

---

---

THE UNMENTIONABLE: VERBAL TABOO  
AND THE MORAL LIFE OF LANGUAGE

**Containing Castilian in Catalan  
Talk Radio: Heteroglossia and the  
Projection of Monoglot Identities**

Susan E. Frekko  
*Goucher College*

**Abstract**

*This article describes a mechanism that permits speakers to draw on a heteroglossic repertoire of verbal forms while simultaneously reinforcing a boundary between their own language-based identity (“Catalan”) and the state language (Castilian). In doing so, they opt for monoglot identities over heteroglossic ones, despite widespread heteroglossic practice. I show that Catalan speakers draw on “speech modeling” (Errington 1998) in ways that contain responsibility for their use of Castilian. [Keywords: Voicing contrasts, speech modeling, heteroglossia, Bakhtin, bilingualism, Catalan]*

## Introduction

Scholarship on bilingualism examines the creation, transgression, and strategic dissolution of boundaries between languages and speakers (Auer 1998; Bilaniuk 2005; Heller 1999, 2007; Hill and Hill 1986; Jaffe 1999; Rampton 1995; Urciuoli 1996; Urla 1995; Woolard 1998). In this article, I describe a mechanism that permits speakers to draw on a heteroglossic repertoire of verbal forms while simultaneously reinforcing a boundary between their own language-based identity (“Catalan”) and the state language (Castilian). In doing so, they opt for monoglot identities over heteroglossic ones, despite widespread heteroglossic practice.

I examine data from a Catalan radio call-in show that aired in the late 1990s on a station sponsored by a consortium of municipal governments in Catalonia. While Catalan is the main language heard on the show, as is to be expected given the institutional preference for that language, there is a significant use of Castilian Spanish among callers and the host. This article illuminates a practice whereby speakers manage to use a language that conflicts with the enregistered voices (Agha 2005) stereotypically associated with that situation. In this way, they are actually observing norms of unmentionability, while ostensibly breaching them (see Irvine, this volume).

In particular, I show that Catalan speakers draw on “speech modeling” (Errington 1998) in ways that displace responsibility for their use of Castilian. In speech modeling, Castilian appears in the voice of someone other than the speaker—be it an interlocutor, common wisdom, or a reported speaker (imagined or real). Speakers are thus able to draw on Castilian as a resource while containing their responsibility for it; the Castilian is not really *theirs*. This form of speech modeling creates the illusion of separate code-specific voices rather than heteroglossic ones, thus undermining notions of multiplex identity.

## Heteroglossia, Voicing Contrasts and Responsibility for Speech

Scholars have called into question the notion of distinct codes existing separate from and prior to situated discourse (Gal and Irvine 1995; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Bailey (2007) has built on these insights to argue that analytical constructs such as “bilingualism,” “hybridity,” “syncretism” or even “code-switching” do us a disservice because they presuppose the existence of distinct codes. He argues instead for adopting

Bakhtin's term "heteroglossia" (Bakhtin 1981) which Bailey applies to "a) the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs, and b) the tensions and conflicts among those signs, based on the sociohistorical associations they carry with them" (Bailey 2007:257). In addition to avoiding the presupposition of distinct codes, the term covers both variation within and between named languages, thus permitting "a level of theorizing about the social nature of language that is not possible within the confines of a focus on code-switching" (Bailey 2007:258).

Bailey's work can be fruitfully integrated with Agha's (2005) work that draws on Goffman (1981) and Bakhtin (1981) to formulate the concept of voicing contrasts, "the differentiability of one voice from another" (Agha 2005:39). Agha's approach has the advantage of not requiring the presupposition of discrete bounded codes. Moreover, it can accommodate both the study of bilingual phenomena and the study of differentiability within named languages. Entextualized voicing contrasts are those that emerge from textual comparisons—"the likeness or unlikeness of co-occurring chunks of text" (Agha 2005:40). Enregistered voicing contrasts, on the other hand, occur when "a repertoire of speech forms is widely recognized or enregistered as indexing the same 'social voice' by many language users" (Agha 2005:45). Congruence between enregistered (stereotypical) voices and entextualized voicing effects results in "appropriate use" of a voicing effect. Non-congruence results in "tropic use," as when a Lakhota man uses a form that belongs to a register of female speech (enregistered voice is 'female') to express warm affect to a child (entextualized voicing effect: male speaker is 'maternal') (Agha 2005:48).

