette and 22.7% in Saint Mathieu. Only one informant (in Saint Mathieu) said the future would be good because of contacts with Barcelona.

### Maintaining Catalan

The percentage of Spaniards in favour of maintaining Catalan was rather lower than in the total sample, but even so was a clear majority: 72.0% in La Lunette and 72.7% in Saint Mathieu. Only one informant (in Saint Mathieu) said he did not know. Thus it would appear that any anti-Catalan feeling is outweighed by a feeling that a language should be preserved. The most popular reasons in favour of maintaining Catalan corresponded to those of the whole sample of the *quartier*. Thus in La Lunette it was "traditions and culture" (32.0%) and in Saint Mathieu "for regional identity" (31.8%). On the other hand, a considerably higher percentage in each *quartier* said that Catalan was of no interest and that French was more important. In La Lunette 24.0% gave one or the other of these responses, and in Saint Mathieu it was 22.7%, compared to 12.9% overall in both *quartiers*.



## Importance of speaking Catalan

The majority who felt that Catalan was important was very high in La Lunette - 17.8% higher than in the overall sample, whereas in Saint Mathieu it was only 4.0% higher. In both cases though it is a very clear majority. Of course, a number of these informants are native speakers of Catalan and so feel personally that it is important to speak this language, but they by no means account for all the positive responses in this group, so it would appear that Castilians on the whole find it important to speak Catalan in the region.

The most popular reason in Saint Mathieu (40.9%) was that the region is in Catalonia, which accounted for only 18.4% overall. In La Lunette this response was also popular - 24.0% compared to only 8.4% overall, suggesting that Spaniards attach more importance than most of the population to the fact that the region is part of Catalonia. Equally popular in La Lunette (also 24.0%) was the response that Catalan is important because of South Catalonia: apparently these Spaniards see more readily the advantages of communicating in Catalan with Barcelona, as only 13.9% overall gave this response. However, it was not given by a single Spanish informant in Saint Mathieu.

The percentages saying that French is more important were inevitably lower than the overall: only 12.0% in La Lunette and 18.2% in Saint Mathieu. However, those saying that Catalan was not important were not so different from overall. In La Lunette the figure was 1.9% below the average at 12.0% and in Saint Mathieu 2.7% above at 13.6%. It would seem that a certain number of Castilians give little importance to either French or Catalan.

One or two informants gave responses for every category except eight - "for the EC": apparently not many Spaniards consider that increased unity within Europe will be a reason for increased use of Catalan.

## Government involvement

The percentage of Spaniards in favour of governmental involvement in regional languages is distinctly lower than in the general sample. In La Lunette the majority is 56.0% against, and in Saint Mathieu there are 40.9% for and 36.3% against (and 22.7% who cannot decide). It seems to be a matter which very few Spaniards in Perpignan have considered, as only 20.0% in La Lunette and 31.7% in Saint Mathieu gave a response to the subsequent question. Like the majority of informants they had little idea of how government could be involved, the range of responses covered the more obvious possibilities given by most informants. The only response not offered was "through regional schools", which could be because they did not think of this as something which the government should be involved in.



Informants seemed rather more able to answer the third question of this series, but even so there was a relatively high number of non-responses: 28.0% in La Lunette and 31.8% in Saint Mathieu said they did not know, plus 4.5% in Saint Mathieu gave no response.

#### Relative value of Catalan

A percentage very similar to that of the total sample did not place Catalan at all: 80.0% in La Lunette, compared to 78.4%, and 63.6% in Saint Mathieu compared to 68.7%. In Saint Mathieu however, an additional 18.2% did not answer this question, so in fact only 18.1% actually placed the language. 8.0% in La Lunette and 9.1% in Saint Mathieu placed it first. The remaining 12.0% in La Lunette placed it third, and in Saint Mathieu 4.5% placed it third and 4.5% fourth. Thus the few who did place it gave it a relatively high importance, by not placing it below fourth, but they are nonetheless a small minority.

#### Opinions on Perpignan

As in the overall sample, a very high percentage of Spaniards consider Perpignan to be a Catalan town: 88.0% in La Lunette and 86.4% in Saint Mathieu. In both *quartiers* the history of the town seemed to be the most common reason given for this - 24.0% in La Lunette and 27.3% in Saint Mathieu, followed by "traditions" - 20.0% in La Lunette and 18.2% in Saint Mathieu. This follows the general trends of the two *quartiers*, so it would seem that informants of Spanish origin have the same outlook on Perpignan as the majority of the population sampled.

#### 10.2.5 Conclusions

The importance of Castilian in Perpignan cannot be denied, with 45.5% of the sampled population claiming some knowledge of this language. However, the gradual breakdown of the subsample reveals a great diversity among these informants: they range from native French speakers who have only a passive or theoretical knowledge of Castilian, to native Castilian speakers who have a very limited knowledge of French. Whilst it has by no means as great an influence as Catalan, for cultural and historical reasons, it is clearly the most important and influential foreign language present in Perpignan.

### 10.3 Portuguese

As seen in 10.1.1., Portuguese has a very low representation in Perpignan by comparison with Castilian. This is only to be expected, given that Castilian is a very popular second language at school, and Portuguese is only a third choice, if offered at all. Moreover the difference in size between the immi-



grant communities is quite substantial: in Perpignan as a whole there are 24 115 Spanish immigrants and only 2 875 Portuguese (INSEE figures from 1985). This is reflected in the relative numbers of Spaniards and Portuguese in the two *quartiers*: In La Lunette there are 180 Spaniards and 36 Portuguese nationals, and in Saint Mathieu 292 Spaniards and 132 Portuguese (see 5.2.2.) The relative importance accorded to the two languages can be seen clearly in 8.2.: only one informant in the whole sample gave Portuguese first place, whereas 8.8% of the sample (24 informants in La Lunette and 13 in Saint Mathieu) put Castilian in first place. In fact 86.4% (236) in La Lunette and 76.2% (112) in Saint Mathieu did not place Portuguese at all in the list of languages worth knowing, whilst only 16.1% (44) and 17.0% (25) respectively did not place Castilian. Portuguese speakers themselves seem to give little more importance to this language than do the rest of the sample, although the percentages of Portuguese speakers who did not place Portuguese are considerably lower: 50.0% in La Lunette and 57.1% in Saint Mathieu. The highest position accorded was third - the three informants in La Lunette all placed it there. The Portuguese speakers in Saint Mathieu, who are mainly native speakers of this language, gave it fourth place (28.6%) and fifth place (14.3%). So it would appear that they do think their language worth learning, but consider that other languages must be given a higher priority.

### 10.3.1 Analysis of informants who know Portuguese

sex	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
male	4	2
female	2	5

age	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
15-24		3
25-44	4	4
60+	2	

As this sample is so very small, it would be difficult to draw too many conclusions from the above breakdown. It does, however, seem particularly noticeable that it is a very young sample: there are only two informants in the oldest age group and none at all in the third group.

#### Nationality and origin

La Lunette	nationality	origin
French	3	
Spanish	3	2

Saint Mathieu	nationality	origin
French	2	
Portuguese	5	1
Catalan		1

These tables reveal a striking difference between the two *quartiers*: not a single Portuguese speaker in La Lunette is of Portuguese nationality or origin, whereas in Saint Mathieu only one has no Portuguese origin. Thus it would appear that Portuguese immigrants, all in Saint Mathieu, are relatively young, whereas the non-Portuguese who have learnt the language tend to be older.

### Acquisition of Portuguese

Having discovered that several of these informants have no Portuguese origins, it seems logical to look next at how they learnt this language. As might perhaps be expected in Saint Mathieu, six of the seven informants learnt Portuguese as their mother tongue. The one exception is a French informant of Catalan origin, who learnt Portuguese at university. The responses are more varied in La Lunette: no informant is a native speaker of Portuguese, but none of them learnt the language in a formal way. For three informants it is very close to their own mother tongue (in one case, this was a dialect of Castilian in the region near the Portuguese border, in the other two cases Gallego, the language of North-West Spain). Two other informants claimed to have learnt Portuguese simply by hearing it, as they already speak Castilian, Catalan and French. The last informant learnt Portuguese with her husband and his family, who are of Portuguese nationality.

### Ability

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
understand	6	7
speak	6	6
read	2	7*
write	2	7*

\*One informant claimed to read and write with difficulty.

In La Lunette there is a low rate of literacy in Portuguese, as none of the informants learnt the language at school. Perhaps more surprising is the almost 100.0% literacy rate among Portuguese immigrants in Saint Mathieu: only one informant, born in Portugal, but having French nationality, claimed to read and write with difficulty. This seems to make a great contrast with young Spanish immigrants, but the possible explanation will be seen in the next section. The French informant, who learnt Portuguese at university, claims to be literate too, but does not claim to speak the language.



10.3.2 Informants of Portuguese origin

The rest of this section will concentrate on informants of Portuguese origin, in order to obtain a profile of the ethnolinguistic minority which they constitute.

Place of birth

Of the six native speakers of Portuguese, two were born in France and have always lived in France. The parents of all six were born in Portugal. The other four spent their childhood and youth in Portugal: in one case only until the age of eight, another claimed to have come to France during his youth, the third came to Perpignan in 1970 and the last one in 1978. This relatively recent immigration therefore explains the high level of literacy - the last three immigrants received all their education in Portugal, and another one received her basic education there. As for the other two, it may be supposed that their parents taught them to read and write in Portuguese.

Use of Portuguese

In the home

The only informant of Portuguese origin who does not use Portuguese with the whole family is the one who came to France at the age of eight: she claims to use Portuguese only with her parents, but with her sister and younger relatives she uses French. Of the other five, three simply say that the whole family speaks Portuguese, one says they all use a mixture of French and Portuguese, and the last one that they all speak Castilian, French and Portuguese.

This sample therefore suggests that Portuguese immigrants tend very much to continue using their language in the home, even the youngest of them.

Outside the home

Outside the family however, it would seem that Portuguese is used in only very limited circumstances. In several cases informants said they used Portuguese "with friends", which sometimes meant colleagues at work, but more often neighbours.

colleagues	2
clients	1
shops	2
street	5
café	1
association	1

As the table makes clear, Portuguese is most often used “in the street”, but also in shops, at work and in the café. Only one person belongs to a Portuguese association.

### 10.3.3 Attitudes towards Catalan

#### The future of Catalan

The percentage of Portuguese speakers who see no future for the Catalan language is very similar to the overall sample, slightly lower in La Lunette (33.3%) and slightly higher in Saint Mathieu (42.9%), as are the percentages for those who responded do not know: 16.7% in La Lunette and 28.6% in Saint Mathieu. There were only two other responses in each *quartier*. The first, that the language has a good future, was given in both *quartiers* (16.7% in La Lunette and 28.6% in Saint Mathieu). The other response in La Lunette, more popular than in the overall sample, was that the future was good because of 1992 and contacts with Barcelona (33.3%); the other response in Saint Mathieu was that there is a revival now, but the future is still uncertain (14.3% compared to only 6.8% overall).

#### Maintaining Catalan

Informants in La Lunette were evenly divided on this question: 50.0% for and 50.0% against maintaining Catalan, whilst in Saint Mathieu the responses were much closer to those of the whole sample: 85.7% in favour and 14.3% against. Thus in La Lunette the responses to the following question are equally divided: 50.0% said either that French was more important or Catalan was of no interest, whilst the other fifty said either that Catalan should be maintained because it is the language of the region, or because of contacts with Barcelona after 1992. In Saint Mathieu the one informant who was against maintaining Catalan did not give a reason and the others were divided among several reasons, no one being particularly favoured.

#### The importance of speaking Catalan

A clear majority think it is important to speak Catalan in the region: in La Lunette it is 66.7%, which is 16.5% higher than in the overall sample. In Saint Mathieu the majority is very close to that of the overall sample: 57.1% compared to 55.1%. The reasons for being in favour were almost the same in both *quartiers*: “the region is in Catalonia”, “it is useful for some people” and “for communicating with local people”; one informant in Saint Mathieu also said “because of the EC”.



## Government involvement in regional languages

The responses are completely different in the two *quartiers*: in La Lunette 83.3% are against government involvement and in Saint Mathieu 71.4% are in favour, which greatly exaggerates the trends of each *quartier*. The responses to the following question were very simple: in La Lunette there was only one response, from the solitary informant in favour of government involvement, which was “through schools”. In Saint Mathieu four of those in favour also said “through schools” and the fifth did not know.

Quite a high percentage did not know who else should be involved either - 50.0% in La Lunette (compared to only 17.9% overall) and 42.9% in Saint Mathieu (compared to 19.7% overall). Those who did reply said it should be either the region, people in the region, or regional associations.

## Relative value of Catalan

In La Lunette half the informants did not place Catalan at all, and the other half placed it first, thus giving it a much higher value than the majority of the sample. In Saint Mathieu too the only position accorded to Catalan was first (28.6%), but the majority of informants did not place it at all. These responses would seem to be in keeping with the others in this series, especially in La Lunette, where Portuguese speakers seem to be particularly favourable towards Catalan.

## Opinions on Perpignan

Every single informant in this group felt that Perpignan is a Catalan town, but for a variety of reasons. Only one informant (in Saint Mathieu) said it was because of the Catalan language. The other responses, in both *quartiers*, were the traditions, monuments, mentality, history and Catalan or Spanish influence.

### 10.3.4 Conclusions

Portuguese does not seem to occupy a very important position in Perpignan when compared to Castilian, due to its numerical insignificance. Nevertheless, an important comment should be made concerning public opinion of Portuguese immigrants: many native French informants commented that Spanish immigrants are incapable of learning French well, whereas the Portuguese tend to speak it perfectly. This sample would seem to confirm that opinion, as there were no problems of comprehension with any Portuguese informants (and no Portuguese immigrants incapable of speaking French were found). The Portuguese are a very young group of immigrants, who appear to integrate into the French community with no apparent problem, whilst conserving their own Portuguese-speaking community, essentially in



the home. This seems to contrast quite strikingly with the Spanish, who either remain in a Castilian-speaking community and have little contact with French, in the case of older ones, or virtually discard their Spanish identity in the case of younger people.

## 10.4 Arabic

There are several important differences, linguistic and social, between Arabic and the other languages present in Perpignan. Firstly, it is not a European language and does not have the same kind of linguistic connection with French that Catalan, Castilian and Portuguese do; moreover, as mentioned in 6.2.5., “Arabic” is not one single language, but a written standard, more or less the same throughout the world, and a continuum of related spoken dialects. Unfortunately this difference is by no means clear, especially to many Arabic speakers.

Apart from the obvious linguistic differences between Arabic and European languages, there are certain social problems associated with this language. For historical reasons the relationship between France and the Maghreb is completely different from that which exists between France and Spain or Portugal (although it may be argued that it is not so very different from the relationship between the French state and French Catalonia - see 2.2.1.). Although there have always been frictions between France and Spain, as with any neighbouring countries, there are historical links between Roussillon and the Iberian Peninsula which mean that natives of Perpignan do not feel particularly concerned about the high number of Spanish and Portuguese immigrants in their town. Moreover, with the increasing links of the European Community, Spanish and Portuguese immigrants are regarded as fellow Europeans, and their presence in Perpignan is easily accepted. This is far from being true for Arab-speaking immigrants. They come from developing countries (in the Maghreb) once governed by France, and find themselves at a great disadvantage in France. Although no part of the questionnaire referred to the presence of *Maghrébins* in Perpignan, a very significant proportion of informants brought the subject up and almost invariably had an extremely negative view of this ethnic minority. Consequently the Arabic language is also viewed in a negative way. The fact that it is spoken at all in Perpignan is seen as yet another sign of the inability or unwillingness of “Arabs” to integrate. As a result, even native speakers of Arabic often give little importance to their language.

Despite its negative social value, Arabic in Perpignan is not restricted to North African immigrants: only half of the informants who know Arabic have Arab origins. The following pages will consider the two groups - native and non-native speakers and thus try to give a comprehensive picture of the situation of the Arabic language in the sociolinguistic landscape of Perpignan.



10.4.1 Nationality and origin

La Lunette	Nationality	Origin
French	10	
Pieds-Noirs		3
Moroccan	1	
Algerian		1
Spanish		1
Swiss	1	

Saint Mathieu	Nationality	Origin
French	7	
Algerian	4	4
Moroccan	3	

The above figures reveal that only two of the twelve informants in La Lunette who know Arabic have any “Arab blood”, whereas eleven out of fourteen in Saint Mathieu are of North African origin. This difference is quite logical, given the relative distribution of North Africans in the two *quartiers*.

10.4.2 How Arabic was learnt

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
mother tongue	3	12
in North Africa	6	2
at school	2	
in the army	1	

The results are quite predictable for Saint Mathieu: the twelve informants of North African origin learnt Arabic as their mother tongue, the other two learnt it by spending time in Algeria. In La Lunette, there are actually three “native speakers” of Arabic and of the others, half of the informants learnt the language in North Africa, two at school and one in the army.

From this point on, it would seem more logical to analyse these informants in two groups: native speakers and non-native speakers, regardless of which *quartier* they belong to.

