

Language Transmission among Catalan and Galician Immigrants in New York City

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1. Introduction

The United States has a long tradition of accepting immigrants from many cultural and linguistic backgrounds, which has resulted in it being a rich multilingual society. Surprisingly, however, its inhabitants tend to believe that English is the rightful language of their country, and therefore there has been a tendency to abandon the mother tongue among linguistic minorities, as if language shift was a natural step for full membership in the community (Sandra del Valle 2009). This is despite democratic practices that have supported the country's multilingualism historically (García and Fishman 2002; Schmidt 2009), and despite of the rest of the world seemingly moving in the direction of making their citizen's multilingualism a societal priority –e.g., the recent promotion of trilingualism in the European Union (Nelde 2007). With foreign language teaching proving to be a growing business (García 2009; José del Valle 2006), and a non-negotiable requirement in higher education (MLA 2009), the paradox of not taking advantage of the existing multilingualism in the country becomes obvious.

In this paper I present a study of language practices and ideologies observed within a group of multilingual families living in New York City, in which one of the parents was born and raised in Catalonia or Galicia during the governmental campaigns directed to the revitalization of the local, but minoritized, language. In both ethnic contexts, candidates for transmission are two globalized languages with a wide presence in the community, Spanish and English, and a minority language (Catalan or Galician). Both immigrant populations differ however in the historical and present sociolinguistic situation in their original territories, as well as in the dominant linguistic ideologies there. This divergence correlates with the fact that, in our sample, Catalan families transmit their minoritized language in higher proportion than Galician ones. We therefore found that all Galician families transmitted Spanish, but not all did Galician; in contrast, Catalan families prioritized the transmission of Catalan, often at the cost of Spanish. A motivational analysis revealed that the determinant factor in the divergence was the distribution of integrative and personal values among the available languages and the symbolic role that speakers assigned to their linguistic behavior in the construction of their minority identity. Likewise, it is pointed out that the dominant linguistic ideologies in the original territories, tending to *monoglossia* in Catalonia and to *heteroglossia* in Galicia, were maintained in the diasporic context, where we can observe, in an accelerated and condensed manner, that they produce divergent results in intergenerational transmission.

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2. Immigrant Language Transmission

Many scholars have pointed out that, despite the linguistic richness of the United States, the general tendency regarding intergenerational language transmission is that, by the third generation, originally multilingual families speak only English (Fishman 1966; Silva-Corvalán 2001). Exceptions to this rule normally correlate with cases in which social and economic segregation, or the establishment of solid ethnic enclaves, has allowed an encapsulated economic or religious activity that favors the maintenance of the language (García and Fishman, 2002; García 2003.) In the case of Spanish, with a salient historical presence throughout a great portion of the national territory, it has been documented that transmission can cross the third generation barrier, thanks to the support of the media and especially to the continuous flow of migration from Spanish speaking countries (Lipski 2008; Silva-Corvalán 2001; Finegan and Rickford 2004). In the context of the upper-middle class urban population that we study, the popularity of a cosmopolitan ideology (Brennan 1997) could also be supporting the maintenance of family multilingualism, although with the caveat that certain combinations of languages are clearly favored (for example, bilingualism in Spanish and English, or early acquisition of Mandarin, whose popularity is growing within this population due to economic projections), while other language combinations would be less appreciated.