Voicing effects such as these can open up a space between author and animator, acting as a means for speakers to "distribute" responsibility for their speech (see Hill and Irvine 1993). For example, Reynolds's (2008) work among Kaqchikel Maya shows that adults view young children as mere "parrots" when they are enlisted as messengers in insult routines, despite evidence that young children are active, purposeful participants in such interactions, which both reinforce and test social relationships. Tetreault (2009) discusses marginal French teens' appropriation of "TV show host" register in insult routines. Their use of noncongruent voicing effects, the fact that the voice of the TV show host carries with it stereotypes about speaker that clash with the attributes of the teens using this register, enables youths to intensify their insults to others while simultaneously mitigating their responsibility for them (Tetreault 2009:204). These examples involve regis-

ter contrasts within named languages, but the framework applies equally well to contrasts across named languages, such as Catalan and Castilian.

While in these analyses responsibility for content is at issue, in the case I describe responsibility for linguistic form (in this case, code choice) carries particular symbolic weight. Errington's (1998) concept of "speech modeling"—which capitalizes on Goffman's (1981) notions of footing and participant roles—is a useful analytical tool for thinking about responsibility for linguistic form. In instances of speech modeling, "speakers voice or model words which are somehow 'not their own'" (Errington 1998:117). Speech that is traceable to previous contexts of utterance—even without implicit framing as such—can be understood under the paradigm of speech modeling. Participants on the radio program I describe below take advantage of speech modeling in a way that lessens their responsibility for the form of their speech. Doing so simultaneously reinforces the idea of separate, contained languages and correlated identities.

### **Language in Catalonia**

Catalonia is a multilingual society composed of native Catalan speakers, native Castilian speakers, and increasingly, native speakers of other languages, such as Arabic, Mandarin, and Urdu. While native Catalan speakers nearly always speak Castilian as well (because of Castilian's prominence in Spanish politics and mass media) and most native Castilian speakers speak Catalan, many native Castilian speakers are monolingual in that language (although rates of comprehension of Catalan are high). This pattern articulates with relations of social class in Catalonia. After the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), Catalonia received large numbers of Castilian-speaking migrants from poor regions of Spain, who came to work in Catalonia's industries. Since that time, Catalonia's working class has been largely (although not exclusively) Castilian speaking, while its middle classes remain largely Catalan speaking.<sup>1</sup>

Early linguistic anthropological research in Catalonia showed that accommodation to Castilian was the traditional norm for code selection in conversation. Alternation between Catalan and Castilian typically occurred as situational switching,<sup>2</sup> when a Catalan speaker switched to Castilian to accommodate a Castilian-speaking interlocutor<sup>3</sup> (Calsamiglia and Tusón 1984, Woolard 1989). Woolard (1985, 1989) remarked on the rarity of metaphorical codeswitching in Catalonia, despite widespread

individual bilingualism, attributing it to the traditionally strong ties between language and ethnonational identity in Catalonia. Because the use of Castilian by a Catalan speaker was so strongly associated with interlocutor accommodation, to use Castilian could cast doubts on one's own or one's interlocutor's Catalan-ness.

Woolard (1995:225-226) has examined the juxtaposition of Catalan and Castilian in public performances, such as radio shows, as a crystallization of structured ideologies that may appear less consistently in everyday talk. Woolard's (1988) analysis of the success of Eugenio—a Barcelonan comedian who was popular during her 1979-1980 fieldwork—focuses on his ability to use the two languages in a way that “eases rather than emphasizes group boundaries in Barcelona, and allows the widest possible audience to participate” (Woolard 1988:70). In particular, Castilian carried the semantic load of the jokes, but Catalan appeared in salient discourse functions, at a time when Catalan was largely excluded from public life. The appeal of the jokes derived both from the unexpected alternation of the two languages and from the picture of peaceful coexistence between the two languages that it painted (Woolard 1988).