10.4.3 Age and sex of informants

Normally this is the first, most basic element to be analysed, but in this case it seems more meaningful to look at it at this point, with the classification mentioned above.

	native speaker	non-native
male	5	7
female	10	4

	native speaker	non-native
15-24	4	
25-44	5	
45-60	5	2
60+	1	9

Indeed, these figures reveal a striking difference in the make-up of these two groups: the male:female ratio is completely reversed, and the numbers in different age groups are similarly opposed.

These differences may be attributed to a number of factors. As far as the male:female ratio is concerned, it may be said that there is a cultural factor involved - in Arab families the women would feel more inclined to respond to a female interviewer. The fact that there are more women overall could also be a factor, although within the North African community there is a significant number of men who live alone (who work in France to support a family in North Africa), so this is rather less likely. Among non-native speakers, the fact that there are more men could perhaps be due to a greater need for men to communicate when they worked in North Africa, whereas women who had lived there possibly had very little contact with local people.

As for the age distribution, a hypothesis could be put forward: a relatively large number of people in the older age brackets spent a considerable length of time working in countries which were at that time governed by France, and were therefore obliged to learn some Arabic. Since these countries gained independence, fewer and fewer French citizens have gone to work there, and most younger people would consider learning Arabic to be a waste of time. The presence of so many young native speakers, on the other hand, demonstrates that Arabic is very much spoken by second-generation immigrants. The fact that there are so few older native speakers is also due to the impossibility of interviewing monolingual Arabic speakers, and many older immigrants speak little or no French.

#### 10.4.4 Profile of non-native speakers

To test the hypotheses set out above, it will be necessary to look again at the nationality and origin of this subgroup, then at their place of birth and where they have lived prior to settling in Perpignan.

All of these informants are French, except one who is Swiss. Two claim to be *pieds-noirs*, and a third (also a *pieds-noirs*) claims Spanish origin. However, only three of them were born in France: the Swiss informant was born in Switzerland and all the others were born in North Africa (five in Algeria, one in Morocco and one in Tunisia). All of these spent some considerable time in those countries, mostly coming to France between 1962 and 1968 - "*jusqu'à ce qu'on nous foutait dehors*" as one informant phrased it. Of the four informants not born in North Africa, one spent ten years working there, the Swiss informant spent all her married life in Morocco (until 1958), while



the last two had worked one in Guadeloupe and the other in Cameroon - not Arabic-speaking countries. In a number of cases the link with North Africa goes back to the previous generation: four informants said that both their parents were born in Algeria, two said their father was born there, and one said that both parents were born in Tunisia. Despite this long attachment they appear to feel completely French in their identity - one man used the expression "Algérie Française" to indicate that he was born and brought up as a French citizen in a French state.

Ability in Arabic

	classical		dialectal	
understand	4	(1)	9	(1)
speak	4	(1)	8	(1)
read	3	(2)		(3)
write	2	(3)		(3)

(Numbers in brackets indicate informants who claimed a limited ability.)

The major difference between Arabic and the other languages seen so far becomes apparent in this table: the division between the classical and dialectal languages. Since most of these informants learnt Arabic simply through living in an Arabic-speaking country, it is logical that more of them should know the dialectal (spoken) language. What does seem illogical is that three of these informants claim to read and write a little in dialectal Arabic, which in fact does not officially exist as a written language. Of those three, two said they learnt Arabic "dans le pays" and the third in "des cours en Algérie". The first two do not claim to know classical Arabic, and therefore it is likely that they had learnt the meanings of words and expressions they often saw written (in shops and the administration, for example) and had even learnt to write some. However, all written Arabic belongs to the "classical" language.

Six informants claim some knowledge of classical Arabic, but with several variations in the degree of knowledge. The first of these five claims all four skills with no difficulty - he learnt Arabic at the *Ecole Normale* and went on to teach it himself. Another, who admits to reading and writing with difficulty, learnt at school in Algeria. One informant claims only to understand classical Arabic, which he learnt in the army. Two others claim all four skills, one of them claiming to write with difficulty, simply through being in the country. As both were born and brought up in North Africa, it is probable that they learnt at school. Finally one informant claims all four skills "with difficulty" through classes in Algeria.



Only one informant in this little group claims to use Arabic - with colleagues and with neighbours (in the street). This informant is a *pieds-noirs* who spent all her childhood and youth in Algeria. She and only three others specifically mentioned that they like speaking Arabic. One of these qualified his response thus: "il ne faut pas avoir peur de le dire, la France devient de plus en plus maghrébine". The other informants either gave no response to questions 19 and 20 (thus indicating that they did not like speaking another language or that they could not really speak one) or said they liked speaking another of the languages they know.

As far as classifying languages is concerned, nine informants did not place it at all, one put it in fifth place and one - the one who believes France is becoming "maghrébine" - placed it first. These figures are quite in keeping with the attitude of the whole sample: only one other informant placed Arabic first, whereas 80.9% did not place it at all. The percentage of those who did not place it is noticeably higher in La Lunette - 84.2% compared to 77.6% in Saint Mathieu - this point will be mentioned below (10.4.5.).

### 10.4.5 Profile of native speakers

In contrast to the previous group, all of these informants are either of North African nationality or origin. Seven of them have French nationality, and of these seven, six are of Algerian origin<sup>2</sup>, whilst the seventh is *pieds-noirs*. Of the remaining informants, four are of Algerian nationality and four Moroccan.

Only two informants were born in France, both in Perpignan, but in one case both parents were born in Algeria, in the other, both in Morocco. The latter informant actually claimed to have Moroccan nationality. All the others were born either in Algeria or Morocco (9 and 4 respectively) and in all cases both parents were born in the same country. Thus in origins this group is much more homogenous than the previous one.

There is, however, a great variety in the length of time these informants have lived in France: in six cases (the younger informants) they have always lived in France, or were brought there as infants - one informant said she had spent her first year of life in Algeria. Among the other informants one had been in France for only four years, another for five, but most had arrived during the sixties: two had been in Perpignan since 1963, one since 1965, one since 1966, and the last two came in 1968 and 1970. The remaining case is rather different - a Jewish North African who had lived in Algeria until the age of twelve, then had spent ten years in Paris, followed by twelve years in Black Africa before coming to Perpignan in 1976.

An interesting point of comparison between this group of immigrants and



the group of Spanish immigrants is the level of education. Of the fifteen informants, eight have the *certificat d'études* and one has the *baccalauréat*. Moreover, three of those who at that point had the *certificat d'études* could expect to attain a higher level as they were still at school, preparing the *baccalauréat* when they were interviewed. Only three informants had no education and another three had been to school for a short time. This level of education seems relatively high for one of the least privileged minorities in France, especially when compared with the extremely low level of education found among Spanish immigrants (10.2.2.). The difference between these two groups may be explained by the difference in age groups: the Spanish immigrants interviewed were primarily older people, whereas the Arab immigrants are mainly younger. Since education is compulsory for children in France and was not necessarily compulsory or even available to older Spaniards, this difference is all important. It must also be taken into account that it was impossible to interview less well-educated Arabic speakers, as this very fact made communication in French difficult, if not impossible.

#### Ability in Arabic

	classical	dialectal
understand	4	15
speak	4	15
read	2	
write	2	

As is to be expected in a group of native Arabic speakers, all fifteen claim to speak and understand dialectal Arabic. The younger informants, who have been brought up in France, will know Arabic only as the spoken language of the home, whereas older informants are likely to be illiterate. Nevertheless, a few informants do claim a knowledge of classical Arabic. Two claim simply to speak and understand, but this claim is open to doubt, as classical Arabic is not really a spoken language. One informant is an illiterate immigrant worker, the other a young immigrant, born in Morocco but obviously brought to France as an infant. In the first case, it is almost certain that the informant does speak and understand a limited amount of classical Arabic, as this is the language of the Qu'ran and of Muslim prayer, which he would almost certainly know by heart. On the other hand, it is more than likely that he was unaware of the distinction between the two varieties of Arabic and supposed that "classical" meant "common". The second informant, having been brought up in France, is rather less likely to know any classical Arabic and it is almost certain that "dialectal" has no meaning for him, and he assumed that "classical" means the language spoken by all Arabs.

Two other informants also claimed to be literate in classical Arabic. In one case the informant had received all her education in Morocco, thus Arabic would be her first written language. The other informant was brought to France as a baby and does not mention learning Arabic at school, but it is possible that she learnt it in the home. (This seems somewhat unlikely



however, given that her father is a labourer and her mother does not have a profession.)

#### Use of and attitude towards Arabic

Only one informant in this group does not claim to use Arabic in the home: this informant had been in France for 22 years and had raised her family there, moreover she claimed to have learnt French at school as from the age of three; therefore she would have had less difficulty than most North Africans in using French, and it is likely that she preferred to use it with her children so that they would not suffer at all at school, educationally or socially.

For the others, five claim that the whole family uses Arabic, four that the family uses a mixture of French and Arabic, and the last four that they use Arabic only with their parents. Two of this last group are very young "second-generation" immigrants whose parents are almost certainly illiterate or have never learnt French very successfully. Of the other two, one is a *pieds-noirs*, whose parents were born in Morocco, and presumably spent most, if not all, of their lives there. The last one is the Jewess who, like her parents, was born and brought up in Algeria, but whose children and husband do not speak Arabic. The fact that all the other families use at least a degree of Arabic suggests that it remains the major language of the home for most North African immigrants.

Outside the home though the situation is quite different: most informants say they always use French, only four admit to using Arabic in shops or in the street and only two claim to use it in cafés. Nobody mentioned that they belonged to an Arabic-speaking association, but one informant said she used Arabic in occasions such as weddings, presumably when a lot of Arabic speakers would gather together.

The informant who does not even use Arabic in the home said she uses it outside only if people do not understand French, and one young informant qualified her answer, saying she uses Arabic with Arab friends. In three cases, claims to use only French may be open to doubt, as these informants had great difficulty communicating in French. In actual fact it would probably be closer to the truth for these informants to say that they rarely speak to French people - they are married men who came to France simply to earn a living and save up money to take back to their family, and they have very little contact with French people.

The informants were almost unanimous in claiming to like speaking Arabic - one even claimed to "adore" it. The only informant who did not join the general consensus was a young second-generation immigrant who preferred to say he liked speaking English.

As for rating the importance of Arabic, as in the previous group, only one in-



formant put it in first place among languages worth learning. This informant had come to France at the age of one year and had French nationality, yet she wore traditional North African clothes, and seemed much more attached to North African culture than is usual among immigrants of her age. Three informants put Arabic in third place, one in fourth and one in sixth. Six informants, however, did not place it at all, two responded "do not know" to the question and another said that all languages were of equal importance.

As the table in 8.2. demonstrates, the general population does not rate Arabic very highly: if placed at all it tends to be in fourth or fifth position. Native Arabic speakers do not seem to rate their own language much higher than do the rest of the population: nine out of fourteen did not give it a rating. However, this does represent 64.3% which is considerably lower than the overall percentage of non-rating, which was 84.2% in La Lunette and 77.6% in Saint Mathieu. Moreover, it must be taken into account that several Arabic speakers did not give a rating because they failed to understand the question: two informants said "do not know" for the whole of this question. They were uneducated workers who seemed to have agreed out of politeness to participate in the study, with a very minimal understanding of what it was about, and the same could perhaps be said of two other informants who did not classify any of the languages listed. It would seem that most native speakers of Arabic, through living in France, have been convinced of the greater values of learning English and other European languages. Nevertheless, those who understood the question did rate it, even if they did not rate it highly.

#### 10.4.6 Attitudes towards Catalan

The general attitude of this group might be expected to be indifference. Older immigrants, who already have difficulties communicating in French, are unlikely to have much knowledge of, or interest in, Catalan. The younger ones may be more knowledgeable about the language, but will probably have no more interest than most young people. The non-Arabs in the sample are equally unlikely to take an interest in Catalan, as they have for the most part spent much of their lives outside France, and are not of Catalan origin. Moreover, being mainly elderly people, they would have been brought up with a negative view of regional languages. Some of the following statistics do seem to vary quite considerably from the general sample, but it should be borne in mind that the sample of Arabic speakers is numerically small.

##### The future of Catalan

A very high percentage of Arabic speakers did not know what to say on the future of Catalan: 50.0% in La Lunette and 31.6% in Saint Mathieu. The majority of those who gave a reply said there was no future: 28.6% in La Lunette and 42.1% in Saint Mathieu. The remaining few (21.4% in La Lunette and 26.3% in Saint Mathieu) said it had a good future.



## Maintaining Catalan in the region

The majority were in favour of maintaining Catalan, although a smaller majority than in the overall sample (78.6% in La Lunette, 68.4% in Saint Mathieu). The reasons given were varied, the most popular ones being the same as in the total sample: in La Lunette it was "for traditions and culture" (43.0%) and in Saint Mathieu "for regional identity" (31.6%). 14.3% in La Lunette and 10.5% in Saint Mathieu said that a lot of people speak Catalan, which might seem rather surprising, given the overall percentages for this response 1.1% and 4.1%. The informants who said this could well be making a comparison with other places they have lived, where no Catalan was spoken.

## Importance of speaking Catalan in the region

In La Lunette there is a large deviation from the whole sample: only 28.6% think it is important to speak Catalan, compared to 50.2% of the total sample. In Saint Mathieu the figure is much nearer the average: 57.9% therefore 2.8% above that of the overall sample. The percentage who do not know is relatively high in both *quartiers* - 7.1% in La Lunette and 10.5% in Saint Mathieu.

The major reason given in La Lunette for Catalan not being important was that French is more important - 43.0%, with another 14.3% saying that only old people speak it. In Saint Mathieu 21.1% said that French is more important but another 10.5% said that Catalan is of no interest, thus accounting for the six informants who thought speaking Catalan was not important.

## Government involvement

This time it is Saint Mathieu where there is a reversal of figures from the overall sample: only 15.8% said that government should be occupied with regional languages, compared to 51.7% overall, and a substantial 36.8% did not know, compared to 15.0% overall. In La Lunette the figures are almost identical to those of the whole sample: 43.0% in favour, 50.0% against and 7.1% who do not know.

Very few in either *quartier* responded to the question on how government should be involved in regional languages: 57.1% in La Lunette and 84.2% in Saint Mathieu did not reply at all, and 14.3% and 5.3% respectively did not know. In La Lunette the only response was "through schools" (28.6%) and in Saint Mathieu one informant said "by increasing facilities", the other "by recognising languages".

The relatively low level of response to the third question of the series, on who else should be involved in regional languages, was similar to that of Spanish



informants: 28.6% in La Lunette and 26.3% in Saint Mathieu said they did not know, plus 21.1% in Saint Mathieu gave no response. The most popular response in La Lunette was “people in the region” - 35.7% compared to only 19.4% in the overall sample. In Saint Mathieu the most popular response was “regional schools”, which was the least popular response overall, with only 4.8%.

#### Relative value of Catalan

Relatively high numbers of Arabic speakers placed Catalan. Only 64.3% in La Lunette and 57.9% in Saint Mathieu did not place it. However, 21.1% in Saint Mathieu did not respond at all, so the percentage who did place it was only 21.0%. None of them gave Catalan first place, though. In La Lunette it was placed third, fourth, fifth and seventh, and in Saint Mathieu second, fourth and fifth.

#### Opinions on Perpignan

The majority thought that Perpignan is a Catalan town: 85.7% in La Lunette and 68.4% in Saint Mathieu. The primary reason in La Lunette was the Catalan language (21.4%) and in Saint Mathieu the mixture of people (31.6%), followed by the Catalan language (26.3%). Again there was a high level of non-response to this question: 28.6% in La Lunette and 36.9% in Saint Mathieu.

#### 10.4.7 Conclusions

As in most ex-colonial countries, the presence of immigrants from ex-colonies adds a new and interesting aspect to the sociolinguistic situation of that country. For a number of reasons North African immigrants are less easily assimilated into the national community than European immigrants, and their language use remains one of the areas in which they are readily distinguished from the rest of the community. The responses in this study suggest that Arabic is widely spoken among the immigrant community, even if the younger generation habitually speaks French outside the home.

#### 10.5 Very small linguistic minorities

This group consists, for the most part, of minorities of one, thus representing all the languages not already encountered in the larger linguistic minorities of Perpignan. These very small minorities have already been mentioned briefly (6.2.7.), but will here be looked at in greater detail. In fact, due to the great diversity of this group, this section will take the form of a series of individual studies. Each study will consider the person or persons who know the language, how they come to know it, their ability and usage, and



their attitude towards regional languages (this latter will not be developed for those informants who have already been considered in another section; for example those who are also Catalanophones).

The group is divided into two: regional languages of France, and languages from outside the hexagon.

### 10.5.1 Regional languages of France

The informants who know a regional language other than Catalan all live in La Lunette. Each language is represented by one informant, who will now be presented.