In most studies on language maintenance, the importance of close-knit social networks is emphasized in order to maintain the ethnic language in the face of a socially dominant language and culture, and to reverse language shift (García 2003). Now, while the decision to transmit one's language is ultimately a personal one, many studies have observed the same patterns of network effects: some communities are more language-solidary than others, and a minority language might survive longer among them as a consequence. In addition to network connections, most authors agree that attitudes and valences which speakers associate with their languages (and with those who speak them) will determine the survival of a language (Woolard 1998; Shieffelin et al. 1998; Wölck 2004; Lasagabaster and Hugué 2007). Overall attitudes in the environment of the speaker, such as whether bilingualism is accepted and valued by the individual, the family, the school and society at large (García 2009), how public use of a minority language in the presence of monolingual majority speakers is viewed (Wölck 2004), the relative utility (real or perceived) of a given language (Grin and Vaillancourt 1997; Henley and Jones 2005); are extremely important for speakers in order to decide whether to use their language and transmit it to their children or not. More intimate perceptions, such as regarding language as a core cultural value (Woolard and Shieffelin 1994; Lanz and Juarros-Daussà, *to appear*), even just the perceived abstract importance and beauty assigned to one's languages (Wölck 2005), all influence the individual's language choices.

2.1. *Expectations on Intergenerational Transmission*

Given the circumstances mentioned above, reasonable expectations when it comes to the languages chosen for transmission by Catalan and Galician immigrants living in NYC can be summarized as follows. First, some families will converge in English, be it because of the dominant ideology, or because it is the only shared language within the family. It could well be that the cosmopolitan ideology and the opportunities available in NYC relatively diminish the proportion of monolingual families, but it is to be expected that this still be a salient possibility (especially for families in which one of the parents has English as a first language). On the other hand, for families that decide to raise their children multilingually, the most reasonable prediction is that the chosen languages would be English and Spanish, due to their dominant presence in the context of the city and the Nation. Especially in those cases in which parents are providing each one a language different from English, the probability that Catalan is chosen above Spanish is small (since most parents follow the usual strategy of one parent, one language, and bilingual parents are thus forced to choose one of their languages for transmission.)

Regarding the factors that determine parents' choices, it is expected that economic and professional factors associated to the available languages play an important role. If so, we might expect that both English and Spanish once more displace both Catalan and Galician for transmission.

2.2. *Fortunate Immigrants in NYC*

Catalan and Galician immigrants currently living in the city of New York can be characterized as what Lindenfeld and Varro (2008) call *fortunate immigrants*, or opportunity immigrants.² What sets these immigrants apart from other, less fortunate ones (Extra and Verhoeven 1993) is that they are driven by opportunity, not by necessity: they could very well make a living in their original countries (often even within middle or high socio-economic class), but they take an opportunity such as a scholarship, a job offer or a partnership in order to relocate to NYC, and will stay there only as long as this arrangement works for them. They are thus immigrants of choice that upon arrival to the new country do not, for the most part, endure many of the re-settling struggles typical of migration. Perhaps as a consequence, they do not usually seek out the support of a community of compatriots who have already established a minority identity, and do not suffer the consequences of a reputation linked to their ethnicity preceding them. As emigrants immersed in complex social networks expanding over two continents, they tend to keep tight links to their extended families in the home country, oftentimes travelling the relatively short 7 to 8-hour plane trip twice and even three times a year, and aided by telephone and electronic communications.

While mixed marriages are the norm (many to American citizens, but many others to immigrants from another country with the same profile –in which case an additional language is introduced into the mix), there are some same-ethnicity marriages –mostly dating before the migration event. For our study, only those families that had already been in the US for a minimum of three years were accepted; most, however, had been in the new country for seven, ten or (many) more years. In socio-economic terms, these families consider themselves to be middle class, with some members pertaining to upper-middle class: especially among the American spouses, there is abundance of lawyers, consultants, business people and traders, computer scientists and architects; among both spouses one finds art dealers, professors and teachers, researchers, sanitary personnel, as well as housewives who spend their time raising the children and taking care of the home and the family. Having assimilated to the urban culture of NYC, our participants expressed highly ambitious expectations regarding the educative and professional, as well as personal, future of their children: they take for granted that the children will know several languages, will be educated intellectually and artistically, and in sum, will have access to the best educative offers in the country. The majority of parents carefully select the schools that will be most conducive to a cosmopolitan culture with an important component of internationalization, and therefore many of these children attend private bilingual schools (in many cases adding additional languages to the ones spoken at home.)