Radio comedian Pere, whose show aired on a Castilian-dominant station in the late 1980s, juxtaposed Catalan and Castilian in a very different way, which placed semantic weight on both languages, used both metaphorical and situational switching, and made Catalan, rather than Castilian, the main language of his utterances (Woolard 1995, 1998). Woolard links this change to the emergence in the intervening years of Catalan as a public language since Spain's 1978 democratic constitution and Catalonia's 1979 Statute of Autonomy. According to this statute and subsequent legislation, Catalan is the preferred language of public life, although Castilian also enjoys official status and individual citizens have the right to use either language.

Woolard (1991) has argued that the emergence of Catalan as a public language available (at least in theory) to everyone has resulted in the loosening of ties between language and identity. In the late 1980s, comedic performances—which Woolard argues are at the vanguard of cultural change—augured this transformation. Whereas Eugenio's performances suggested a happy coexistence of the two languages, Pere's performances pointed out the ambiguities surrounding the status of the two languages and their speakers since Catalan's return to public life (Woolard 1995).

Woolard notes that while language users previously tended to read voicing contrasts involving Castilian and Catalan as sequential (or in

Gumperz's terms, situational), some young people, especially native Castilian speakers, had begun to use and interpret them as simultaneous in some instances (Woolard 1997, 1998). Pujolar's fieldwork from the early 1990s suggests the same thing (Pujolar 1997, 2001). Despite these shifts, my data suggest the persistence of an orientation to Catalan and Castilian as separate, contained codes and identities rather than as raw material for creating simultaneities.

Although explicit language ideologies emphasize a shift from Castilian to Catalan as the preferred language of public life (and most of my ethnographic data accords with this interpretation), the linguistic reality of Catalonia is more complicated. Government encouragement of Catalan is balanced by the significant presence of Castilian in public life, for example in the private media and even in some Catalan government institutions such as the autonomous police, the Mossos d'Esquadra. While recognizing the importance of this complexity, in this article I focus on a site in which Catalan clearly *is* the preferred language, because I am interested in instances in which speakers use Castilian despite being in a situation that calls stereotypically for Catalan.

Despite the shifts that Woolard describes, which signal the emergence of complex, simultaneous identities, the data I analyze here suggest a continued conceptualization of languages and identities as separate among some speakers and in some situations. Catalan talk radio is a particularly good place to examine this phenomenon because it both reflects and produces common conceptualizations of language and identity in Catalonia.

### **Containing Castilian in Catalan Talk Radio**

The late-night call-in show, "Mentre sigui fosc" (While it's dark), aired in the late 1990s on the Catalan-language radio station 'COMRàdio' from three to six a.m. Calls from audience members were interspersed with music, news reports, and interviews. The exchanges I analyze come from 180 minutes of recordings from two days of the program in October 1999. While this small sample is by no means representative of all speech in Catalonia or even all speech understood as public, I examine these exchanges as a crystallization of issues surrounding the use of Castilian and Catalan.

As mentioned above, one cannot assume a preference for Catalan in all speech situations, yet it is not difficult to establish that Catalan is preferred on this program. It aired on the radio station COMRàdio, which was

created by a consortium of regional and municipal Catalan government organs. The program's title was in Catalan, as were all other program titles on the station. The host, *Virtu*, articulates the language preference of the program when she mentions choosing the Catalan-medium newspaper *l'Avui* for her on-air readings of news and weather reports, so that she does not have to translate from a Castilian original to Catalan.

Despite the preference for Catalan, Castilian appears frequently in exchanges between *Virtu* and her interlocutors. This sample contains *Virtu*'s exchanges with nine audience members, three of whom speak consistently in Castilian. Additionally, *Virtu* engages in conversational interviews with several Catalan-speaking journalists and other guests. All of the exchanges contain Castilian, even when *Virtu* is speaking with a Catalan speaker. A striking pattern emerges in these non-congruent uses of Castilian by Catalan speakers: they tend to be models of someone else's speech.