#### *Occitan*

The speaker of Occitan is an informant who has been discussed at some length already in his capacity as leader of *Unitat Catalana*. As mentioned in 9.5. he is not a native speaker of Occitan, but made the effort to learn it in order to be able to speak it with Occitans in their region. He claims to have acquired all four skills in this language, and although in his everyday life in Perpignan he is primarily concerned about using Catalan as frequently as possible, he clearly learnt the language in order to use it, in the right context.

Obviously he militates primarily on behalf of the Catalan language, but he also supports the right of all minority regional languages to be taught and used in the relevant regions. He advocates a decentralisation of the education system in order to favour this. He considers that it is always a useful advantage to know more than one language, and believes that having two complementary cultures in a region can only enrich the life of its inhabitants.

His action in learning Occitan is particularly unusual when taking into account the traditional antipathy felt by Catalans towards *gavatxos* (the Catalan term of contempt for their Occitan neighbours). Whilst he believes that links with South Catalonia are important for the future development of Catalan in the region, he is also aware of the need to cultivate links with other linguistic minorities within France, perhaps agreeing with Meic Stephens (1976:315,316) that "it seems likely, as most Occitan organisations make provision in their programmes for the autonomy of the Catalan and Basque districts at present incorporated within the French State, that the future of the Northern Catalans depends as much on the success of the Occitan movement as on the restoration of democracy on the other side of the Pyrenees."

#### *Provençal*

The speaker of Provençal claims to have learnt it "en famille", but claims



only French as his mother tongue. He and both his parents were born in the department of Alpes de Haute Provence, where he spent his childhood and youth. He claims to use (or to have used) Provençal only with his father, although his parents used it to speak to each other. He is illiterate in this language.

Despite being a speaker of a regional language, he does not appear to be particularly sympathetic towards Catalan, or regional languages in general. He sees no future for Catalan, and considers it unimportant to speak it in the region, because it is only spoken by a minority. He concedes that the language should be maintained for cultural reasons, but at the same time claims to be anti-regionalist, thus making clear that he is not interested in any kind of normalisation of regional languages. He considers that it is people in the region, and not the government, who should be concerned for regional languages.

An explanation for his lack of regional feeling may well lie in some facts from his background: he is in the fourth age group, the well-educated son of small farmers, and he spent his working life in Tunisia. His age and background suggest that he was in all probability brought up believing - like many elderly Catalans in Perpignan - that his regional language symbolised a backward, old-fashioned peasant way of life which he, through education, was escaping. Furthermore, his experience in Tunisia - he left in 1963 - could well have given him a distaste for any kind of nationalistic language revivals, and caused him to reject all languages but French.

### *Breton*

This informant claims that Breton, like French, is his mother tongue, yet he is only able to understand the language, and neither he nor any member of his family apparently use it in the home. In common with his mother and grandparents, he was born in Brittany, but he seems to have spent most of his life in Paris, so he has in all probability had little contact with the Breton language since early childhood.

It would appear that he has no interest in the fate of Catalan and other regional languages, as his standard response to all the attitudinal questions was that he did not know, and the only languages he classified were English, Castilian and German.

This informant is in the third age group, a *cadre* and the son of *cadres*. It would appear that he has never had reason to cultivate an interest in Breton, nor in Catalan.

### *Béarnais*

Unlike the previous informant, this one claims all four language skills in Béarnais, which he says is his mother tongue. He claims to use it sometimes



with his parents, who use it together rather than French, and claims to enjoy speaking this language.

In common with the Breton informant, this one has a high socioeconomic status - he is a lawyer - and is in the third age group, yet his attitude towards his own language, and regional languages in general, seems to be quite different. This could be due to the fact that he speaks and is literate in his regional language and therefore values it more highly; also he spent all his early life in Pau, thus maintaining contact with the language, and he has spent twenty years in Perpignan, where he claims to have acquired a considerable degree of ability in Catalan - he can understand, speak and read - "à partir du Béarnais".

As far as Catalan is concerned, he feels that its future is uncertain and it is spoken very little, but should be maintained, because there is an interest in all languages. He claims to be against normalisation of regional languages however, seeing regional languages as bringing a cultural richness, but not wanting to see them challenge the supremacy of French. He does not feel that it is central government who should be occupied with regional languages, but regional schools and universities - he believes that the reason there is not a better system of regional language teaching is due to the problem of centralisation.

#### *Patois du Tarn et Garonne*

The last informant of this little group does not appear to attribute a great importance to her regional language, calling it a "patois". She claims to have learnt it in the region, where she was born and spent her childhood. She claims to understand and speak it, but apparently does not use it at all, and did not respond to the question "do you like speaking another language?".

She is the only female informant to know a regional language, and also has the lowest level of education (Certificat d'études) and the lowest socioeconomic status (dressmaker). She is also in the fourth age group. These facts may help to explain her rather negative attitude towards her language. Like the speaker of Provençal she was probably brought up thinking that regional languages are inferior to French, and to compensate for her relatively low socioeconomic status, she would have avoided speaking it and would doubtless have brought up her own children exclusively in French.

She sees little future for Catalan and no importance in speaking it, because French is spoken. She does however say it should be maintained, since it is the language of the region. Although she considers that the government has other things to do, she feels it could help regional languages through schools, but it is also the responsibility of people in the regions to support their languages.



## Conclusions

This small sample of regional language speakers does not, on the whole, give a very positive image for such languages. Apart from Senyor Barrere, the Occitan speaker, none of them seem to feel very strongly about these languages, they simply mention that they know them. Nevertheless, the very fact that they mention them could be taken as an encouraging sign: it indicates that a number of people attach an importance to their regional language as a kind of symbol of their native region.

### 10.5.2 Languages from outside France

The remaining languages are extremely varied, some are the native languages of immigrants, others are second languages learnt by French citizens. They represent three continents: Europe, Africa and Asia, and will be considered in that order.

#### *Gallego*

This is the language of Galicia in the northwest of Spain, and is similar to Portuguese. The two informants who speak it come from Galicia and both sets of parents were also born there. They claim that they acquired both Gallego and Castilian as mother tongues. Despite this, and the fact that they are both literate in Gallego they still call it a "patois". Since they are both well over sixty, and came to France in 1950, it is probable that they see regional languages as they were seen under Franco, and not as they are now viewed - with increasing respect - in Spain. The truth of this supposition is borne out by the comment of one informant that "Gallego se parle davantage maintenant". It can also be seen in their usage of the language: they claim that their whole family speaks Castilian together, and it is only their parents who spoke Gallego. Under Franco it would have been difficult to bring up Gallego-speaking children, and if their children were born in France they would probably have seen it as more logical to bring them up bilingual in French and Castilian.

Their attitudes towards Catalan and other regional languages seem to be more positive than those of speakers of other regional languages in France. They both foresee an improvement in the future of Catalan because of Barcelona, and for the same reason think that the language should be maintained. They also think it is important to speak Catalan in the region, in one case because there are a lot of Catalans there, and in the other because it is useful for industry. Neither of them consider that central government should be concerned for regional languages, but that it is a matter for the region - perhaps achieved by decentralising government in the way that Spain has done by creating *autonomías* and thus enabling regional languages to have an official status in their historical region.



### *Danish*

The one speaker of Danish was, in a sense, not a real representative of Perpignan, as he was a student spending a year there to improve his French. However, he was taking the place of another Danish student who had been there the previous year, so it would seem that there is at least one Danish speaker in Perpignan on a regular basis.

Danish is this informant's mother tongue and is used by all the members of his family, but he is obliged to speak French at all times in Perpignan.

Despite his limited knowledge of the linguistic situation in Perpignan he had some very definite views about it. He was not optimistic about the future of Catalan and had the impression that everyone in Perpignan spoke French. However, he believed that it is important to maintain minority languages in order to avoid a monoculture. The government could help to do this by introducing Catalan in primary schools, and putting more Catalan into the media, but it is also people of the region who must act to preserve their language.

### *Czech*

This informant is far from being a native speaker of Czech: he learnt it in a German prisoner of war camp during the second world war. In common with a number of male informants he learnt German at the same time, but he is unique in having learnt Czech.

He is illiterate in Czech, but claims to still use it, when he meets Czech friends - presumably ones he met during the war.

Although he does use Czech, it is not a language of primary importance for him, and most of his responses to other questions are coloured by the fact that his mother tongue is Catalan, and he regularly uses this language. Thus he has already been considered in chapter 9.

### *Turkish*

In total contrast to the previous informant, who was something of a polyglot and very enthusiastic to talk on linguistic issues, this one seemed to have immense difficulty in understanding the nature and objectives of the questionnaire, and had some difficulty in expressing himself in French, although he did claim to be literate in it.

This informant was a native speaker of Turkish, an immigrant worker who, in common with a number of the North African informants, had left his family at home. Consequently he claimed to speak only Turkish with his family, but French all the time in Perpignan, apart from in an association, presumably for Turkish immigrants. It could be suspected that he also



works or socialises with other Turkish immigrants, as he was speaking to one just before being interviewed. He is literate in his native language and likes speaking it.

He is in the third age group and had been in France for eight years, but seemed totally unaware of Catalan. He said he did not understand Catalan and he had no idea as to its future. As far as he was aware, it was not important to speak it in the region, since everyone speaks French. He did seem to think that the government should concern itself with regional languages, but did not know how.

### *Hebrew*

Two other informants claimed to have a knowledge of Ancient Hebrew - a Catholic priest and a Protestant pastor - but only one informant knew modern Hebrew, one who has already been discussed because of her mother tongue, Dialectal Arabic.

She is not a native speaker of Hebrew, but learnt it in classes for religious reasons, and claims to understand, speak and read it. No doubt because of its religious significance, Hebrew is important for her, although French and Arabic are her first languages, and she regularly has young Israelis to stay with her family in order to have contact with the language and the country.

### *Réunionnais and Malgache*

These two languages must be mentioned together, as they are both spoken by the same informant. He is Réunionnais, and therefore has French nationality, although he is not of European racial origin. Réunionnais is his mother tongue, and he did not mention how he learnt Malgache: possibly he had spent some time in Madagascar or had contacts with people from the neighbouring island. He is illiterate in both languages, and literate in French, which he learnt at school.

He claims to speak a mixture of French and Réunionnais with his family, but in Perpignan he always speaks French.

As far as Catalan is concerned, in the two years he had spent in Perpignan, he had gained very little awareness of it. He claimed he did not like to hear it spoken and that it was not important to speak it in the region. He did not know about its future or whether or not it should be maintained, but thought that government, through schools, should be concerned for regional languages, as should the *Chambres de Commerce* in the regions.

### *Kiswahi*

This is the first of two African languages represented in the sample. This one is spoken by a French student who was brought up in Zaïre. She was



actually born in France, but both parents were born in (Francophone) Africa and obviously the whole family had been in Zaïre for most of her life.

She claimed to have learnt the language simply by being in Zaïre and speaking it there, and claims that all her family continue to use the language, as well as French and Castilian.

Despite a general interest in languages, she did not seem to have very strong feelings about French regional languages. She did not like to hear Catalan spoken, but felt that it would stay in the region, and should be maintained as a "propre caractéristique du pays". She thought it was important in the region, for employment, and that it was the department rather than central government who should be involved in regional languages.

### *Malinké*

The second African language is represented by a native speaker, a marabout from Guinea. He was introduced by a younger man, perhaps his son, and said it would be better if he spoke, as in any case his responses would be the same as the younger man's. He pointed out that he might not be in a position to comment on the local language, but he would do his best, and proceeded to respond with great deliberation to all the questions.

Malinké is his mother tongue, which he uses all the time with his family. He is literate in both Malinké and French, although he claims to have learnt French through friends in "milieux français". He speaks French in all situations in Perpignan. He is in the third age group, and had always lived in Guinea, where he and his parents were born, until coming to Paris, where he had spent one year, and then Perpignan, where he had been living for seven months at the time of interview.

Due to the fact that he had not been in Perpignan very long, he felt he could not judge the future of Catalan, but felt it should be maintained, because languages should always be saved. He thought it was important for Catalans to speak Catalan in the region, and that the Catalans themselves, in particular the "pères de familles" rather than the government, should be concerned with the language.

### *Indonesian*

The first of the two Asian languages is represented by a Frenchman, who is married to an Indonesian. He claimed to have learnt Indonesian through his wife and said that they spoke a mixture of French and Indonesian together. He does not have any other occasion to use Indonesian in Perpignan, but he likes speaking it.

As for Catalan, he does not like hearing it, and is not interested in its future. He feels it should be maintained by those who wish to learn it - at a cultural



level only - but it is not important to speak it, as everyone speaks French. The government could provide regional language teachers in schools, but it is also the department and regional associations who must be occupied with regional languages.

### *Vietnamese*

There are three informants representing this final minority language: two middle-aged ladies in La Lunette, and a younger man in Saint Mathieu. For all three, Vietnamese is the mother tongue and all three were born in Vietnam.

The man claims to speak only Vietnamese with his wife, who seems to be all the family he has in Perpignan. One of the women also claims to use Vietnamese with her husband and son, but the other one claims to use only French. The reason for this difference probably lies in the fact that the third informant has been living in France since 1949, whereas the male informant arrived in 1975 and the other female in 1985 (although she had spent three years in Algeria and two years in the United States before coming to France). All three say they like speaking Vietnamese, and all are literate, although the third informant says she can read only.

All three claim to like hearing Catalan, but are not agreed as to its future. For the youngest of the three it will survive, although it is not evolving; for the first female it has no future because everyone speaks French, and for the second it will always be "très restreint". All agree that the language should be maintained, for traditions or "pour faire plaisir aux Catalans". Only the male informant thinks it is important to speak Catalan, claiming it is widely spoken: possibly he hears it more often than the two women, as he is a market stall holder, and so is more likely to be in contact with Catalan speakers than the two ladies, who live in a district inhabited primarily by retired French people. They both feel there is no need to know Catalan. The second female informant is against government involvement in regional languages, saying it is the *conseillers généraux* who should be involved. The other two feel that both government and the region have a role to play.

### Conclusions

This varied little group serves two purposes: to give an idea of the linguistic richness of Perpignan; and to show how some "outsiders" view the situation of Catalan. On the first point, these few informants hint at the extent to which Perpignan can be seen as a multilingual town. On the second, the general consensus seems to be that it is the Catalans who must take care of their own language. The majority of these informants have only a limited idea of the situation of Catalan, which in some cases is due to the fact that they have not been in Perpignan very long, or that their ability in French is so limited that they have little contact with local people. It also suggests that it is possible to stay for some time in the town without being really



aware of Catalan. All of them feel that Catalan, and any regional language, should be maintained, but have differing ideas as to how and why, generally feeling that it is not really their problem.

## 10.6 Monolingual French Speakers

This group should include all those informants who have not yet been dealt with: those who have no knowledge of Catalan, and who do not form part of any of the other linguistic minorities discussed during this chapter. Thus this final group should include all informants who have no real knowledge of any language other than French. Deciding who constitutes this group, however, is not as straightforward as it might seem. For the 27 informants in La Lunette and 16 in Saint Mathieu who responded “no” to the first question, there is no problem; they are “self-declared” monolingual French speakers. There is another group of informants though which has not yet been taken into consideration: they are informants whose only “other” language is one they learnt at school.

The informants who classed themselves as monolingual account for 9.9% of the sample in La Lunette and 10.9% in Saint Mathieu. There are another 66 informants who will be considered as monolingual French speakers (54 in La Lunette and 12 in Saint Mathieu), for the reasons explained below.

### 10.6.1 Criteria for designating an informant “monolingual”

It has already been seen (4.4.3.) that the term “to know a language” may be interpreted in various ways, depending on a number of factors. It is essentially for this reason that it seems justifiable to class some informants as monolingual even if they claim to know up to three other languages. All the literature on the subjects of second-language acquisition and bilingualism stresses the difficulty of assessing ability in a second language, and defining degrees of bilingualism. The task in this case is impossible, as the only assessment of an informant’s second language is his own. In order to decide which informants should reasonably be designated monolingual, the questionnaires of all informants whose only “other” language was a school-learned one were examined, taking into account the following facts: firstly the very fact that a language was learnt at school indicates that it is not a language acquired through usage or for some immediate need. Secondly, the questions on language usage were considered - if the informant claimed to use only French both in the home and in all other situations, it would seem safe to assume that the informant does not have regular contact with the other language. It could be argued that such an informant could nonetheless have an excellent knowledge of that language, but simply does not make use of it in Perpignan. This could be the case, for example, for some immigrants, who do not use their mother tongue in France, but would be perfectly capable of doing so, should the occasion arise. This seems unlikely here though, since most informants who regularly use their other language on holiday, business



trips, or with friends or relatives living abroad, were eager to make this fact known, and by virtue of it are not included in this group. A third indication that an informant does not really know the language in a practical sense was a “not applicable” response to the question “do you like speaking another language?” A number of informants classed as monolingual French speakers did claim to like speaking another language, but this does not necessarily indicate that they *do* speak it. It would perhaps be more accurate, for a number of them, to say that they would like to be able to speak the other language.