Upon arrival to the United States, these migrants encounter a highly multilingual society that nevertheless promotes the hegemony of English (García and Fishman 2002; Schmidt 2009), and in which Spanish is massively present in all social spheres, with the Hispanic population enjoying a growing visibility (Leeman, in prep.), and Spanish being commodified by certain agents with cultural and commercial purposes (del Valle 2006). Their minority language, in turn, has a minimal presence, if at all, in the national context, although in NYC itself there are certain agents that make it more visible. For example, in the case of Catalan, through cultural events organized by the resident Delegation of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia and its cultural Department, the *Institut Ramon Llull*; a grassroots ethnic association called the *Catalan Insitute of America*; the local fan group of the Barcelona Soccer Club; the *Catalan Center of NYU* until it was dissolved in 2011; the *Càtedra Mercè Rodoreda* in CUNY; the Catalan language and culture classes offered by Columbia University to college students; and the Catalan classes occasionally offered to the general public (including children) by the *Instituto Cervantes*. Galician has less support, but there is an ethnic enclave in Queens around the *Casa Galicia*, and the *Instituto Cervantes*, together with the *Center for Galician Studies* in CUNY, periodically sponsors academic or cultural events surrounding the Galician language and culture.

In the remainder of this article, I will present my findings regarding Catalan immigrants first, followed by those regarding Galician. A section comparing both cases will end the paper.

² According to computations based on the existing censuses for Spaniards living abroad, the Catalan community in NYC would be composed of around 1,830 individuals, of which 332 are minors (Antoni Montserrat, p.c.).

3. The NYC Study: Catalans

This article is based on a study that has both ethnographic and quantitative data. The latter included a short anonymous survey (in English) that was handed out in person, with the petition that participants send their answers by mail (self-addressed envelope and post was provided). The description of the survey and the relevant quantitative results were presented in Casesnoves-Ferrer and Juarros-Daussà (2011), so in this article I will only summarize them, and I will focus on the qualitative data, which is based on individual or reduced group interviews, participant observations, and informal conversations carried out during the last four years.

Twenty families were selected in which one of the parents was born and raised during the years of the intense linguistic campaigns designed to restate Catalan as the language of social, cultural and family interaction, after forty years of persecution, and which continue today (Comajoan 2004; Juarros-Daussà and Lanz 2009). All children, in turn, had American nationality by birth. The mean of residence in the USA was three years, although many participants had been living in the country for between five and seventeen years. In our study, we selected only those families in which the parents claimed an explicit will to maintain and transmit a Catalan minority identity to their children to some extent, and those that had decided to raise their children to be multilingual. In order to recruit the participants, we used contacts provided by the *Catalan Institute of America* and the *Instituto Cervantes*; additionally, snowball technique and opportunity provided more subjects.

As presented in Casesnoves-Ferrer and Juarros-Daussà (2011), the survey revealed that the transmission of English in all families was ensured, since participants claimed that all members of the family were competent in this language. Regarding the other two languages provided by the Catalan parent, while 78.9% of the eldest children knew Catalan, only 68.8% knew Spanish (percentages for the second child were 78.9% and 60% respectively)³. That is, while there were many cases in which both languages were transmitted, there was an important proportion of families in which the transmission of Catalan had been prioritized over that of Spanish. This piece of data is perhaps more surprising if we consider that the non-Catalan spouse knew Spanish in 20% more cases than Catalan, meaning that Spanish (together with English) was a common language in the marriage in more cases than Catalan. As an explanation for these results, the authors present quantitative data from the same survey regarding linguistic attitudes. Casesnoves-Ferrer and Juarros-Daussà conclude that (my translation):

The key [for explaining the preference for Catalan over Spanish in transmission] (...) is found, not in instrumental (economic or practical) values associated with the minority language, but in the role that the minority language has in the construction of identity, personal satisfaction, and the feeling of belonging to the group (integrative and personal values)