I begin with a conversation between the host, *Virtu*, and a Castilian-speaking caller about the Barça-Madrid soccer game. *Virtu* offers direct quotation models of her interlocutor in the following examples. The caller, Yolanda, is a Madrid fan (an uncomfortable position in Catalonia), while *Virtu* is a Barça fan and this is the implicit position of the radio station as well. *Virtu*'s speech responds to contradictory preferences: on the one hand, as mentioned above, Catalan speakers traditionally accommodate Castilian speakers by switching to Castilian (Woolard 1989). On the other hand, this is a Catalan-medium program and *Virtu* is expected to produce an enregistered Catalan voice associated with her role as host. She performs a balancing act between the two languages: while nearly all of *Virtu*'s questions appear in Catalan, her feedback to Yolanda's responses nearly always occurs in Castilian or in bivalent or nonlexical form. Of greater importance for my argument is the fact that five of *Virtu*'s seven utterances containing Castilian are feedback utterances that involve modeling of Yolanda's earlier speech.<sup>4</sup> The extended example that I provide here includes three such instances.

In Example 1, *Virtu* has asked Yolanda whether she has ever won a bet, and Yolanda replies that she never wins, offering the following explanation. (Italics indicate Castilian original, while bold indicates Catalan original. Underlining indicates bivalent items occurring at boundaries between codes. Bivalent items occurring in the middle of utterances that are otherwise identifiable as belonging to one code or the other are not marked.)

### Example 1

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1  | Yolanda: <i>Es que sabes lo que pasa? Me pasa como en las quinielas, no? Que las hago un poco con el corazón y y no puede ser eso, o sea que mm decidí en un momento dado como decía el Cruyff, decidí que las iba a hacer un poco con la cabeza y tampoco, porque claro es que siempre le pongo al Madrid que pierde por menos goles que los que tocan, no?</i> | <i>It's that, you know what happens? It happens to me like in [office] pools, you know? I do them [office pools] a little bit with my heart and and that can't be, I mean that mm I decided in a given moment, as Cruyff used to say, I decided that I was going to do them a little bit with my head and that didn't work either, because of course it's that I always bet for Madrid that it will lose by fewer goals than the ones that happen, you know?</i> |
| 2  | Virtu: <b>Tu ets *fut*bolera</b>   | <b>You're a soccer fan</b>   |
| 3  | Yolanda: *(laughs)*  | *(laughs)*   |
| 4  | Yolanda: <i>Sí, mucho, me gusta mucho el deporte en general</i>  | <i>Yes, very much, I like sports a lot in general</i>  |
| 5  | Virtu: <b><u>I</u>::: de quin equip ets?</b>   | <b><u>And</u>::: what team are you for?</b>  |
| 6  | Yolanda: <i>Del Madrid</i> (laughs)  | <i>For Madrid</i> (laughs)   |
| 7  | Virtu: <i>Del Madrid</i>   | <i>For Madrid</i>  |
| 8  | Yolanda: <i>Sí</i>   | <i>Yes</i>   |
| 9  | Virtu: <b><u>I</u> aviam, què passarà aquesta nit?</b>   | <b><u>And</u> well, what will happen tonight?</b>  |
| 10 | Yolanda: <i>Pues eh, vamos a ver, si lo digo con la cabeza</i>   | <i>=Well uh, let's see, if I say it with my head—</i>  |
| 11 | Virtu: <b>=Con el corazón y con la cabeza=</b>   | <b>=With your heart and your head=</b>   |

- 12 Yolanda: =*No, con la cabeza, si eh: soy sincera y viendo como está jugando el Madrid etcétera etcétera, yo creo que va a ganar el Barça*      =*No, with my head, if uh I'm sincere and seeing how Madrid is playing etcetera etcetera, I think Barça is going to win*
- 13 Virtu:      *Va a ganar el Barça, lo está diciendo una merengue*      *Barça is going to win; a Madrid fan is saying this*