Of course, it could still be argued that this is a rather arbitrary way of deciding whether or not someone really knows a language, and so it is in a sense. However, it should be made clear that the aim in doing this is not to say that because someone has learnt a language at school that person does not really know the language. Clearly this is not true: if it were, there would be no point in ever attempting to teach languages in schools. Rather, this section makes a distinction between those informants who have acquired a second language through “natural” language contact situations (being brought up in a bilingual home, being an immigrant from a non-French speaking country), and those who have learnt a language “artificially” at school, for no immediately useful purpose.

This distinction could be made using some definitions of “types” of bilinguals, listed by Baetens Beardsmore (1983:7-19). These definitions will be discussed more generally in 11.1. Such types can only be very loose descriptions of a speaker, as each one is different, and terms of reference for describing bilinguals are very ill-defined. Nevertheless it would not be unjust to the majority of informants in this group if one of the following types were used to describe their state of bilingualism. Most informants in this group could perhaps best be described as *incipient* bilinguals, that is at a pre-lingual stage, or perhaps *receptive* or *passive* bilinguals, able to understand the other language, but not to produce it. Some of them might also be considered *recessive* bilinguals, meaning that through lack of practice they have lost a great deal, if not all, the ability they once had in the other language. Unlike the *balanced bilinguals* in some of the other minority groups, these informants are not able to function adequately in their other language, except perhaps in a very limited way. In general they do not conform to Weinreich’s basic definition of a bilingual, that is, they do not use two or more languages alternately (Weinreich, 1968:1).

#### 10.6.2 “Self-declared” monolingual French speakers

This group is made up of 27 informants from La Lunette and 16 from Saint Mathieu. The following table shows how they are broken down by age and sex.



#### La Lunette

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
male	1	3	0	4
female	1	3	4	11

#### Saint Mathieu

	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
male	1	6	1	2
female	3	2	0	1

The distribution over age and sex seems to be rather different for the two *quartiers*: there are clearly a high number of elderly informants of both sexes and particularly women, in La Lunette, whereas the highest number in Saint Mathieu falls in the second age bracket. The fact that there are so many informants in the highest age group in La Lunette is quite natural, given that it is the largest category overall in the *quartier*. However, this is also true of Saint Mathieu - in fact the percentage of older informants is higher there - 44.9% of informants in Saint Mathieu are over 60, compared with only 37.4% in La Lunette. The explanation for the low number of elderly monolingual French in Saint Mathieu may be found in the fact that only 77.1% of over-60s there are of French nationality, and another 52.2% claim a different origin, notably 43.8% claim to be Catalan, thus leaving a very small percentage of "pure" French in this age group. The other age groups seem to correspond in size to the overall sample: more in group two and fewer in groups one and three.

There are twice as many monolingual French women as men in La Lunette, whilst in Saint Mathieu the figure is almost the reverse. Logically there should be more women in both *quartiers*, as this is the case for the total sample. There seems to be no logical explanation for this difference.

#### Nationality and origin

There are no surprises in the nationality and origin of these informants: all are of French nationality except one who is Swiss. The only informants to claim a different origin were two Bretons and one with Spanish origin.

All the informants were born in Francophonia: the majority in metropolitan France, three from each *quartier* in Roussillon. Two others were born in Algeria and the Swiss informant was born in Switzerland.

The majority of them have also spent most of their lives in metropolitan France: three informants in La Lunette and one in Saint Mathieu spent all of their lives until retirement in French colonies, one in La Lunette spent his working life in the colonies. The Swiss informant spent his childhood and youth in Switzerland and the others have never lived outside of France.



Education and Profession

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
under 16	0	2
certificat d'études	18	12
baccalauréat	3	2
DEUG	2	
licence	1	
études sup	3	

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
traders, artisans	4	3
liberal professions	5	
intermediate	1	
employees	6	4
workers		3
housewives	10	2
students	1	2
unemployed		1
handicapped		1

This group does not seem to be particularly well educated: a clear majority have nothing more than the *certificat d'études*, and in Saint Mathieu no informant has more than the *baccalauréat*. Most of them are in the less prestigious socioprofessional categories too, with only five in the liberal professions. The majority are employees or have no profession. It would appear then that it is mainly people with a relatively low level of education and socioprofessional position who have never learnt a second language.

Attitudes towards Catalan and other regional languages

The future of Catalan

The percentage of informants who see no future for the Catalan language is noticeably higher in this group than in the overall sample: 40.7% in La Lunette and 50.0% in Saint Mathieu compared to 36.3% and 40.8% respectively. The percentage who did not know was relatively even higher: 25.9% and 31.3% compared to 14.3% and 15.6% in the overall sample. One informant who saw no future for the language said there was too much mixing (presumably of people) in Perpignan and there were no Catalans left. 22.2% in La Lunette said Catalan had a good future, one even going so far as to say that the language was “très utilisée, la majorité le parle, même les jeunes”, but only one informant in Saint Mathieu shared this opinion. Of the remaining five informants, three thought Catalan would remain as it is, one in Saint Mathieu saying “il se gardera, peut-être par les enfants, mais c'est un patois”. One other informant in La Lunette thought the future was uncertain and another that Catalan would never die.



## Maintaining Catalan in the region

As in the general sample, the overwhelming majority - here 63.0% in La Lunette and 81.2% in Saint Mathieu were in favour of maintaining Catalan. The reasons given were varied, but the most popular in La Lunette (33.3%) was "for traditions and culture" and in Saint Mathieu (31.3%) "for regional identity". Although these informants seemed generally in favour of maintaining the language, there were some dissenting voices - 25.9% against in La Lunette - and one informant in Saint Mathieu commented that it was "stupide de ressortir les langues régionales - c'est plus important de développer une langue internationale". Two informants in La Lunette (7.4%) thought that French was more important and three in La Lunette and two in Saint Mathieu (11.8% overall) simply thought that Catalan was of no interest.

## The importance of speaking Catalan

The general feeling is clearly that it is not important to speak Catalan in the region: 59.2% in La Lunette and 68.7% in Saint Mathieu responded negatively to this question. Nevertheless one informant complained that it was spoken too much. The most common reason for responding negatively was that French is more important - 33.3% in La Lunette and 37.5% in Saint Mathieu. Three informants in La Lunette and two in Saint Mathieu also said that only old people speak it. On the positive side, the only response given by more than two people was "the region is in Catalonia" (three informants in La Lunette - 11.1% - and one in Saint Mathieu - 6.2%). Five informants (three in La Lunette, two in Saint Mathieu) did not respond at all. Clearly most of these informants could not find much in favour of speaking Catalan in this region.

## Government involvement

The percentage against government involvement was higher than in the overall sample: 63.0% in La Lunette and 43.7% in Saint Mathieu compared to 48.4% and 33.3%, and the percentage who did not know was higher too - 11.1% in La Lunette, compared to 8.8%, and 18.7% in Saint Mathieu, compared to 15.0% overall. 74.0% in La Lunette and 62.5% in Saint Mathieu did not respond to the subsequent question on how government should be involved, and the majority of those who did - 26.0% in La Lunette and 18.7% in Saint Mathieu - said through schools or subsidies. Informants seemed to have more of an idea about who else should be involved - there was only one non-response (in Saint Mathieu) but eleven informants responded "do not know", representing 25.9% in La Lunette and 25.0% in Saint Mathieu. Most other responses were concentrated on the first three categories: "region", "*conseil régional*" and "people in the region". In other words the general consensus seems to be that it is primarily at a local level that anything should be done about regional languages.



Opinions on Perpignan

In general, these monolinguals consider Perpignan to be a Catalan town: only one informant in each *quartier* thought not, and two in Saint Mathieu were unsure. One of the most popular reasons in both *quartiers* was the Catalan language - so apparently it is noticed more by this group than by the population in general. 19.2% in La Lunette and 25.0% in Saint Mathieu gave this response, compared to only 9.9% and 15.5% overall. Equally popular reasons in Saint Mathieu were “mentality” and “history”, and in La Lunette “traditions”.

10.6.3 Informants with a school language

There is actually one exception in this group: one informant learnt German during the war, but has been included in this group because he claims to have only a vague memory of what he learnt.

The group is composed of 54 informants in La Lunette and 12 in Saint Mathieu. The following table shows how they can be broken down according to age and sex.

La Lunette				
	15-24	25-44	45-60	60+
men	7	3	4	3
women	10	13	9	5

Saint Mathieu		
	15-24	25-44
men	5	3
women	2	2

Clearly this group is primarily young: in Saint Mathieu no informant is over 45, and in La Lunette 61.1% of informants are under 45. This seems logical, as younger informants are more likely to have been obliged to study a language at school, and perhaps less likely to have ever been obliged to use it. Also, particularly in Saint Mathieu, there are considerably fewer non-French nationals in the two younger age groups, thus fewer informants with a mother tongue other than French.

As with the previous group, there are more women than men in La Lunette, and fewer in Saint Mathieu. In La Lunette this must be attributed primarily to the higher numbers of women, especially in groups two and three. There does not seem to be any particularly outstanding reason why there should be fewer women in Saint Mathieu.

Nationality and origin

All 66 informants are of French nationality; one in La Lunette claims to be of Catalan origin, and one in each *quartier* is *pieds-noirs*. The majority were born in France: 90.7% in La Lunette and 83.3% in Saint Mathieu, of whom 29.6% and 33.3% respectively were born in Roussillon. The remaining six informants, representing 7.4% in La Lunette and 16.6% in Saint Mathieu were born in French colonies. In Saint Mathieu only one informant in this group has spent any part of his life outside of France - he claims to have spent his youth in Spain. In La Lunette two informants spent their childhood, three their youth and one his working life, in North Africa, whilst two others spent their childhood and three their youth, in other colonies.

Thus this group, like the previous one, is made up of French citizens who have never lived outside of Francophonia, and thus have not been exposed to other languages.

Level of schooling and Profession

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
brevet	27.7% (15)	33.3% (4)
baccalauréat	20.4% (11)	41.6% (5)
bac+1/2	22.2% (12)	25.0% (3)
licence	5.5% (3)	
études sup	20.4% (11)	

	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
traders, artisans	7.4% (4)	8.3% (1)
liberal professions	12.9% (7)	
intermediate	12.9% (7)	8.3% (1)
employees	16.6% (9)	16.6% (2)
housewives	16.6% (9)	
unemployed	3.7% (2)	8.3% (1)
student	25.9% (14)	58.3% (7)
conscript	1.8% (1)	

The level of education is, as always, higher in La Lunette than in Saint Mathieu, but in both *quartiers* it may be said that the general level of education is relatively high. Certainly it would be impossible to make a correlation between a lack of linguistic knowledge and a lack of general education. In fact if a comparison is made between this group and some of the linguistic minority group, it will be seen that in some cases the opposite is true: some informants with a good working knowledge of two or even three languages have very little formal education, whereas some of these informants, who have at the most a basic school knowledge of a language other than French have a very high level of education.



This fact seems even clearer when the professions are taken into account: 31.8% of the total group are still students, and there are no manual workers in the group. Thus it would seem that in general, unlike the “self-declared” monolinguals, informants in this group have a high socioprofessional status.

Linguistic Ability

	La Lunette		Saint Mathieu	
understand	59.2%	(32)	58.3%	(7)
	37.0%	(20)	41.6%	(5)
speak	42.6%	(23)	58.3%	(7)
	40.7%	(22)	41.6%	(5)
read	51.8%	(28)	58.3%	(7)
	38.8%	(21)	41.6%	(5)
write	44.4%	(24)	50.0%	(6)
	40.7%	(22)	41.6%	(5)

Proof that many informants in this group have only a very limited knowledge of their other language may be seen in the above table. Two informants in La Lunette claim no ability at all in the language they had claimed to know, and nine do not claim to speak it, even with difficulty. Only five informants claim no reading ability whatsoever, but eight claim no writing ability at all. A higher percentage in Saint Mathieu claims ability in all skills, but even so a constant 41.6% claims to perform “with difficulty” in this language.

It has been said before that informants’ self-assessments are perhaps not always completely reliable, and in this case it is most probable that the tendency would be to over-estimate ability, as the languages involved are prestigious ones, such as English and German. Thus it is quite possible that many of those who simply claimed an ability perhaps should have qualified it “with difficulty”.

Feelings about speaking another language

In La Lunette the majority of informants - 55.5% - claimed that this question was irrelevant for them, thus indicating clearly that they do not use their other language. In Saint Mathieu the figure was lower - 25.0% - but it is nonetheless high among people who are supposed to know a language. 35.2% in La Lunette and 75.0% in Saint Mathieu said that they did like speaking their other language, and 9.2% in La Lunette said they did not like speaking them. It is to be expected that they would claim to like speaking these languages because they are mostly prestigious languages, as the following table shows.



	La Lunette	Saint Mathieu
Not applicable	64.8% (35)	25.0% (3)
English	22.2% (12)	66.6% (8)
Castilian	11.1% (6)	12.5% (2)
German	3.7% (2)	25.0% (3)

It will be noticed that the percentages add up to over 100.0%. This is because some informants claimed to like speaking more than one language.

In La Lunette, 41 informants claimed to know English, 16 German, 19 Castilian, four Italian and one Russian; 25 informants claimed to have two languages and one claimed to have three. In Saint Mathieu eleven informants claimed to have English, five Castilian and four German; seven claimed two languages and one claimed to have three.

Thus there is a very obvious gap between those who claim to have a language and those who like speaking it.

#### Attitudes towards Catalan

#### The future of Catalan

The percentage of informants who saw no future for Catalan, although they constituted a majority, was relatively low: 35.2% in La Lunette and 37.5% in Saint Mathieu (1.1% and 3.3% lower respectively than in the total samples). Nevertheless some distinctly anti-Catalan sentiments were expressed by some of those informants, such as the following: "le catalan est une forme d'orgueil chez certains Catalans: avec la CE ce n'est pas utile pour l'avenir"; "c'est presque aberrant d'inciter les jeunes à aller aux écoles catalanes"; "ça n'ira pas loin - le peuple est étroit d'esprit".

The percentage who did not know was very high in La Lunette - 25.9% - thus 11.6% above the overall response, with a number of informants saying "je n'y ai pas pensé". In Saint Mathieu the number who responded "do not know" was very similar to the overall response: just 1.0% above it at 16.6%.

Other responses given by informants in both *quartiers* were that Catalan has a good future (16.6% in La Lunette and 6.2% in Saint Mathieu), that the future is good because of Barcelona and 1992 (3.7% and 6.2%) and that it will stay as it is (11.1% and 12.5%). There were also three informants in La Lunette (5.5%) who thought there was a revival going on but the future was still uncertain. One of these said "les gens ne sont pas très accueillants. Ils devraient apprendre le vrai catalan. Les jeunes doivent prendre plus de développement". Finally one informant thought the language would never die.



## Maintaining Catalan

The majority of this group were in favour of maintaining Catalan - 75.9% in La Lunette and 66.6% in Saint Mathieu - but not without reservations: the most popular reason given in La Lunette (35.2%) was for traditions and culture, and one informant added that the language should be maintained "à condition de ne pas changer les plaques de rues etc. - qu'ils respectent la France. Ils sont racistes, la majorité". Nobody in either *quartier* said that French was more important, which may seem somewhat surprising, but 18.5% in La Lunette and 33.3% in Saint Mathieu did say that Catalan is of no interest. This accounts for all the informants who were against maintaining Catalan, as well as one of the four in La Lunette who did not know. One of them said it would be better for people to learn English and Castilian, and another that "on essaie de faire la communauté européenne, donc il ne faut pas encourager les langues régionales"

Otherwise, responses were fairly evenly spread across the other options. No informant in Saint Mathieu thought that Barcelona and 1992 would influence the need to maintain Catalan or that it should be maintained because it is a living language.

## The importance of speaking Catalan in the region

Contrary to the whole sample, but in common with the previous group, the majority here felt that it was not important to speak Catalan: 61.1% in La Lunette and 58.3% in Saint Mathieu responded negatively to the first question of this series and 3.7% in La Lunette did not know.

The reason that most informants gave for their negative response was either that French is more important (27.7% in La Lunette and 12.5% in Saint Mathieu), that Catalan is not important (14.8% and 31.2%), or that only old people speak the language (14.8% and 12.5%). These responses seem rather contrary to the responses to the previous question: it seems strange that they should be so keen to see Catalan maintained when most of them can see no point in speaking it. However, it has been noted that few informants thought that Catalan should be maintained for practical reasons, and the most popular reason was "for traditions" thus suggesting that they think of maintaining Catalan in the same way as they would of maintaining some folkloric customs, not because there is any use in it, but simply in order not to lose the old traditions.

A number of informants clearly did think there was some importance in speaking Catalan in the region. The most popular reason in favour of speaking it was simply that the region is in Catalonia (11.1% in La Lunette and 6.2% in Saint Mathieu). These responses, which reinforce those of the group of pure monolinguals, suggest that people from non-Catalan backgrounds have little contact with the language, and are unaware of the extent to



which it is - or could be - used.