Concretely, while all participants assign higher instrumental value both to English (88%) and to Spanish (74%) than to Catalan (50%), the latter is associated with integrative (97%) and personal (96%) values in a higher proportion than English (with 47% and 65% respectively) and Spanish (57% and 69% respectively.) In the personal interviews, this distribution of values is represented clearly. For example, a father admits that⁴

³ Careful qualitative observation reveals that the children are located throughout the bilingual continuum (Silva-Corvalán 2001), and their linguistic productions show phenomena expected from the intense language contact in which they are immersed: thus, one usually finds borrowings, calques, convergences and interferences (some caused by incomplete acquisition of the languages with the weaker input, others typical of the bilingual conversational context or the resulting contact variety), as well as diverse levels of code-switching in their utterances. In fact, adults themselves, native speakers of Catalan and Spanish, also present linguistic phenomena resulting from language contact, some due to the attrition oftentimes observed in immigrant speakers, and some related to the bilingual variety used in one of the complex social networks in which they insert themselves.

⁴ In order to save space, extracts from the interviews are presented here in English, regardless of whether the original was uttered in this language, Spanish or Catalan. Identifiable details, including person or place names, and even the alchemy of particular languages present in the family, have been changed in an attempt to preserve the privacy of the informants.

Well, no, [Catalan] will not be of use to them for finding a job and so on, no... For that, probably Spanish is better.

In fact, the economic and professional value of Spanish is the main reason why many parents include this language in the family, either by adopting it for daily communication, or by signing their children up for Spanish classes (in a limited number of cases, making use of the excellent bilingual programs available in the city's public school system), or using a third person as a more or less regular babysitter or nanny. A mother who uses Spanish regularly with her children (and not Catalan), for example, explains her option by saying:

Between Catalan and Spanish, of course, it was more *loogical*... simply for practical reasons, that the children learned Spanish. Simply because of the impact that it could have in their jobs in the future, and their relation with the people in Spain and other countries here.⁵

However, the same mother explains that

When I learned that they were offering Catalan classes for the children here, we signed them up immediately, because I realized that it was important for them to understand where they come from.

The result is that her children speak (and read) Spanish with high proficiency, while their knowledge of Catalan is mostly passive. The opposite case is presented by another family in which the high linguistic complexity within the family caused the parent to choose Catalan as the regular language of communication with her children, while the learning of Spanish was left to the school, to exposure during trips to Catalonia, and the occasional babysitter. The mother says,

I think so, nowadays, that Spanish gives them one more tool to find a job [...] it is only that I speak to them in Catalan, and he [father] in Japanese, and then English [...] but I hope that they will also learn Spanish in the future.

It is worth noting that Catalan is not devoid of all instrumental value for these immigrants, perhaps reflecting the effect of the linguistic policies that they experienced growing up (and that continue today):

Time ago, it wasn't the case, but nowadays, Catalan can be of use to them. In Catalonia, you know, if you want to get a job you need to pass level C⁶ [...] Even Tom [husband] is learning it, just in case we come back!

The preference for the minority language when it comes to transmission, therefore, is not dependent on the instrumental values associated with it, but with the fact that its perceived integrative and personal values are higher than those of Spanish or English. Regarding integrative values, a mother says,

On top of [my family] hardly ever seeing him [the child], when he goes there, he is not going to be a foreigner, is he?

Likewise, another mother says,

I want them [my children] to have cousins, and uncles and aunts, and grandparents [...] otherwise, that's sad, isn't it?

⁵ The use of softeners like "of course" and "it was logical" were also accompanied in this speaker by a lengthening of the stressed vowels and a gesture that indicated distance with the content of the utterance. We take this to be a sign of the speaker being (passively) aware of the ideology of the interposition of Spanish (Pujolar 2010), as well as expressing personal doubts about the family decision to have complied with its pressure.