The overarching prompts appear in Catalan (turns 2, 5 and 9), but Virtu produces confirmations and clarifications in Castilian (turns 7, 11, and 13). In her Castilian utterances, Virtu employs not only Yolanda's code, but also her actual words. Each of these Castilian utterances is in some way a model of Yolanda's speech. In turn 7, Virtu repeats Yolanda's words '*del Madrid*' maintaining her Castilian pronunciation. In turn 11, she recycles turn 1 in which Yolanda admits to making bets with her heart instead of her head. Turn 13 is a direct quote of Yolanda's line 12, although there is also leakage (Irvine 1996) between quoting frames and quoted frames here, with framing material also appearing in Castilian. Throughout this series of exchanges, Virtu uses a considerable amount of Castilian, but almost none of it is original to her in this conversation. This speech modeling allows her to accommodate the caller, perhaps even more important than usually because the caller finds herself in the awkward position of being a Madrid supporter. At the same time, because Virtu uses Yolanda's Castilian, the speech identified as "really" Virtu's remains congruent with the enregistered voice of the Catalan-speaking radio host.<sup>5</sup>

The patterning of Virtu's Castilian in this call becomes particularly clear when we compare it to an unusual call by a Castilian speaker, Juan, who has been the victim of a practical joke (Example 2). His brother has called the show, giving Juan's number as the call-back number. When Virtu calls him back to hold their on-air conversation, Juan acts as though she has called out of the blue. The possibility that Juan has not voluntarily entered this Catalan space triggers a pause, followed by Virtu's exceptional use of un-modeled, "fresh"<sup>6</sup> Castilian, in accordance with the accommodation norm (see lines 7, 11, 19, 21).

Juan's turn 2 is bivalent. He answers Virtu's greeting with the word "sí" ('yes') which could belong to either language. Virtu continues in turn 3 in Catalan with a second greeting "hola bona nit." While "hola" has differ-

## Example 2

1	Virtu: <i>Juan, bona nit</i>	<i>Juan, good evening</i>
2	Juan: <i>=S̄?</i>	<i>Yes?</i>
3	Virtu: <i>Hola bona nit</i>	<i>Hello good evening</i>
4	Juan: <i>Hola, bona nit</i>	<i>Hello, good evening</i>
5	Virtu: <i>Com estàs?</i>	<i>How are you?</i>
6	Juan: <i>Pues mira, esperando a que me llamárais well</i>	<i>Well I was waiting for you to call me<sup>7</sup></i>
7	Virtu: <i>(.5) A que te llamáramos porque tū nos has llamado primero</i>	<i>(.5) For us to call you because you called us first</i>
8	Juan: <i>(.5) No no perdona, yo no he llamado a nadie, eh?</i>	<i>(.5) No no excuse me, I didn't call anyone, eh?</i>

ing pronunciations in Catalan and Castilian, the differences are slight. They are further minimized in Virtu's Western variety of Catalan, whose phonology is closer to Castilian than Barcelona Catalan's phonology is.

Turn 4 represents the one occasion on which Juan speaks Catalan, modeling Virtu's speech in line 3. Juan finally produces a non-ambiguous Castilian utterance in line 6. Virtu immediately greets Juan's linguistic choice with a switch to fresh Castilian in turn 7. The first clear indication that Juan prefers Castilian appears to have activated the accommodation norm.

Pauses before turns 7 and 8 indicate conversational trouble beyond the question of language choice. The participants encounter decided difficulty in defining the interaction, because in fact Juan has not called the radio program, as will become obvious in the next section (Example 3).

Virtu expresses the suspicion that the joke is on her with a switch back to Catalan in turn 9. She asserts her control over the interaction by telling Juan that he has called the program, talked with Anna, and so on. Virtu's professional role on the station is to lead the interaction with her callers. Therefore it is not surprising that she chooses the preferred language of the station—Catalan—to perform this action. Note also her use of Catalan for references to the program itself, the call screener, and the process by which the program returns the caller's call.