### Government involvement

In La Lunette the majority, as in the whole sample, is against government intervention. It is a considerably bigger majority however - 35.1% for and 61.1% against, compared to 42.9% for and 48.4% against in the whole sample. In Saint Mathieu the figures are quite the reverse of the whole sample: 31.3% in favour and 43.7% against, compared to 51.7% and 33.3%. The number who did not know was very low: 3.7% in La Lunette and none in Saint Mathieu. It would appear that this is a subject on which informants have a definite opinion.

Due to the fact that the majority of informants said they were against government involvement in regional languages a high number of them did not respond to the following question: 72.2% in La Lunette and 66.6% in Saint Mathieu. The most popular responses in favour of government involvement, as in the overall sample, were "by subsidies" and "through schools".

In common with the previous group, these informants found it a lot easier to say who else should be involved, although even so 20.4% in La Lunette and 25.0% in Saint Mathieu did not know. "The region" was the most popular response - 24.1% in La Lunette and 16.6% in Saint Mathieu, and "people in the region" - 18.5% and 16.6%. Like the preceding group, this one felt, on the whole, that regional languages are primarily the concern of people in the region, and not a matter for central government. One informant in Saint Mathieu was opposed to anyone doing anything for regional languages because, he said, he was "contre les langues mortes".

### Perpignan as a Catalan town

A very clear majority in La Lunette - 90.7% - and exactly half the group in Saint Mathieu, considered Perpignan to be a Catalan town. There were also four informants in each *quartier* (7.4% in La Lunette and 33.3% in Saint Mathieu) who were not quite sure, but felt it was more or less Catalan.

Only 37.0% in La Lunette and 16.6% in Saint Mathieu thought that Perpignan was typically French, with 9.2% and 16.6% respectively not sure. One of the latter in Saint Mathieu saw it as "plutôt maghrébine".

One informant described Perpignan as a "milieu très fermé" with an "esprit catalan", whilst another said it was Catalan because of "le chauvinisme de ses habitants". Indeed, "the mentality" as an explanation of the town's Catalan nature was a relatively popular response in La Lunette - 12.9%, and by far the most popular in Saint Mathieu - 58.3%, reflecting the feeling often expressed by non-Catalans that the natives of the region have a mentality which sets them apart from other French people.



Two of the most popular responses in La Lunette were not given at all in Saint Mathieu: "its traditions" (31.5%) and "its history" (16.6%). This may suggest that more informants in Saint Mathieu make a direct connection between the language and certain Catalans they know, whereas in La Lunette they are more inclined to think of the culture and history which differ from the rest of France. It should also be borne in mind though that there are far fewer informants in this group in Saint Mathieu, therefore it is physically impossible to be spread over so many different categories.

### Comparison of the two groups

The high degree of similarity between the "true" monolinguals and the "false" ones would seem to indicate that they are not so very different. In terms of personal background there is no difference of any significance: only one out of 109 is not of French nationality, and only six claim a different origin, five of which would still be classed as French. They have almost all spent most of their lives in France, or in other parts of the French-speaking world - in fact only one has spent any time outside of Francophonia. Such a profile would perhaps be expected of the "average" French citizen. The fact that in a sample of 420, only 109 - 25.9% - conform to this suggests that it is by no means the average in Perpignan. Rather the "norm" seems to be to have some kind of link with a non-French language and culture: either Catalan, the historical language of the region, or any one of a whole variety of other languages.

These informants do not, on the whole, have an exceptionally high level of schooling, but the majority do have the *brevet (certificat d'études)* or the *baccalauréat*, so neither are they among the least educated of the sample. The socioeconomic status is relatively good - there are not very many manual workers - but there are a high number of housewives and students among them, especially in La Lunette.

As for their attitudes towards Catalan and other minority languages, there is no difference between them. The majority see no future for the language, yet seem to think it should be maintained. They are however anxious not to see a separatist movement developing, and seem to have rather a kind of sentimental feeling that the language should be maintained. They do not seem to see any importance in speaking the language now, and think that it is the local people who should be occupying themselves with the problems of their language. The majority think Perpignan is a Catalan town, but they do not say this as a compliment. Although most of these informants have made a conscious decision to stay in Perpignan, they seem to have a very negative image of the town and its people.

1. In a number of cases, informants clearly had parents of Spanish origin, but gave their own nationality and origin as French.
2. One informant did not claim Algerian origin, but she and her family

were all born in Algeria, and she was visibly of Arab race.



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## Chapter 11: Sociolinguistic issues raised in this thesis

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This chapter will address some of the sociolinguistic issues which have become apparent in the preceding chapters, and will attempt to show how the phenomena observed in Perpignan may be related to other empirical data on the same subject and thus how they fit into theoretical frameworks already developed. The areas defined here are often overlapping and it is difficult to isolate one for analysis without reference to others; moreover all language behaviour is "in constant interaction with other phenomena, namely culture" (Hamers and Blanc, 1989:2). Thus each area will be treated with reference to others, and with reference to the overall context.

The first section is essentially descriptive, whilst the second will aim to be more predictive.

### 11.1 Languages in contact and bilingualism

The starting point for the study of *languages in contact* is usually seen as the early 1950s, with Uriel Weinreich's work of that name, first published in 1953. Since the appearance of Weinreich's work, the study of language contact has evolved dramatically and the literature in the field is now considerable. This can be largely attributed to the fact that it is not solely a linguistic domain: it can be of interest to the disciplines of sociology, psychology, social psychology and social anthropology as well as sociolinguistics. Inevitably this field of study is constantly changing, as language contact is an aspect of human relations, which are liable to frequent and not always predictable changes. It is also difficult to make theoretical constructs concerning language contact, as the context is all important, and the outcome of a certain situation in one country may be completely different in another. "Sociolinguistics is not like chemistry, and when you put two languages together the same thing does not always happen" (Appel and Muysken, 1987:5). It is for this reason that extreme caution should be exercised in making any statements on cause and effect in language contact situations, and why such statements in the preceding chapters have been generally rather tentative. Fasold has demonstrated the dangers inherent in interpreting cause and effect in correlational data (1984:5-7), and care has been taken in this chapter not to draw too many unfounded conclusions.

Before looking at specific cases of language contact in Perpignan, some concepts of language contact and bilingualism will be discussed a little further.



### 11.1.1 Situations of language contact

Weinreich's initial study stated that languages are in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons; this phenomenon may be described as *individual* bilingualism. Language contact also takes the form of *societal* bilingualism, which occurs when more than one language is spoken in a society. Hamers and Blanc (1989:6) define languages in contact as "the psychological state of an individual who has more than one language as well as the use of two or more codes in interpersonal and intergroup relations". Both phenomena can actually cover a wide range of different situations, which can be theoretically distinguished, but are often harder to define in reality.

There have been numerous attempts to define individual bilingualism. An early definition from Bloomfield (1935:56) was that bilingualism involved "native-like control of two languages", whereas Macnamara (1967:60-61) used the term bilingual of "persons who possess at least one of the language skills even to a minimal degree in their second language". He did however go on to say that bilingualism should be considered as a continuum, "or rather a whole series of continua, which vary amongst individuals along a whole variety of dimensions".

Baetens Beardsmore (1982) attempts to supply a list of points along that continuum, by reviewing some 35 definitions and typologies of bilinguals. These range from the *incipient* bilingual who is at a pre-lingual stage, to the *ambilingual*, the very rare individual who functions with equal competence in every domain in both languages. Between these two extremes are typologies covering every possible degree of ability. Hamers and Blanc (1989:7) point out that most definitions of bilingualism refer only to one dimension of the phenomenon, the level of proficiency in both languages, yet "failure to take into account simultaneously other dimensions in addition to linguistic ones has all too often led to incomplete or erroneous interpretations" (1989:7). They suggest, as relevant dimensions of bilinguality: relative competence, cognitive organisation, age of acquisition, exogeneity, social cultural status and cultural identity (1989:8).

Societal bilingualism on the other hand can be theoretically divided into three forms, according to Appel and Muysken (1987:2). In the first form two languages are spoken by two different groups, both of which are monolingual. In the second form everyone in the society is bilingual. In the third form one group is monolingual, while the other, usually non-dominant or oppressed, is bilingual. Although in practice the linguistic situation in any given society is more complex than any of these, they are useful as an ideal typology.

The objective of this introductory section is not to review all the possible situations of language contact, as has already been done in the literature mentioned in this section. It aims rather to give an idea, albeit a very limited one, of the complexity of the issues involved in the study of lan-



guage contact. Taking into account these complex issues, the examples of bilingualism in Perpignan will be described. Due to the limited information gathered on each individual, the following assessments are of necessity rather simplistic. However, it should be remembered that no testing or observation was carried out, and therefore only a *representation* of language behaviour can be portrayed.

### 11.1.2 Individual bilingualism in Perpignan

Figure 1/2 in 6.1. suggests that there is a very high level of individual bilingualism in Perpignan: 89.6% of informants claim to know a language other than French. The subsequent chapters revealed a certain amount of information about the differing degrees of ability, and whilst it must be acknowledged that every individual bilingual is different, the rest of this section will attempt to describe general typologies within each ethnolinguistic group, using the dimensions of bilinguality listed by Hamers and Blanc, cited above in 11.1.2. (Only the larger ethnolinguistic groups will be described here: Catalan, Castilian, Portuguese and Arabic.)

#### Catalan

As chapter nine revealed, informants with a knowledge of Catalan cover the whole length of the proficiency continuum: from those who merely understand a little Catalan whilst being fully competent in French, to those who prefer to use Catalan in every situation, although in the majority of cases they are equally competent in French. Clearly then it would be impossible to suggest that all informants with a knowledge of Catalan could conform to one typology or definition, but most of them could be assigned to one of the following groupings.

##### 1. *Elderly Roussillonnais*

The majority of Catalanophones in Perpignan are in the 60+ age group (50.6%), and since 89.9% of all Catalanophones are French, it is reasonable to say that most elderly Catalanophones are Roussillonnais and many could fit the following description.

In terms of relative competence, these informants tend to be *dominant* bilinguals - dominant in French, since they have from an early age been obliged to use French in most domains, and although Catalan is often the mother tongue, they have not been able to develop the same degree of competence as in French. As far as age and context of acquisition are concerned, all would be *childhood* bilinguals, but some acquired both French and Catalan as mother tongues, which results in *simultaneous early* or *infant* bilinguality, whereas others spoke only Catalan in the home and acquired French in early childhood, usually at school, a process known as *consecutive childhood* bilinguality. As mentioned by Hamers and Blanc (1989:8), the age and context of acquisition may



lead to differences in cognitive function. However, no attempt will be made here to assess cognitive organisation or function in any group of bilingual informants, as not enough is known about them. (For a full review of this aspect of bilingualism, see Hamers and Blanc, 1989:84-113; Appel and Muysken, 1987:73-81).

The next dimension to consider is *exogeneity*: French and Catalan must both be considered endogenous to the region, although originally and even until the end of the last century French would have been considered more as an exogenous language, imposed on the region by foreign colonisers.

Another important aspect to consider is the sociocultural environment, which can in fact be seen as a very major influence on these particular bilinguals. Since Catalan has been so devalued in the region, these individuals have tended to develop a *subtractive* bilingualism: Catalan "as a non-prestigious language, cannot be maintained adequately, and it is 'subtracted' from bilingual proficiency" (Appel and Muysken, 1987:102). Closely related to this is the individual's cultural identity. As mentioned earlier (2.1.7.), many elderly Roussillonnais do suffer a kind of identity crisis, and do not identify fully with either Catalan or French culture: such people may be described as *anomic* or *deculturated*, that is they have renounced their original Catalan culture and adopted French culture - as seen in the number who stressed that they were "d'abord français" - but they are not perceived, nor do they perceive themselves, as truly French.

Bilingualism is also often described in terms of language use. However, Hamers and Blanc (1989:11) claim that use "is not a dimension but the expression of one or more dimensions of bilinguality". In any case the degree to which informants use Catalan has already been considered in chapter nine.

## 2. *Immigrants from South Catalonia*

This definition applies to older immigrants, not to younger ones who have recently arrived, nor to the offspring of the original ones. Thus informants in this category are old, like the Roussillonnais described above, but they vary from them in almost every way. Concerning the relative degrees of competence, they are unlikely to have an imbalance in favour of French. Indeed French is their third language, being added to a Catalan/Castilian bilingualism in which Catalan would be dominant. Since most of these informants left Spain before or in the early years of the *dictadura*, they would in most cases have been brought up as unilingual Catalans, since Catalan was then the official language, and Castilian was taught as a foreign language. Thus most informants who know both Catalan and Castilian would be either consecutive childhood bilinguals or adolescent bilinguals, depending on the stage at which they learnt Castilian. They acquired such French as they know when they arrived in France, and in that respect are adult bilinguals (trilinguals).



Since they give a much higher value than do the Roussillonnais to Catalan, in sociocultural terms they may be seen as *additive* bilinguals. This means that they give prestige to both Catalan and French, for different reasons, and do not usually lose their first language as a result of gaining a second one. Their cultural identity is more likely to remain monocultural Catalan. Unlike many of the Roussillonnais they tend to be very proud of their Catalan culture and have no wish to identify with French or Castilian culture. Thus they are far less likely than elderly Roussillonnais to become deculturated.

### 3. *Younger Catalans*

This description cannot pretend to cover all younger informants who know Catalan, but aims to describe some general characteristics, based on the majority of younger informants interviewed.

In virtually all cases these informants are dominant in French; in many cases they are *passive* or *receptive* bilinguals, because they understand, but cannot produce Catalan. Others could be described as *functional* bilinguals, as they know enough Catalan for a specific purpose - usually for speaking to grandparents.

The age and context of acquisition may vary immensely: some may be consecutive childhood bilinguals or even simultaneous early bilinguals in the sense that they acquired Catalan at an early age through family members, but rarely if ever would it have been acquired before French. Others are adolescent or adult bilinguals, having acquired what Catalan they know either at school or through living in the region.

Although Catalan is generally devalued, when it is learnt in addition to French, which of course is highly valued, it results in additive bilinguality because French is not threatened by the acquisition of Catalan, and knowing a second language is generally seen as a cultural "plus".

In terms of cultural identity, most of such informants are really monocultural, as they identify fully with French cultural values. It must be noted however, that a number of informants see a value in being, or becoming, *bicultural* and "cultivating their *catalanitat*".

## Castilian

As 10.2.1. made clear, the high percentage of informants who know Castilian is only indicative of widespread French/Castilian bilingualism if Macnamara's minimal competence definition is used. The following assessments will not take into account those informants who have been qualified as monolingual French speakers (a total of 24 informants). The others could be generally classified as follows.

### 1. *Older immigrants*

As a great generalisation, these older immigrants tend to be dominant in Castilian. A number of them, as seen in 10.2.3., do not even



claim any ability in French, although they probably would comply with Macnamara's minimal definition. This imbalance is largely due to the age and context of acquisition: they had to learn French as adults and with an *instrumental* motivation, that is out of economic necessity, not through any desire to be part of French society. According to Appel and Muysken (1987:94), the relation between social and psychological variables and second-language acquisition should not be over-stressed. In this case however it would appear that there is a correlation between at least motivation and second-language acquisition. Although no language testing was conducted with these informants, the interview revealed a relatively low level of French among older Spanish immigrants which can be attributed in large part to the fact that they did not see a need to become part of the French cultural community. This aspect will be considered again under societal bilingualism (11.1.4.).

## 2. *Second-generation immigrants*

There is a great difference between the two generations: whereas most of the first generation are dominant in Castilian, their offspring have tended to become dominant in French, as this is the language they use in most domains. Unlike their parents they tend to be childhood bilinguals, usually consecutive, as French is introduced either by relatives, at some point after the basic acquisition of Castilian, or at school.

Since Castilian is recognised as a prestigious language, these individuals can become additive bilinguals. However, if literacy skills are not acquired in Castilian, French dominance may have a detrimental effect on Castilian, especially if the individual has only limited contacts with other Castilian speakers. This deterioration of Castilian can also depend on an individual's cultural identity. If they become bicultural and identify with both Spanish and French culture they are more likely to maintain a balanced bilingualism. On the other hand, if they become acculturated, rejecting Spanish culture, their bilingualism is liable to become subtractive.

This assessment seems to confirm the findings of Billiez (1985) among adolescents of Spanish origin in Grenoble: they generally spoke Castilian with their parents and French with their siblings. The fact that Castilian is taught in schools means that the language is valued, but they tended to devalue the "mélange" used in the home.

## Portuguese

Just one typology will be described here, referring to the relatively homogeneous group of Portuguese immigrants discussed in 10.3.2.

These informants could be fairly described as balanced bilinguals, since they are competent in both French and Portuguese. As in every case, this does not mean that they have equal competence in every domain or function, rather that neither language is greatly superior to the other.



Most of them are consecutive childhood bilinguals, or adolescent bilinguals: either they learnt French at an early age through living in France, or at school in Portugal, obviously developing it after coming to live in France. Both languages are endogenous to them, since French is the language of the society in which they have chosen to live, and Portuguese is the language of their more immediate social network of relatives and friends.