⁶ Reference to the exams of Catalan language that are required in order to maintain a job in the majority of official posts in the territory.

indicating that speaking Catalan is a requirement for fully belonging and participating in the activities of her extended family. Regarding social prestige, once more we find shadows of the revitalizing efforts of the last decades. A mother reports the sarcastic comment of a public figure, who happened to be a family friend regarding the issue:

I told him that my children spoke Catalan and German on top of English, but no Spanish, and he goes and says: “We’ll have to give them a medal!”⁷

However, complaints abound about how the option to transmit Catalan instead of Spanish is received in the original territory, since it is not always favorable:

I have friends [in Catalonia] that don’t understand why I would be making efforts here for my children to learn Catalan (...) and they tell me, ‘why, Catalan? What are they going to do, with Catalan?’

When I go to Barcelona, what I want is to speak Catalan [...] I get very annoyed when my mother, the shop owner... I don’t know, EVERYBODY does it [...] they speak to me in Spanish [...] especially if they hear me speaking with Tim [husband]. And I insist that they speak even to them in Catalan [...] that they can never practice it here.

On top of the school here [NYC] only caring about English (...) then, there [in Catalonia] the only thing that [the children] hear is, “Oh, how cool that they speak English!” (...) And I have to keep hearing (...) that “They should also learn Spanish, you know?”

Perhaps the most determinant value is the role that the minority language has in the construction of identity and the personal satisfaction derived from speaking it (Wölck 2004), which in the survey was higher for Catalan than for Spanish or English. Explaining her reasons for transmitting Catalan to her two sons, a mother simply answers:

It is who I am; I can’t find it within myself to talk in any other language to my child [...] is it what comes from my heart.

For some, speaking in Catalan with their children offers them a way to process the feeling to be between two worlds, which comes with the migrant experience. It gives them enough illusion of returning home without actually returning, and it thus keeps the wish of going back to a simpler past in which they didn’t have the dual identity that characterizes the migrant experience (Lanz and Juarros-Daussà, in prep.):

Because at the end, you are neither from here nor from there, and having these roots is a way to feel identified with something. And language is the point of departure; if you don’t have the language, everything behind it is meaningless.

Certainly, the relation that many of these emigrant Catalans have with their minoritized language seems to have a singular intimacy:

I have been living here for fifteen years, and I speak English every day, and so on [...] but laughing [...], I can only laugh in Catalan.

In sum, in greater proportion than expected, emigrant Catalans in New York choose their minoritized language in intergenerational transmission, sometimes even at the cost of Spanish, which, as a global language and one with a salient presence in the country, would seem to have more probabilities for transmission. Parents that transmit Catalan seem to be motivated, not by economic and practical reasons, but by the central role that the minoritized language plays in the construction of identity both for the parents and, in projection, for their children.

⁷ Supposedly, because of having violated the interposition of Spanish (see note above).

Against the backdrop of everything exposed above, one might ask to what extent this situation, in which the transmission of a minority identity is done preferably through the transmission of a minoritized language, even in the presence of another language with more global and community support, is general to other sociolinguistic profiles that can arguably be constructed as similar to the one at hand. In order to tackle this question, I will compare Catalan families with families of Galician immigrants also living in the city.

4. The NYC Study: Galicians

Catalan and Galician populations share their native bilingualism and the minoritized condition of their revitalized language, but they differ in the attitudinal profiles towards their languages in the original territory. Contrary to the case of Catalan, the substitution of Galician by Spanish affected first the high social classes, and only expanded later, during Franco times, to the urban mid class. Galician, classified as rural language, had low prestige, and after the dictatorship the majority of Galicians was illiterate even in oral competencies in their own language, but mostly completely literate in Spanish. From the 1980s on, progressively comprehensive campaigns of linguistic revitalization were launched, as well as laws designed to protect Galician that were parallel to those in Catalonia (although less assertive in the crucial domain of the school, where contrary to Catalonia, an exclusive immersion policy in Galician was never adopted.) The (arguably modest) effect of these campaigns can be attributed to their *monoglossic* bias in a community in which the prevalent linguistic ideology is one of *heteroglossia*, according to which multiple norms of linguistic behavior coexist without thereby compromising the minority identity (del Valle, 2000). In any case, censal data seem to indicate that in Galicia, like in Catalonia, there was a first period in which the knowledge and the use of the language increase (from 1986 to 2000), while after the year 2000 a new phase starts in which there is a decrease in both (Bobillo et al. 1998; Vaamonde 2002.) While in the case of Catalan we can identify the impact of global migration as a main factor for this change (with great numbers of migrants suddenly arriving at the region from all over the globe), in Galicia, which has not been equally affected by the same migratory flux, the decrease can only be attributed to the disengagement on the part of the younger population when it comes to learn and use (monoglossic) Galician.