### Example 3

- 9 Virtu: Tu no has trucat? tu- (laughs) aviem *Juan* n- no no m'enganyis, tu has trucat aquí al programa, has parlat amb l'Anna, i i has deixat el teu número de telèfon i ara t'hem trucat nosaltres per que no gastassis      you didn't call? you- (laughs) let's see *Juan* d- don't don't trick me, you called the program, you talked to Anna, and and you left your phone number and now we called you so you don't spend money [pay for the call]
- 10 Juan: *Ah, oye pues habrá sido mi hermano eh?*      *Ah, well listen it must have been my brother eh?*
- 11 Virtu: *Pues no te habrás enterado no?*      *So you didn't realize right?*
- 12 Juan: *No, es qu- mir- (.) eh, pone una cara impresionante eh? ha cogido y se ha acostado y yo me he quedado aquí un momentito viendo vía digital y fíjate tú*      *No, it's th- loo- (.) um, he's making an incredible face you know? He got up and went to bed and I stayed here for a minute watching digital TV and just look*

In turn 10, Juan reveals that he has been the victim of a practical joke perpetrated by his brother who called the program and left Juan's name. This new information places Virtu in a difficult position, because while she can assume that any person who voluntarily calls her program at least comprehends Catalan, she may not assume the same for the victim of this practical joke. In fact, in turn 11 she switches to fresh Castilian.

However, Virtu returns to Catalan in turns 13 through 17, as she directs statements to Juan for his confirmation, much as she does with other callers (Example 4). Directing this kind of talk is essentially her job and her employers and audience expect that she perform it in Catalan.

Virtu's use of fresh Castilian in this call marks a sharp contrast with her use of modeled Castilian in the call with Virtu. The difference points to the preference for Catalan on the station. When a speaker has not "signed up" for that preference by voluntarily calling, the host uses Castilian in fresh rather than merely modeled form. In fact, Virtu displays her awareness of Juan's not having opted in, when after ending the call, she explains that she

#### Example 4

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 13 | Virtu: I, ha sigut el teu germà que ha trucat aquí a la radio        | And, it was your brother that called here to the radio                    |
| 14 | Juan: Seguro eh?   | I'm sure eh?  |
| 15 | Virtu: I ha donat el teu nom per que tu et dius Juan                 | And he gave your name because your name is Juan                           |
| 16 | Juan: Sí (laughing)  | Yes   |
| 17 | Virtu: Ah (.5) i o sigui estaves mirant=                             | Ah (.5) and so you were watching=   |
| 18 | Juan: =De todas formas estoy muy contento de hablar con vosotros eh? | =Anyway I'm very happy to be talking to you all you know?                 |
| 19 | Virtu: Mm sabes de dónde te estamos llamanando por cierto? (laughs)  | Mm do you know where we're calling you from by the way?                   |
| 20 | Juan: Bueno, me imagino de-de la NASA o de algo así no?              | Well, I imagine from-from NASA <sup>8</sup> or something like that right? |
| 21 | Virtu: Efectivamente   | Exactly   |

is moving on because Juan “didn’t want to talk on the radio.” Note the lack of code-based voicing contrasts within Virtu’s utterances. Her fresh Castilian utterances are set off from her Catalan ones. She sequentially accommodates Juan’s preference for Castilian and the station’s (and probably her own) preference for Catalan, without mixing the two languages. This unusual call acts as an exception that proves the rule: the enregistered voice of the host operates by default in Catalan in interactions involving a caller who voluntarily calls the program. When this condition is not met, as in the call with Juan, another enregistered voice emerges—that of the bilingual Catalan speaker who accommodates the Castilian-speaking monolingual. Moreover, because Virtu’s use of Castilian is an application of the accommodation norm, it does not cast doubt on her identity as a Catalan person.<sup>9</sup>

I turn now to conversations between Virtu and Catalan-speaking callers. In these calls, the preference for Catalan is overdetermined, because in addi-

tion to the preference for Catalan for speech addressed to this radio audience there is a traditional preference for Catalan between habitual Catalan speakers (Woolard 1989). In these exchanges, Castilian takes place more rarely. In this example, Virtu is addressing Salvador, a Catalan speaker who has explained that he is calling from work (Example 5). Virtu asks what he does for a living and he explains that he is a baker. The conversation proceeds as follows, with Catalan in bold and Castilian in italics.