Even more than the Spanish immigrants, the Portuguese seem to develop an additive bilingualism. It would not appear that Portuguese is highly valued in the French community; on the contrary, Castilian is much more highly rated, yet Portuguese informants seem to be more able to develop a biculturality and to be at ease in French without their Portuguese language or identity suffering. It should be borne in mind that there is no empirical evidence to support these comments: they are based purely on what informants *reported* about their language behaviour, and what other informants said about them.

## Arabic

Only Arabic-speaking immigrants will be described in the following typologies; the majority of French informants with a knowledge of Arabic are additive bilinguals, dominant in French, having learned Arabic with an instrumental motivation, incurring no cultural problems, as they tend to perceive French culture and language as being of higher value.

### 1. *First-generation older immigrants*

For the most part these have never achieved a balanced bilingualism, and remain dominant in Arabic. There are exceptions of course, and the reasons will be seen. Most informants are adult bilinguals, and acquired French under obligation when they arrived in France. Many of them did not intend to stay and had only an instrumental motivation to learn French. Exceptions to the Arabic dominant bilinguals would be informants who learnt French from an early age at school, and thus are consecutive childhood bilinguals.

For many of the older immigrants, not only the fact that they are adult bilinguals, but also the sociocultural environment prevents them from developing a balanced bilingualism. Unlike other, less "visible" ethnic groups, Arabic speakers are likely to suffer from sociopsychological problems because of the "social and cultural conflicts they experience as members of an often discriminated-against ethnic minority, whose language and cultural values are not appreciated" (Appel and Muysken, 1987:113). The majority population expects them to assimilate - and complains vociferously when they do not - but at the same time does not allow them to enter the majority community. This sociocultural phenomenon will be discussed further under societal bilingualism (11.1.4.). Thus they become subtractive bilinguals in the sense that they do not achieve a high level of competence in French,



and their competence in Arabic is devalued and may even deteriorate, in the case of immigrants who have little contact with other Arabs. As for their own cultural identity, they tend not to try to acculturate and remain attached to their own culture, despite the negative value attributed to it in France. This corroborates results of previous studies (mentioned in Appel and Muysken, 1987:114) which show that first generation immigrants tend to be very conservative.

## 2. *Second-generation immigrants*

This definition refers to informants of North African origin born in France or brought to France at a very young age. Unlike their parents they are more likely to be dominant in French, as they will usually be able to use French competently in every situation, whereas their ability in Arabic will be largely confined to the home.

They are generally consecutive childhood bilinguals, having been introduced to French either by older siblings or friends, or at school.

Since no testing was done, it cannot be stated definitively, but it would appear that the younger Arabs have a “native-like control” of French, and thus it would appear that schooling in a second language has not led to semilingualism, that is a “below average” competence in both languages. They are also subtractive bilinguals, in that they are likely to use less and less Arabic, because of its low social status, and may lose all ability in it. This possibility is corroborated by the findings of Rebaudières-Paty (1985) who found that Algerian children in Lorraine often end up unable to speak Arabic and do not want to speak it, even though their parents speak a “mélange” of French and Arabic.

Billiez (1985) noted that adolescents of Algerian origin in Grenoble usually use French outside the home, Arabic tending to be used as a kind of code among Arabs, or as a provocative gesture. She also noted that they rate dialectal Arabic very low and have little motivation or incentive to learn classical Arabic, although some see it as a way of knowing their roots.

Their cultural identity is often extremely confused: they feel very much the conflict between two cultures, and the conflicting pressure can lead to enormous social and psychological problems. They may accept one or the other or attempt to be bicultural, as is the case with many other immigrants. “The relation between language and culture does not seem to be as strong and fixed as is often assumed. [...] The social and emotional problems of certain bilinguals are not caused by their bilingualism as a cognitive phenomenon, but by the social context” (Appel and Muysken, 1987:115).

### 11.1.3 Societal bilingualism in Perpignan

France, in common with a number of countries in Western Europe, is viewed and views itself as a monolingual country. Perhaps more than any European



nation it has developed and promoted its national language for centuries, and encouraged the idea that speaking "good" French is concomitant with being a good French citizen. However, over the last twenty or thirty years, again in common with other European neighbours, France is having its monolingual image challenged, from within and without: the primary reasons are in-migration of workers from ex-French colonies, and the re-emergence of minority regional languages in France. Thus new situations of societal bilingualism are appearing in various parts of France, and Perpignan has examples of both types, the first represented by the Arab immigrants, the second by the indigenous Catalans. There is also a third situation brought about by the presence of Spanish and Portuguese immigrants.

Despite these recent linguistic changes, "France is not a country you think of when you have a multilingual society in mind. Bilingualism is seen as an old-fashioned residue from an earlier age or as a temporary phenomenon, the result of immigration. If there is bilingualism, it is expected to fade away, and develop into monolingualism" (Appel and Muysken, 1987:101).

The following assessment of the current situation in Perpignan and the subsequent consideration of language shift and maintenance will try to demonstrate whether societal bilingualism, in Perpignan at least, is just a passing phase, or whether monolinguality is a myth there.

## Catalan

The presence of Catalan language and culture on French territory is due to annexation. In Fasold's words (1984:10) this practice differs from colonisation only in that people do not have to cross an ocean to do it. Once annexed the population of the region was expected to become part of the "mother country", France, and 2.1. has demonstrated how North Catalonia has slowly been integrated into France, linguistically and otherwise.

Weinreich (2nd ed., 1968:89) notes that in many bilingual situations it is one mother tongue group only who bears the burden of bilingualism, "while the other group expects to be addressed in its own language in all cases of intergroup communication". Inevitably this burden-bearing group is the conquered one, even if they are the majority in the region in question, as might be demonstrated by any colonial situation. It corresponds in fact to the third ideal typology presented by Appel and Muysken (1987:2). Thus for many years Catalans were obliged to be bilingual, and a number of factors in recent times have led to a dominance in French.

Similar situations have been observed in numerous studies; two in particular are mentioned by Fasold (1984:218-227): that of Hungarian towards German in Oberwart, and Gaelic to English in East Sutherland. In both cases small community languages had co-existed with higher-status languages for decades without substantial shift. Social and economic changes brought more speakers of the dominant group into the region and thus increased



the possibility and the desirability of identification with the majority group, which in turn led to a widespread shift to that language. Now the older members of the minority communities are the most fluent speakers of the original language of the group. "In both communities, the local variety of the Low language is at once a source of embarrassment and a strong symbol of ethnic loyalty" (Fasold, 1984:227).

Responses in the study suggest that Catalans have nonetheless not become indistinguishable from other French citizens: they view themselves, and are viewed by others, as a distinct group, although it is often a negative view on the part of others. Hamers and Blanc (1989:156) claim that ethnic groups can only be defined subjectively, and the defining characteristics of a group are those which members of that group consider significant. It would appear that Catalans do consider their language important, even if they do not speak it very often; they have an affective attachment to it. Although the French government has, it would seem, successfully pursued a policy of assimilation, devaluing and stigmatising Catalan (cf Offord, 1990), there remains an affection for the language and even a feeling that it possesses superior linguistic values: many informants claimed it was more "imagée" than French.

#### Castilian

Responses on language use from Spanish immigrants suggest that Castilian is following the pattern observed in other immigrant groups in numerous studies in Western countries: Italian immigrants in Great Britain and various European immigrants in the United States. The older people are usually bilingual, but distinctly dominant in Castilian, whereas their offspring tend towards dominance in French, and identify themselves more readily with French culture. The group as a whole seems to be undergoing a process of *assimilation*, that is giving up its cultural identity and being absorbed into French society. For the earliest immigrants, who arrived as adults, the process of cultural adaptation was much harder, and it has been seen that they tend to retain their Spanish identity. Those born in France however seem to have integrated, and although they are bilingual in Castilian they are otherwise indistinguishable from their indigenous French neighbours.

It would seem that the Portuguese are even more easily assimilated, perhaps due to an apparent greater facility for second language acquisition (see 10.3.4.). The numbers involved in this study are really too small to be able to permit further comment.

#### Arabic

Once again, Arabic is distinguished from the other languages encountered in this study. It is by far the most important representative in France of ex-colonial languages, and speakers of Arabic represent the most highly visible



and discriminated against ethnic group in France.

Referring to Turks in West Berlin, Appel and Muysken (1987:138) make the following comment: "In bilingual communities the fact that different people speak different languages corresponds to a division in different communicative networks. [...] The social division allows the linguistic separation to continue and is symbolically expressed by it. At the same time the linguistic separation helps to maintain the social division". This is as true of North Africans in Perpignan as it is of Turks in West Berlin. It could also be said of Spaniards in Perpignan, as it has been demonstrated that it is not uncommon for them to remain in their sociolinguistic community, having little or no communication with the native French community, for up to fifty years.

However, although both groups are under a certain amount of pressure to assimilate, in the way that minority groups habitually are, particularly in Western countries, they do not have the same degree of choice in the matter.

France traditionally has pursued a very strong assimilation policy, obliging minority groups to attain at least minimal bilinguality in order to survive in France, and a considerably higher level of proficiency in French in order to accede to the better standard of living most immigrants hope to find when they arrive in the country. Clearly though, becoming a dominant French/Arabic bilingual does not usually solve all problems for a North African immigrant; in common with other minority groups from non-European countries, however much they try to assimilate, they "are unable to do so because of some external characteristic, like race, which makes them 'visible' " (Hamers and Blanc, 1989:159). Growing anti-Arab tendencies in recent years mean that assimilation for North Africans is probably becoming more difficult, even if their French is indistinguishable from that of indigenous French speakers. This issue will be discussed further in subsequent sections.

Other non-European groups in a similar situation are Turks, Vietnamese and French West Africans, but these groups together represent only five informants in the whole sample, so no comment can be made on them.

## Conclusions

This assessment of individual and societal bilingualism has of necessity been simplistic and generalised. It does however serve to show how the different language contact situations in Perpignan fit into existing descriptive frameworks and how they compare with other observed phenomena. The following section will go a step further, analysing the existing situation for signs of language shift and thus hazarding some predictions about possible future developments.



## 11.2 Language maintenance and shift

These terms may be viewed, according to Fasold (1984:213), as the long-term, collective results of individual language choice. Language shift simply means that a community shifts from the habitual use of one language to another, with the possible end results of language loss and language death. This movement tends to be towards the majority or prestigious language, but this is not always the case: the French-speaking rulers of England eventually shifted to using the non-prestigious language of the common people, for example. Language maintenance obviously is the opposite of this process, when a community continues using its traditional language, in spite of pressures to shift. Study of these phenomena has led to the formulation of a number of factors which seem to be relevant in whether or not a language shifts or is maintained. The following is a list of factors which may influence language maintenance, based on those presented by Appel and Muysken (1987:33-38).

### 1. *Status*

Various types of status can affect whether or not a language is maintained by a minority group.

- *Economic status.* If the minority group has a relatively low economic status it will tend to shift towards the majority language, as it seems that speaking this language is associated with a better standard of living.
- *Social status.* To a large extent depends on economic status, so if a group has a low economic status it will in all probability have a low social status too, and will tend to see speaking the majority language as a means of improving this status.
- *Sociohistorical status.* This comes from the history of the group. Occasions in the past when they successfully defended their ethnic identity can serve as mobilising symbols for maintaining that identity in the present.
- *Language status.* Different languages do not all have the same status in a community, and this status is often, though not always, linked to social status.

### 2. *Demographic factors*

There are two main factors in this category:

- Decreasing numbers of speakers of a language, leading to decreased usefulness: this can come about through inter-ethnic marriages, where often it is only the more prestigious language that is passed on.
- Geographical distribution of members of the minority group: language maintenance is more likely if the group live concentrated together in one area. This can be affected by immigration and



emigration. Equally, a language is more likely to be maintained in rural areas where there is less pressure to use the majority language.

### 3. *Institutional support factors*

This category refers to how much a minority language is represented in the institutions of the nation or region - maintenance is more likely if the language is used, for example, in government, church and cultural organisations.

- *Mass media* can have an important influence, particularly in modern societies where it is almost impossible to avoid exposure to them. Television and radio broadcasts and newspapers in the minority language can have a powerful effect on maintenance.
- *Religion*. Maintenance of a minority language is more probable if it is used in the religious life of the group.
- *Governmental and administrative services* in the minority language can greatly improve the probability of its being maintained.
- *Education* is very important in modern societies, and the effects of bilingual education in the maintenance of a minority language are considerable.

A further factor mentioned by Appel and Muysken (1987:37) is cultural (dis-) similarity: if the cultures involved are similar, there is a greater tendency to shift.

It is clear that all these factors are very closely interrelated and are each of greater or lesser importance depending on the context. Moreover, Appel and Muysken (1987:38) assert that most research on language maintenance is of necessity *post-hoc* and descriptive, as there are always intervening variables which can cause apparently similar situations to have a totally different outcome, and so predicting maintenance or shift always involves a risk.

Fasold (1984:240) claims that "language shift will occur only if, and to the extent that, a community desires to give up its identity as a part of some other community. Very often the other community is the larger social group which controls a society where the first group is a minority". He admits, however, that it is difficult to predict when and how this would happen.

Language shift is usually attributed to causes such as migration, industrialisation and urbanisation, education in the majority language and other government pressures, higher prestige for the language being shifted to (Fasold, 1984:217). Tabouret-Keller (1972:375) found in France a correlation between industrialisation/urbanisation and language shift. Social mobility, migration into cities, development of roads and railways and media, in-migration of foreign workers and their families are all factors which can accelerate assimilation to standard French.



Language shift does not occur suddenly. The new language gradually spreads, being used in more and more domains, and usually taking several generations. This can be called intergenerational switching. Often among immigrants this process can be much faster - Hamers and Blanc (1989:176) say that it takes typically three generations: the first is monolingual or dominant in the ethnic language; the second is differentially bilingual; the third is dominant or monolingual in the majority language. This pattern is not of course always followed: all the factors influencing language maintenance can intervene.

Weinreich too mentions several situations where language shift may not follow such a rapid course (1968:108) and further adds that "many 'obsolescent' languages have received new leases of life through a rejuvenated language loyalty among their speakers and have made the prediction of the death of languages a hazardous business".

### 11.2.1 Signs of language shift in Perpignan

As has been stressed already, there are too many unknown factors intervening to predict accurately what will happen in a given language contact situation, but it is always possible to look at the current state of affairs, taking into account the above-mentioned factors, and comparing with other situations, and thus make a tentative prediction. Only three situations will be considered here, those of Catalan, Castilian and Arabic, as the numbers involved in the other ethnolinguistic groups are too small to allow any kind of comment.

#### Catalan

According to Fasold (1984:241), the Catalan community fulfils two of the conditions of a community in the final stages of a language shift.

1. Local Catalan is considered inferior, not only to French, but also to other varieties of Catalan. Numerous informants classified their Catalan as "folklorique" or "Roussillonnais" and said that they did not understand "real" Catalan, the variety spoken in Barcelona.
2. Bilingual parents pass on only French to their children. It has been clearly demonstrated (2.1.6.; 4.4.3.) that it was today's grand-parents who began this process, and so, in this respect, the shift would seem to be in a very late stage.

However, as the previous section showed, there are so many factors influencing language shift that it would be dangerous to say that in the next generation Catalan speakers in Perpignan will all have shifted entirely to French.



Looking at the figures of Catalan speakers certainly gives the impression that the language is used less and less: 54.5% of the sampled population claim to know Catalan, but only 40.5% claim to speak it. This fact in itself would not necessarily prove that the ethnolinguistic group of Catalans is shifting from its language, as only 46.5% of the sampled population was born in Roussillon or South Catalonia, and only 24.0% claim to be of Catalan origin. Going simply by these figures it would seem that Catalan is relatively widely spoken. However, being able to speak and actually doing so are completely different matters and it would appear that only 19.2% of the sample use Catalan in the home, and even fewer outside, particularly among younger people. Moreover the numbers of speakers decline sharply with age: only 7.1% of Catalanophones are under 25, whilst 50.6% are over 60. Thus on the basis of this evidence, it would seem that the numbers of speakers are decreasing, therefore the usefulness of the language is decreasing and therefore people speak it less. If these trends continue, a total shift in the next generation could be expected.

On the other hand, Appel and Muysken (1987:32) suggest that "after a period of shift towards the majority language, there is often a tendency to reverse the process, because some people come to realise that the minority language is disappearing, and they try to promote its use. These defenders of the minority language are often young, active members of cultural and political organisations that stand up for the social, economic and cultural interests of the minority group". The existence of such associations as *Arrels* is a sign that there are people who are concerned about maintaining Catalan. Moreover, a very high percentage of "ordinary" Catalans felt that the language should be maintained: 85.9%, and indeed 80.3% of the whole sample also thought this. The reasons are primarily for traditions and culture and for regional identity, suggesting that many Catalans have an affective attachment to the language. They thus express a form of language loyalty based not on the fact that Catalan is more powerful or prestigious than other languages, but on subjective and affective values.