As a counterpart to the Catalan population described before, twenty families living in NYC were selected, in which one of the parents was a fortunate immigrant born and raised in Galicia during the years in which the local government launched the linguistic campaigns designed to revitalize the region's original language. As in the case of the Catalan study, parents were selected who, both in personal interviews and in an anonymous questionnaire, professed a higher identification with being Galician than with other possible labels (the additional ones provided in the survey in a non-exclusive manner were Spanish, European, American and Citizens of the World⁸), and who declared their intention to transmit this identity to their children. In fact, the totality of Galicians identified as "Galician", while only 87.5% of the Catalans identified with the label "Catalan", indicating that, although in both groups the minority identity was the most prevalent, for Galicians it was stronger and more exclusive than for Catalans.

This firm ethnic identification, however, has different linguistic consequences in each group. Among the families with the most positive attitudes towards bilingualism, quantitative results reported in Casesnoves-Ferrer and Juarros-Daussà (2011) indicate that in the case of Galicians, only 50% of the families say that their children know Galician in addition to English, compared to 100% of the children knowing Spanish. That is, Galician is only transmitted half as frequently as Spanish, and never at the cost of Spanish. The authors also point out that the analysis of the linguistic attitudes among Catalans and Galicians show that the latter, although they coincide with the former in assigning higher instrumental value to English (60%) and Spanish (80%) than to their minoritized language (53%), they differ in the distribution of integrative and personal values:

⁸ The results for these options is as follows: Galicians considered themselves Spanish and Europeans in 20% of the cases each, and none identified as American or Citizen of the World. Catalans claimed identification as Spanish in 37.5% of the cases, while European in 50%, American in 12.5% and World Citizens in a 31.5%.

Immigrants in the Galician community consider that Spanish has more integrative value [100%] and speaking it provides them with more personal pleasure [100%] than Galician [70% and 80% respectively], as opposed to Catalans, who assign more integrative and personal value to Catalan than to Spanish.

This divergence in instrumental values assigned to Spanish and Galician is reflected on the words of a Galician father, who says:

What is going to be of use for them is Spanish –Galician, what for? Not even Galicians speak it any more!

Galician does not seem essential either in the establishment and maintenance of social and family networks, and so another father explains:

What I want is that when we go to the village [in Galicia], he can communicate with his family and with the other kids there [...] With Spanish, he can [...] he does not need Galician at all [...] There many kids don't speak in Galician –even if they know it, they don't speak it.

Likewise, a Galician mother claims:

Castilian will allow her to communicate; Galician is good for nothing.

Perhaps an even more meaningful difference between the two groups is the different role that the minority language plays in the construction of identity. Recall that Catalans assigned a central role to Catalan in their feeling of affiliation to Catalan identity (*“It is who I am”*), and they considered it essential to include this language in their efforts to transmit such minority identity to their children. For Galicians, however, the role of Galician in the construction of their identity is fundamentally different. As del Valle (2000) indicates, quoting observations by Mauro Fernández about the heteroglossia that characterizes the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia at the end of the 20th century,

Galicians clearly recognize the symbolic value of Galician (...) But (...) they seem to distinguish between their loyalty to the language that functions as symbol of their cultural identity, and their own linguistic behavior (...) [Thus,] Galicians who speak Spanish do not feel less Galician, nor do they cease to be perceived as such by those who speak [Galician]

Most likely this is what the Galician mother in New York expresses when she explains that in the meetings organized by the Casa Galicia:

More than speaking Galician [...] what is important here is feeling Galician, wanting to be one. There are some that only speak English [...] and actually, we, when we are together, speak Castilian [...] And the children, if you let them, immediately change to English also.