### Example 5

- |   |           |                                 |  |
|---|-----------|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Virtu:    | <b>I ara estàs treballant</b>   | <b>And now you're working</b>  |
| 2 | Salvador: | <b>Sí</b>                       | <b>Yes</b>   |
| 3 | Virtu:    | <i>Con las manos en la masa</i> | <i>With your hands in the dough</i><br>[figuratively: 'red-handed,' pun] |
| 4 | Salvador: | <b>Mai més ben dit</b>          | <b>Well said</b>   |

Virtu makes a pun in Castilian in turn 3 with the fact that Salvador literally works with his hands in bread dough and the formulaic expression meaning to be caught red-handed. There is no equivalent Catalan expression that would have allowed the pun between bread dough and being caught in the act. Salvador responds with another expression, “**mai més ben dit**” (‘well said’), which is typically used to point out puns and has the semantic and pragmatic Castilian equivalent of ‘*nunca mejor dicho*.’ The call ends a few turns later, with no further use of Castilian. Here there is no conflict between the entextualized voicing contrast between Virtu’s Catalan and Castilian and the enregistered Catalan voice expected of the radio host, because the words do not “belong” to Virtu.

While I have only offered examples of Virtu’s models here, her use of Castilian is similar to that of other professional visitors to the show. For example, in a ten minute interview with Virtu, a sports journalist models Castilian twice. In the first example, he uses the Castilian word “*vela*” (‘candle;’ Catalan: ‘*espelma*’), adding in Catalan “as they say in Madrid.” He later models a Castilian message on a popular T-shirt in Madrid. Virtu’s informal conversations with journalist Anna Franc show large amounts of modeling, as Anna reports the speech of Castilian speakers.<sup>10</sup> Woolard’s work shows that radio comedian Pere also used this speech pattern when interviewing a political candidate from the Catalan nationalist party

Convergència i Unió. In that conversation, Pere and the candidate used Castilian very rarely, and all instances can be classified as speech modeling (Woolard 1995: 232, footnote).

These uses of modeled Castilian in professional performances are strikingly similar to the modeling I have witnessed in my fieldwork in and near Barcelona since 2000, primarily among middle-class Catalan speakers. When speakers used Castilian for reasons other than interlocutor accommodation, it was limited to set phrases and the modeling of the talk of real or imagined Castilian speakers. Even when one set of participants decided to hold a conversation in Castilian for fun (and for the benefit of my recorder), what began as fresh talk quickly became modeling of enregistered Castilian voices held apart from their own “real” voices.

Modeling coexisted with other practices that bolstered the notion of separate codes and identities. My Catalan-speaking consultants handled asymmetric code choice in a variety of ways. For example, one began all conversations in Catalan, but switched after a few turns if his interlocutor persisted in Castilian. Another switched to Catalan only if her interlocutor politely requested a switch. Another playfully exaggerated her Catalan accent when speaking Castilian, in a way similar to that reported by Pujolar (2001:197-198).<sup>11</sup> A fourth refused to use Castilian at all within the bounds of the Catalan-speaking areas of Spain, and when traveling in other areas of Spain, spoke the language with what he called a “South American” accent, to mark his social distance from the language. Several consultants denied Castilian-speaking ability as what they described as a way of justifying their decision to speak only Catalan, despite the fact that they were fluent Castilian speakers. While I maintain the analytical position that distinct codes are emergent ideological constructions rather than pre-existing facts, my informants’ local views of language suggested that Catalan and Castilian are distinct and (ideally) contained entities.