Weinreich (1968:99) defines language loyalty as "a principle - its specific content varies from case to case - in the name of which people will rally themselves and their fellow speakers consciously and explicitly to resist changes in [...] the functions of their language (as a result of language shift)." He also suggests that language loyalty develops through feelings of resentment and frustration, when a minority group considers itself superior but is obliged to yield to the other in language use. Thus there are people - such as those involved in *Arrels* or *Unitat Catalana* who feel very much that Catalan is as valid as French for regular everyday use in all domains, and wish to have the right to prove this by speaking it in Catalonia. The problem they face is that the shift to French has taken place over such a long period that it is hard for people to imagine a reverse in the situation. Such reversals can and do happen: perhaps the most remarkable example of language revival in modern times is that of Hebrew, where one man, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, successfully initiated the restoration of Hebrew as a spoken language after



nearly 1700 years of use only as a liturgical language. Catalan is far from being the half-“dead” language that Hebrew was, and in addition it has the example of South Catalonia just across the border, proof of the vitality of the Catalan language. What might be more questionable however is the ethnolinguistic vitality of the North Catalans. This concept of ethnolinguistic vitality is the total of factors influencing maintenance of a language already considered above, which will now be applied to Catalans in Perpignan.

1. *Status.*

Ever since North Catalonia was annexed by France, it has been necessary to use French in order to take part in government and administration, but it is particularly in this century, due to improved communications, modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation, that not knowing French is a serious disadvantage and the barrier to all social and economic success. As Appel and Muysken (1987:34) point out, “in times of modernisation minority languages suffer a double stigma: they are spoken by poor and traditional, old-fashioned people who cannot fully cope with the reality of modern economic life”. In terms of sociohistorical status, the Catalan nation was once a great colonial power, with a rich literary tradition, but compulsory schooling has inculcated only a knowledge of the past greatness of France and “nos ancêtres les Gaulois”. The awareness of the low status of the Catalan language has moreover been literally beaten into many older people in their early schooldays.

2. *Demographic factors.*

Many informants suggested that Catalan is a lot stronger in the villages of the region, confirming other research into minority language maintenance (in Wales, Mexico and Canada). The telephone survey in Prades did not seem to confirm this, but it certainly seems to be the case that Catalan is little used in town.

3. *Institutional support factors.*

These are virtually non-existent in Perpignan, but it should be noted that mass media seem to be beginning to appear, as has been mentioned already in 2.2.5. The use of Catalan in religion is limited - there is one mass a week in Catalan at the parish church of Saint Mathieu. However, this mass is well attended, and it is a fairly recent innovation, which suggests that it is something people have wanted rather than simply a relic from the past.

Use of Catalan in government and administration is non-existent: a very high number of informants, when asked whether government should do anything about regional languages immediately responded that it does nothing.

In education there is the possibility of studying Catalan, but only as a second language, for a very limited time each week. There is no sign of state schools introducing bilingual education; this is left to private schools.



#### 4. *Cultural similarity.*

Clearly there is relatively little cultural difference between mainstream French culture and Catalan culture. The slow process of turning the region into part of France means that any differences which may have existed prior to annexation have slowly been eradicated, and attempts to reintroduce Catalan traditions are now seen as superficial.

If it were possible to say, on the basis of these factors, whether or not Catalan will survive, clearly the answer would be no, but of course there are always those "intervening variables", which may influence what seems to be the normal course of events. In this case the following factors could possibly have a reverse effect on the shift now in progress:

1. The economic influence of South Catalonia. A number of informants believe that the future of Catalan is good because of the economic power of this neighbour, and they foresee possible economic links with it after 1992.
2. Feeling of loss of identity. Many informants feel an emotional attachment to the Catalan language, and even informants who do not speak it themselves feel it would be a loss to the region if the language were allowed to die. For natives of the region it represents their regional identity and a significant number are concerned that it should remain so.
3. General world sympathy towards minority languages. In the past decade or more, increasing numbers of minority groups are demanding the right to use their language and have official recognition of it, and general public opinion is tending to favour them rather than more prestigious languages of international communication. Perhaps the world is beginning to realise that no language is sacred before the merciless imperialism of (American) English, and even languages which are now prestigious, such as French, are under threat.

#### Castilian

In comparison with Catalan, the changing situation of Castilian is much less complicated. Indeed, it seems to conform almost perfectly to the pattern expected of immigrant groups in the Western world (as described in Appel and Muysken, 1987:42; Hamers and Blanc, 1989:176). First generation Spanish immigrants are often so dominant in Castilian as to be virtually monolingual, whereas second generation immigrants are bilingual, using Castilian predominantly in the home.

In the ethnolinguistic group constituted of informants of Spanish nationality or origin, only five are under 25 (10.6% of the group) and nine are between 25 and 44 (19.2% of the group). This could simply mean that the older



immigrants did not produce many children, or that those children have tended to move away from the region; it could also suggest that younger Spaniards do not identify with Spanish culture (cf 10.2.2.). Only three of the youngest group use Castilian even in the home - two with parents and one with the whole family. In the 25-44 age group, three claimed to use Castilian with the whole family, three with parents, and one with grandparents. Almost all the older informants claimed to use Castilian either with the whole family or with their spouse. It should also be mentioned that a number of them use a mixture of Catalan and Castilian or prefer to use Catalan. Outside the home only one young person claims to use Castilian, and only two in the second group use it, with some neighbours, and one in this group uses it at work: he is a Spanish teacher.

Thus it seems a very clear case of intergenerational switching. Young people of Spanish origin are not likely to drop Castilian completely, as they see a definite usefulness for it, perhaps increased by the prospect of 1992. However, they do not seem likely to try to maintain an ethnolinguistic group.

## Arabic

Like Catalan, Arabic seems to be following the typical pattern of shift among immigrant groups: there is a great difference between the solitary older men (and the other older people who were unable to participate in the survey), and the second generation, all of whom use a "mélange" of French and Arabic at home, but only four of whom claim to use Arabic outside. However, there are intervening variables which could delay, or even postpone indefinitely a total shift to French for the Arab community.

The first variable is "visible ethnicity": as mentioned in the previous section, however impeccable his French may be, an Arab still looks like an Arab, and is usually treated like one, that is, discriminated against. As in many industrialised societies, there is "an 'ethnolinguistic division of labour', where cultural and linguistic boundaries are also class boundaries and upward mobility is denied to minority members" (Hamers and Blanc, 1989:159). The social and psychological effects of this phenomenon can be, and often are, extremely negative. Many young North Africans, realising that it is not simply speaking good French that leads to higher economic and social status, but looking French, may be tempted to conform to the popular image of Arabs, held by many French inhabitants of Perpignan, and fall into drug-dealing and petty crime, particularly when unemployment is high even among indigenous youths. It can have a different effect, however, and can lead to a renewed awareness and appreciation of their ethnic identity, of which language is a part. "Some come to realise that status enhancement lies in the redefinition of the minority status of the whole group by raising the group consciousness of its members, persuading them that their status is illegitimate and that only concerted collective action can improve their position" (Hamers and Blanc, 1989:160). Since the Arabic language is an important feature of the minority, such a mobilisation would involve an increase in its



use.

Such movements have occurred in Britain, among young blacks of Afro-Caribbean origin, who return to a use of a dialect similar to West Indian creoles, as a means of identifying with "black culture". An interesting parallel between this movement in Britain and a reawakening of pride in Arab culture in France is the use of music. Reggae, a form of music originating in the Caribbean, and often with West Indian creole/BVE (Black Vernacular English) lyrics is a powerful symbol of black identity and black pride in Britain, and is also widely appreciated by white people. Similarly in the last few years "Raï" has been gaining increasing success in France. A mixture of traditional Arab and modern Western music, it is popular with young Arabs and non-Arabs alike.

A second factor which potentially could have an influence on the future of Arabic in Perpignan and France as a whole is its religious importance. The Arabic language is essential to Islam, it is indeed believed to be the language of God, and all believers, even if Arabic is not their mother tongue, must be capable of praying and reading the Qu'ran in Arabic. Although probably the vast majority of second generation immigrants are not practising Muslims, they are still aware of their Muslim identity, and in fact the infamous "affaire du tchador" in 1990 was perhaps symbolic of a move towards religious values and traditions among young Arabs.

In more general terms, it is not impossible that young Arabs, disillusioned with the liberty of the west, may seek a return to the traditional values of their parents and at the same time cultivate the use of the parental language.

Finally the growing world importance of the Arabic language should perhaps not be overlooked. As the Arab world demands recognition of its language, and whilst the majority of Arab states remain of economic and strategic importance to the West, people who are bilingual in Arabic and a major European language such as French should be regarded as a valuable commodity.

These factors are all very tentative at the moment, but they suggest that the next generation of Arabs in France may not be so gallicised as might logically be expected.

## Conclusions

The very different situations of the three language groups under consideration here could result in three very different outcomes - or exactly the same one. It would seem logical that they should all assimilate to French, but changing world circumstances could result in an even greater linguistic diversity.



### 11.3 Language attitudes

This final section should complement the previous two, by looking briefly at an aspect of language contact which is inextricably linked with the others and has therefore been mentioned before in different contexts more than once. It will look both at attitudes towards the different languages present in Perpignan and also at how language can be a symbol of group membership, of cultural or ethnic identity.

A great number of studies have been conducted in the field of language attitudes, and it is undeniable that attitudes towards languages are not based on linguistic considerations, but on social connotations, usually linked closely to the people who habitually use the language in question. Languages will not necessarily be viewed in the same way in every situation: the social values they represent can change with changing social circumstances.

Similarly, the association between language and ethnicity is not a fixed one. It is true that language frequently is used as a symbol of a certain cultural, social or ethnic group, but this is not necessarily the case. Appel and Muysken (1987:15), after reviewing a number of studies into language and ethnicity, come to the conclusion that "in the objective view of ethnicity the relationship between language and ethnicity is accidental. Language may or may not be included in the group's cultural bag. According to the subjective view, group members more or less consciously choose to associate ethnicity with language". Hamers and Blanc (1989:157) agree with this conclusion, saying that "language identity is very much a function of the interlocutor's perceptions".

The concept of *language loyalty* is an important one in contexts of language contact. Weinreich (1968:99) suggests that all speakers of any language experience a certain degree of language loyalty, because of the "inescapable emotion" attached to the mother tongue. He goes on to suggest that "differences in temperament may cause people to respond differently to this natural inertia. Beyond that, however, the extent of loyalty that is displayed varies with other socio-cultural factors from one contact situation to the next" (1968:100), and further points out that "language loyalty breeds in contact situations just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders" (1968:100).

Language loyalty is likely to be strong when a language seems threatened. In such cases even individuals can seek to unite a minority group on the language question, especially if it is in danger of becoming obsolete. Language can be made into a symbol even if it has not traditionally been a "core value" in the ethnocultural group.

This section will now simply resume the attitudes informants have towards other languages, and how they perceive their own language in relation to their cultural identity.



### 11.3.1 French

It has not been explicitly stated in this study, but has rather been taken for granted, that French is the most important language in Perpignan. This chapter has dwelt exclusively so far on minority languages and their changing situations, always with the implicit assumption that French is more prestigious and more important. There was no question on the subject, so the following comments are either inferred from other questions, or from unrequested comments from informants.

French is undeniably the majority language: only three informants claim no ability at all in it; moreover it is the only official language in France, and is absolutely essential for anyone who wants to succeed in any way in France. Thus all the informants who have only a limited ability in French claimed that they would like to speak it better.

Because of its extremely strong position, the attitude of most people towards French is favourable, but there are exceptions, notably from the *catalanistes*, who accuse French of "linguistic imperialism". Yet the majority of elderly Catalans - those who would logically be expected to resent French - tended to be those who most readily expressed an attachment to the French language, usually because of the war, or because they feel pride in their French citizenship. For them French is the language of education and modernity, of academic and economic success. The same ideas are probably held by other groups whose mother tongue is not French, but fewer of them seemed inclined to comment on the subject.

### 11.3.2 Catalan

A great deal has been said already about attitudes towards the Catalan language, so this section will be in a sense simply a summary of that.

Although there was no question referring to attitudes towards Catalan people, it has been seen (9.2.) that many informants expressed a negative attitude. Nevertheless, when asked if they liked hearing the Catalan language, a majority said yes. Equally, despite an often negative self-image, a very definite majority of speakers of Catalan said that they liked speaking.

It would appear that the connection between language and ethnicity is not a very strong one in this case, or that the sense of being an ethnic group is not very strong among Catalans. Indeed their ethnolinguistic vitality has been demonstrated to be fairly low, and the number of informants who claimed to be of Catalan origin was very low: 23.8% (100) of the whole sample. Yet 54.5% claimed some knowledge of Catalan, and 41.2% were born in Roussillon.

The Catalan language does have social connotations of a sort, however: it is



associated with Catalan folklore and culture, and is seen as symbolic of the region. That this is the case can be inferred largely from responses to the question on maintaining Catalan in the region. 32.2% of informants felt that Catalan should be maintained because of traditions and culture, 16.4% for regional identity, and 11.4% because it is the language of the region. Thus between them these responses account for 60.0% of the sample, suggesting a strong link between the Catalan language and the region and its culture.

### 11.3.3 Castilian

It seems that the attitude towards Castilian is generally a favourable one, but it is unlikely that this is due to social attitudes towards the local Castilian speaking community. Indeed, little direct comment was ever made concerning this community. For most people, Castilian is simply a useful language, because Spain is not far away; and is prestigious because of its role as a language of international communication.

The Castilian speaking community itself on the whole claims to like speaking Castilian and speakers do not seem to feel a great sense of inadequacy if their French is limited. However, this community is by no means homogeneous, as the Castilian speakers from South Catalonia and those from Andalucia are completely different, and their common language is not sufficient to make of them a single "ethnolinguistic group".

There is no real threat to their language and thus no need for a developed sense of language loyalty.

### 11.3.4 Arabic

Attitudes towards Arabs in Perpignan were expressed freely and regularly by non-Arab informants, with only a very tiny minority of them at all favourable. The only comments on language tended to be annoyance and indignation that Arabs do not automatically all use French. The feeling that if these people choose to live in France they should conform to French ways of living and speaking was very strong, from Spaniards as well as from French citizens. On the subjectivist approach to ethnicity, that is, that ethnicity reflects a shared "us-feeling", Arabs in France have probably developed a sense of being an ethnic group which they may not have had before. Previously they may have identified themselves with their region or country, but French attitudes towards North Africans has led to a general "maghrébin" identity. All the native speakers interviewed claimed to like speaking Arabic, but did not necessarily place it high on the list of languages worth learning. However, Appel and Muysken (1987:20) point out that the fact that "speakers of minority languages exhibit a negative attitude towards their own language in many respects, does not imply that they do not attach any importance to it. The language may be highly valued for social, subjective and affective reasons, especially by speakers from the younger generation



in migration contexts". Until now, French attitudes towards Arabic have tended to be negative: it is simply a native language of the colonies, which should inevitably give way to French. The result may be increased language loyalty on the part of younger immigrants who are unable to identify fully with French culture and so take a deliberate pride in their minority culture. However, the recent growth in racist tendencies, and support for Le Pen, leader of the National Front, has caused a reaction among most "moderate" French political parties, and a more conciliatory attitude towards Arabs. This could result in a greater appreciation of the language by the authorities. This did not seem to be the case in Perpignan at the time of the study, but since then some schools in other parts of France where there is a high percentage of Arabic-speaking children have begun teaching Arabic to all children at infant level.

### 11.3.5 Conclusions

Clearly the depth of information in this area was insufficient to give more than a general impression of language attitudes and the link between language and identity in Perpignan. As with previous sections of this chapter however, it hints at a society in a state of change, with language attitudes potentially developing in a number of ways, which perhaps would have been unexpected a few years ago.

Whereas a few years ago general opinion may have been that minority groups in a society such as Perpignan would inevitably conform to the norms of French society, in language as in other ways, Glazer and Moynihan (1975:4) argue that these ethnic groups may be "*forms of social life that are capable of renewing and transforming themselves*". Thus the next few years may reveal whether or not the Catalans, the Spaniards and the Arabs will renew and transform their minority groups to become major elements in Perpignan society, whether they will remain to a certain extent marginalised or whether they will simply merge into the mainstream of French cultural and linguistic life.



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## Chapter 12: Conclusions

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### 12.1 Assessment of project

The question which must be considered at this point is to what extent this project has been successful in achieving its objectives, and what it can contribute to sociolinguistic knowledge.

This thesis has attempted to describe Perpignan in sociolinguistic terms, starting out with a set of suppositions as to what the situation might be. This final chapter will summarise the findings of the survey and consider to what extent the pre-suppositions proved to be correct.

This first section will consider briefly the adequacy of the project as a representation of the sociolinguistic situation in Perpignan.

Chapters three and four demonstrated that the survey was planned using recognised statistical and sociological procedures. It is true that it was not possible to fill all the quotas in Saint Mathieu, but despite this fact, the total sampled population constitutes 4.8% of the population of the two *quartiers* and can therefore be regarded as an adequate representation of the town. Moreover, since the conducting of the fieldwork of necessity involved living for five months in Perpignan, it was possible to observe in a general fashion the sociolinguistic situations in the town, and there is no reason to suppose that the informants interviewed are in any way unrepresentative of Perpignan. Using a questionnaire proved to be a rapid, effective means of gathering the data necessary to compile a description of sociolinguistic situations in the town, and the personal contact with all informants counteracts the impersonal nature of the computer analysis of the data, resulting in a combination of accurate statistical information and a human perspective.