The Galicians in our New York study have found many ways to express their minority identity that are not linked to their Galician language; periodically, they meet in order to maintain and transmit their identity through gastronomy, traditions, celebrations, and iconic figures, as well as through many other symbols fabricated to that effect. In the majority of cases, the only linguistic sign of such cultural transmission is the inclusion of certain words and linguistic idioms belonging to Galician that are inserted in the Spanish that they transmit to their children.⁹

5. Conclusion: Language, Identity and Transmission

Immigrant communities present a ‘laboratory’ in which the processes affecting language dynamics are accelerated and highlighted due to the small pool of subjects and the extreme language contact

⁹ A reviewer makes the interesting suggestion that the perceptions that other Iberian speakers have of Galician speakers may also have an impact on the ideologies that Galician speakers bring to NYC, an issue that unfortunately I don't have space to develop here but which certainly deserves further research.

situation to which they are subjected (Silva-Corvalán 2001). Studying the multilingual practices of communities in the context of migration can thus produce hypotheses about processes that are likely to be important, but harder to discern in less extreme situations. In addition, immigrants with the characteristics of the ones presented here, which are subjected to less economic and practical restrictions than others, provide insight on the dynamics of languages in contact in conditions where economic or practical factors, which otherwise play an important role in language transmission within migrant communities, have minimal impact. Under these circumstances, the role of underlying attitudinal/ideological factors can be highlighted.

Both Galician and Catalan immigrants in this study express their wish to maintain their minority identity and to pass it onto their children, and they make huge efforts to attain their goal. The most noticeable difference between the two populations resides in that, while the transmission of Spanish, and not that of Galician, is general among the children of the Galician community, in the Catalan community Catalan is preferred to Spanish. These different patterns of transmission seem to correlate with two different linguistic ideologies in the original territories (Woolard 1998). These ideologies can be characterized in terms of the contrast between the adoption of what del Valle (2000) calls *monoglossic* versus *heteroglossic* behavior. In Catalonia, the dominant monoglossic ideology promotes a single norm of linguistic behavior for the two languages in the community (Catalan and Spanish), and Catalan, or rather a clearly defined standard variety of it, works as a central symbol of identity; in a way that speaking such variety with the highest degree of purism reflects the will to assert one's identity and belonging to the group. In Galicia, instead, a heteroglossic ideology is more dominant, according to which different norms of linguistic behavior coexist; thus, Galicians resist the convergence of the different varieties spoken in their territory (standard Galician, Lusitan Galician, diverse local Galician dialects, standard Castilian and Galician Castilian), and it is precisely this diversity of norms what constitutes their linguistic and group identity.¹⁰

The NYC data seem to reflect in the diaspora the prevalent ideologies in the studied communities of origin. However, as pointed above, if we take the situation of contact caused by the migratory context as a natural laboratory to examine our hypothesis about linguistic change, an issue arises that, from the conservationist point of view, raises some concern. While, as del Valle indicates, both behavior norms seem to be viable for the maintenance of the linguistic vitality in Catalonia and Galicia, when the pressure is increased due to the presence of an additional language (which introduces an additional degree of marginalization for the minoritized language), only the monoglossic ideology seems to result in the survival of the most vulnerable language, while the heteroglossic ideology eventually results in the elimination of the most vulnerable language for transmission, leaving hardly any trace in the linguistic behavior of even the second generation.

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¹⁰ Things are however not so clear-cut. In Catalonia one can also observe heteroglossic practices, but they are left to the oral sphere, a kind of conversational style.

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