### 12.2 Summary of findings

#### Varieties of language present

The first discovery of the survey was the degree of multilingualism in Perpignan. It revealed that 89.7% (377) of the whole sampled population know something of a language other than French, and indeed for 18.1% (76) French is not the mother tongue. The most widely known other language is Catalan: 54.5% (229) claim some knowledge of it. It is followed quite closely by Castilian, known to 45.6% (191) of informants. In addition to these two, twenty-three living languages are known to informants, although in many cases only to one informant.



Such widespread multilingualism stems from two major sources. Firstly there is the historical bilingualism brought about by the annexation of the region to France and the consequent imposition of the French language. Three centuries of French rule have resulted in Catalan being very much a minority language in the town, but the survey suggests that it is by no means extinct. The second source of bilingualism is the arrival, over the past few decades, of immigrant groups whose mother tongues are exogenous to the region. A number of these original immigrants have never acquired a very high level of ability in French, remaining virtually monolingual (particularly in Castilian and Arabic) but their children tend to be bilingual.

### Language usage

Regular usage of other languages does not seem to be as widespread as might have been expected, given the above findings. Nevertheless, 30.9% (130) claim to use another language in the home and 58.1% (244) claim that other members of their family do so. Use of another language in the home is far more common in Saint Mathieu than in La Lunette, largely due to a higher proportion of immigrants.

Other languages are used considerably less outside the home; again they are used more widely in Saint Mathieu than in La Lunette (see 7.3.). In both *quartiers* other languages appear to be largely restricted to use in local shops, in the street with friends and neighbours or - in the case of Catalan - in villages. For most people, French is essential for public life, and they do not have much occasion, outside the home, to use their other language.

### Attitudes towards various languages

The great majority of informants who speak another language claimed to like doing so (7.4.). When it comes to classifying languages however, the other languages spoken in Perpignan, with the exception of Castilian, are not highly rated (8.5.). For most informants English, German and Castilian are the most important languages after French, and Catalan, Portuguese and Arabic are not considered worth learning by the majority of informants.

Attitudes towards Catalan were rather ambivalent: 37.8% (159) of informants believed the language had no future and 14.8% (62) were not able to comment on it (8.1.), yet 80.7% (339) said that it should be maintained (8.2.). The overall feeling, from Catalan and non-Catalan alike, is that Catalan, like other minority languages, has a value, which is cultural or sentimental, but that it should not be considered as a rival of French, since French is the national language, which everyone habitually uses for their work and other areas of public life. Whereas only a minority are actively opposed to the maintenance of Catalan, it is equally true that only a minority are actively engaged in promoting its use. Most people prefer to stand somewhere in between these two extremes.



## The situation of Catalan

Several suppositions were made earlier (1.1.2.) about the situation of Catalan in Perpignan, which for the most part proved correct.

Catalan is indeed very little spoken in the town: only 19.2% (78) of the sampled population use Catalan in the home, and even fewer use it outside the home. The number of Catalan-users in Saint Mathieu, a *quartier populaire*, is slightly higher than in La Lunette, but the difference is only 3.9% (see 9.4.2.).

There does seem to be, in many cases, a conflict of identity for French Catalans. Only 23.8% (100) of informants claimed Catalan origin, yet 41.2% (173) were born in Roussillon, and 54.5% (229) claimed a knowledge of Catalan. Many informants who were native to the region would claim to be *Catalans de souche* but many others stressed that they were *Français d'abord*, and Catalan identity was frequently secondary to French.

Undoubtedly the region has been de-catalanised to a great extent: 58.8% (247) of the sampled population were born outside the region, and many older people who were born there had spent their working life elsewhere. However, the findings of this survey (9.4.1.) do not seem to suggest that it is Catalanophones from South Catalonia who are maintaining Catalan in Roussillon. 91.2% (155) of Catalanophones in the sampled population are of French nationality, and the majority of these (71.8%) learnt Catalan in the home, suggesting that they are *Catalans de souche*.

Modernisation, in the form of compulsory education, mass media and improved communications, has resulted in a tendency to converge towards standard French. Very heavily accented French is generally limited to elderly people whose mother tongue was Catalan, or to immigrants; and a number of older middle-aged people are ashamed of their accent. On the other hand, a number of informants are aware of having lost a part of their cultural heritage and are trying to regain a sense of their Catalan roots. This phenomenon is most evident in the small sample of informants from *Arrels* (9.7.), but also in the relatively high percentage of informants who said that Catalan should be maintained for cultural reasons (32.1%) or for regional identity (16.4%).

Although many informants did mention the changes they felt would be brought about by 1992, relatively few seemed to consider that it would change the situation of Catalan: only 4.8% (20) thought that the future of the language would improve because of 1992, and 5.7% (24) thought that Catalan should be maintained because of it.

Catalan is unquestionably more widely known among older people: 71.3% (107) of informants over 60 claim to know Catalan, compared to only 31.4% (22) of informants under 25. Not all older people immediately mentioned



their knowledge of Catalan though, and often dismissed it as a patois, or some other pejorative term. There does not appear to be very widespread support for a linguistic revival among the youngest informants, but there is a growing feeling among the more middle-aged that Catalan is of value. The presence of *Arrels* is also proof that a number of younger people are actively concerned with maintaining the language and ensuring that it is not completely lost in the next generation.

### Other language contact situations

Apart from Catalan, two other minority language groups were considered in some detail, Castilian and Arabic. It was seen that both ethnolinguistic communities are undergoing a process of intergenerational switching and have much in common. In both cases many of the older first generation immigrants are unable to communicate adequately in French, and the younger generation is bilingual, tending to be dominant in French. However, attitudes towards these two groups, and non-linguistic value judgments on the two languages vary greatly and could affect the subsequent development of the shift.

Although there can be no question that subsequent generations of Spanish and Arab extraction will be brought up speaking French, it is less of a foregone conclusion that they will be monolingual. Chapter eleven indicated a number of factors which could intervene to prevent a very rapid and complete linguistic assimilation.

Modern Western nations have a distinct tendency to regard any kind of societal bilingualism as a problem, and it is undeniable that difficulties incurred by having sectors of a society which cannot communicate with each other can and do hinder the functioning of that society. In fact it is a practical necessity for all inhabitants of Perpignan to learn French. Yet, as Fasold (1984:9) points out, "societal multilingualism can contribute to a more dynamic society. A multiethnic society, possibly with concomitant multilingualism, is arguably a richer society than a nation with only one dominant ethnic group. The multiplicity of life-styles and world-views can make such a nation a more exciting and stimulating place to live". From this point of view it would be desirable if the Catalans, Spaniards, Arabs and others in Perpignan could contrive to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage, whilst at the same time becoming sufficiently acculturated in French to be able to partake in mainstream French life.

## 12.3 Final comments

The preceding section has demonstrated the various aspects of Perpignan's sociolinguistic situation which have been highlighted by this survey. Clearly in a project of this nature it is impractical at this point to attempt to pull together all the different aspects and come to a single, all-embracing



conclusion. All that can be done is to recapitulate on what the project has achieved and to consider ways in which its findings could be further worked upon.

This project has revealed a great linguistic diversity within a relatively small area, and has also revealed a certain amount of cultural and linguistic uncertainty and change. In a sense it has only scratched at the surface of this situation; whilst it has succeeded in describing the general trends of sociolinguistic patterns in the town, it has highlighted a number of areas which would repay closer inspection.

The advantage of direct questioning of a large cross-section of the population is the wide range of informants who were encountered, and the consequent representation of the overall sociolinguistic situation. This has resulted in a very good overview and an insight into several situations which could profitably be investigated in a different way.

Obvious examples of this are the minority language groups, particularly Spaniards and Arabs. It would be particularly interesting to conduct a series of studies into these groups over the next few years, to see how the process of language shift observed in 1988 develops. As Lieberman (1980) rightly comments, the lack of a temporal element can easily result in the misinterpretation of data, and follow-up studies in this area could prove most enlightening on the subject of language shift among immigrants. Similarly a closer study of the Catalan element could provide valuable information into the maintenance or loss of that language.

Perpignan in many ways is undergoing a change of identity: for many of its inhabitants it has lost its old Catalan identity and has not as yet replaced it with a French identity, but has become a sort of amalgam of all the nationalities, races and ethnolinguistic groups who have taken refuge there. If language is the one of the clearest ways in which men and women express their identity, then this study, by portraying Perpignan in sociolinguistic terms portrays, in a sense, its changing identity. It cannot claim to have covered everything, but as far as is possible it has recorded truthfully the sociolinguistic image of Perpignan of Summer 1988.



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# Appendix A: Details of questionnaire

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This appendix lists the questionnaire used for the survey.

Questionnaire

Connaissance de langues

1. Est-ce que vous avez une autre langue, à part le français?

2. Laquelle (lesquelles)?

Catalan

Castillan

Portugais

Arabe dialectal

Arabe classique

Autre

3. Est-ce que vous comprenez, parlez, lisez et écrivez—plus ou moins bien—ces langues?

<div>Français</div>	<div>c</div>	<div>p</div>	<div>l</div>	<div>e</div>
<div>Catalan</div>	<div>c</div>	<div>p</div>	<div>l</div>	<div>e</div>
<div>Castillan</div>	<div>c</div>	<div>p</div>	<div>l</div>	<div>e</div>
<div>Portugais</div>	<div>c</div>	<div>p</div>	<div>l</div>	<div>e</div>
<div>Arabe dialectal</div>	<div>c</div>	<div>p</div>	<div>l</div>	<div>e</div>
<div>Arabe classique</div>	<div>c</div>	<div>p</div>	<div>l</div>	<div>e</div>
<div>Autre</div>	<div>c</div>	<div>p</div>	<div>l</div>	<div>e</div>

4. Comment avez-vous appris ces langues?

Français

Catalan

Castillan

Portugais

Arabe dialectal

Arabe classique

Autre



Utilisation de langues

5.	Est-ce que vous parlez une autre langue en famille?	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	Si oui, avec qui?	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	Est-ce que d'autres membres de la famille utilisent une autre langue?	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	Si oui, avec qui?	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	Est-ce qu'il y a des livres catalans chez vous?	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.	Combien?	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.	Est-ce qu'il y a des disques catalans chez vous?	<input type="checkbox"/>
12.	Combien?	<input type="checkbox"/>
13.	Est-ce que vous avez un téléviseur multistandard?	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.	Est-ce que vous regardez TV3?	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.	Est-ce que d'autres membres de votre famille regardent TV3?	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.	Est-ce que vous utilisez une autre langue dans d'autres situations?	
	<i>Au travail—avec des collègues?</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Au travail—avec des clients?</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Avec des commerçants?</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Dans la rue?</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Dans les villages?</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Sur les terrains de sports (rugby, boules, ... )?</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Au café?</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Dans certaines associations?</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.	Est-ce que vous aimez parler catalan?	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.	Est-ce que vous aimez entendre parler catalan, puisque vous ne parlez pas ou parlez difficilement cette langue?	<input type="checkbox"/>
19.	Est-ce que vous aimez parler d'autres langues?	<input type="checkbox"/>
20.	Laquelle/lesquelles?	<input type="checkbox"/>

Attitudes

21. Quel est l'avenir du catalan ici?
22. Faudrait-il essayer de maintenir la langue catalan ici?
23. Pourquoi?
24. Croyez-vous que ce soit important, aujourd'hui, de savoir parler catalan ici?
25. Pourquoi?
26. Pensez-vous que c'est le gouvernement qui devrait s'occuper des langues régionales?
27. Comment?
28. Qui d'autre devrait s'en occuper?
29. Selon vous, quelles sont les langues qu'il faut connaître? Classez-les.
- Allemand
- Anglais
- Arabe
- Catalan
- Espagnol
- Portugais
- Russe
- Autre
30. Toutes sortes d'affirmations circulent au sujet de la ville de Perpignan. Pour chacune d'entres elles, dites si vous êtes d'accord.
- Méditerranéenne
- Touristique
- Catalane
- Vivante
- Morte
- Commerciale
- Typiquement française
31. Vous êtes d'accord avec l'affirmation que Perpignan est une ville ...
- ... catalane
- ... française
- Qu'est-ce qui fait de Perpignan une ville ...
- ... catalane?
- ... typiquement française?



Information personnelle

32.	Age	<input type="text"/>
33.	Sexe	<input type="text"/>
34.	Nationalité	<input type="text"/>
35.	Origine, si différente	<input type="text"/>
36.	Lieu de naissance	<input type="text"/>
37.	Lieu de naissance du père	<input type="text"/>
38.	Lieu de naissance de la mère	<input type="text"/>
39.	Lieu de naissance des grands-parents	<input type="text"/>
40.	Niveau de scolarité	<input type="text"/>
41.	Profession	<input type="text"/>
42.	Profession du père	<input type="text"/>
43.	Profession de la mère	<input type="text"/>
44.	Profession de l'époux/se	<input type="text"/>
45.	Où avez-vous habité pendant ...	
	... <i> votre enfance?</i>	<input type="text"/>
	... <i> votre jeunesse?</i>	<input type="text"/>
	... <i> votre vie active?</i>	<input type="text"/>
	... <i> votre retraite?</i>	<input type="text"/>

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**Appendix B: INSEE census figures**

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La Lunette						
Age on 1-1-83	Total		Male		Female	
Total	5812	100.0%	2648	100.0%	3164	100.0%
0-19	1048	18.0%	504	8.7%	544	9.3%
20-64	3292	56.6%	1488	25.6%	1804	31.0%
65 or +	1472	25.3%	656	11.3%	816	14.0%
0-4	228	3.9%	108	1.8%	120	2.1%
5-9	248	4.3%	100	1.7%	148	2.5%
10-14	248	4.3%	132	2.3%	116	2.0%
15-19	324	5.6%	164	2.8%	160	2.8%
20-24	388	6.7%	180	3.1%	208	3.6%
25-29	356	6.1%	204	3.5%	152	2.6%
30-34	316	5.4%	144	2.5%	172	2.9%
35-39	348	6.0%	160	2.8%	188	3.2%
40-44	220	3.8%	100	1.7%	120	2.1%
45-49	304	5.2%	136	2.3%	168	2.9%
50-54	336	5.8%	124	2.1%	212	3.7%
55-59	480	8.3%	204	3.5%	276	4.8%
60-64	544	9.4%	236	4.1%	308	5.3%
65-69	340	5.8%	168	2.9%	172	2.9%
70-74	460	7.9%	224	3.8%	236	4.1%
75-79	356	6.1%	156	2.7%	200	3.4%
80-84	168	2.9%	68	1.2%	100	1.7%
85-89	100	1.7%	28	0.5%	72	1.2%
90 or +	48	0.8%	12	0.2%	36	0.6%



Saint Mathieu

Age on 1-1-83	Total		male		female	
total	4232	100.0%	1904	100.0%	2328	100.0%
0-19	916	21.6%	460	10.9%	456	10.7%
20-64	2248	53.1%	1072	25.3%	1176	27.8%
65 or +	1068	25.2%	372	8.8%	696	16.4%
0-4	176	4.2%	92	2.2%	84	2.0%
5-9	160	3.8%	72	1.7%	88	2.1%
10-14	272	6.4%	132	3.1%	140	3.3%
15-19	308	7.3%	164	3.9%	144	3.4%
20-24	380	9.0%	184	4.3%	196	4.7%
25-29	272	6.4%	128	3.0%	144	3.4%
30-34	276	6.5%	140	3.3%	136	3.2%
° 35-39	168	4.0%	80	1.9%	88	2.1%
40-44	256	6.0%	128	3.0%	128	3.0%
45-49	228	5.4%	132	3.1%	96	2.3%
50-54	184	4.3%	68	1.6%	116	2.7%
55-59	256	6.0%	96	2.3%	160	3.7%
60-64	228	5.4%	116	2.7%	112	2.7%
65-69	248	5.9%	120	2.8%	128	3.1%
70-74	260	6.1%	96	2.3%	164	3.8%
75-79	284	6.7%	88	2.1%	196	4.6%
80-84	156	3.7%	44	1.0%	112	2.7%
84-89	84	2.0%	24	0.6%	60	1.4%
90 or +	36	0.9%			36	0.9%

The above tables are slightly adapted from microfiches of the 1983 INSEE census of Perpignan. They show the total population broken down by age and sex, with each division shown as a percentage of the total population. These were the tables used to construct the quotas of age and sex used in this study, as follows:

La Lunette

Age group	total of group	5.0% of group
15-24	712	35.6
25-44	1240	62
45-60	1120	56
60+	2016	100.8

Saint Mathieu

Age group	total of group	5.0% of group
15-24	688	34.4
25-44	968	48.4
45-60	668	33.4
60+	1296	64.8



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