In most instances, Catalan speakers switched to Castilian when their use of Catalan seemed to prevent communication. However, on several occasions during my fieldwork in Barcelona, I witnessed encounters in which Catalan speakers maintained Catalan, even in the face of misunderstandings. This practice is what Rampton (1995:288) calls “refusal.” For example, when I was walking down the street with a Catalan language professional, a young tourist approached us for directions. The tourist asked in Argentinean-accented Castilian where he could find a stationery

store. Traditionally this accent would have triggered linguistic accommodation to Castilian, since foreigners are not expected to be speakers of Catalan, and this is still the most common response in such a situation. However, the professional—a nationally-oriented Catalan—pointed to the pharmacy that we were standing in front of and responded in Catalan that the tourist might ask there. The tourist looked at the pharmacy and then back at the professional, perplexed. He repeated in Castilian that he was looking for *stationery* (not medicine). Despite the evidence that the young man had not understood the suggestion in Catalan that he ask for *directions* in the pharmacy, the professional repeated his advice in Catalan and again pointed at the pharmacy before walking away.

During this encounter the professional was friendly and gracious. He accommodated the tourist by stopping to help, smiling, offering advice, and repeating it. The only way in which he did not accommodate the tourist was in code choice, and of course, this decision rendered the exchange unhelpful to the tourist.<sup>12</sup>

In relaying this example and the previous example of speakers denying knowledge of Castilian, I do not mean to imply that they *should* have spoken in Castilian. Instead, my interest lies in patterns in language use that relate to factors other than speakers' linguistic skills. Nationally-oriented Catalans drew on the language's definition as a public language to maintain Catalan in the face of politeness norms that would require the use of Castilian. The strategies outlined above projected to varying degrees the impression of Catalan monolingualism despite the bilingual repertoire of my consultants.

While in this article I emphasize containment practices, not all speakers contain Castilian and Catalan. I did not witness unmarked codeswitching among my primary consultants, who tended to be middle-class Catalan nationalists in their 30s and above. However, I did occasionally overhear teens using a more unmarked style of switching reminiscent of the New Catalans described by Woolard and Pujolar. This kind of switching also appears in a call on this show, in which the caller animates the voice of an imagined Castilian speaker, but also uses Castilian in "fresh" talk. I argue that his use of Castilian differs because he is subject to different stereotypes of speaker and he is drawing on a different enregistered voice. In this call, Virtu and the caller, Jordi, discuss how to make an excuse when canceling plans with friends. Jordi models the speech of people giving such excuses.

### Example 6

<p>Jordi: Això <u>de que</u> <i>he quedado con mi mamá</i> <u>o-o</u> <i>me ha llamado mi hermanita</i> <u>o</u> <i>mi sobrinita está mala</i>. Això home, no ho sé, si vols ho pots dir però, jo penso <u>que la que-la que</u> <i>más cuela</i> <u>i-i-i tal</u>, <u>la que</u> <i>és pot adequar més, és que estàs, mira, no em trobo bé, no sé si estic refredat. Estic molt xafat, i tal. No no sé; jo penso que és la més adequada. Cadascú farà la que vulgui, no?</i></p>	<p>That thing <u>about</u>, “I have plans with my mommy,” <u>or-or</u>, “My sis’ [diminutive] called me,” <u>or</u>, “My niece [feminine, diminutive] is sick.” I don’t know, if you want you can say that <u>but</u>, I think <u>that the-one that one</u> [the excuse] <u>that goes over best</u> <u>and-and-and all</u>, <u>the one</u> that is the most suitable is that you’re, “Look, I don’t feel well; I might have a cold. I’m really down and all.” I don’t know; I think that it’s the most suitable. Everyone will use the one [the excuse] they want, right?</p>
---	---

Here Jordi projects an imagined Castilian speaker that uses infantile (not to mention gendered) excuses. Jordi models a speaker who claims to be prevented from meeting his obligations by a female relative, a ‘mommy,’ ‘sis’ or ‘niece’ (diminutive). In the latter case, the gendering is particularly clear since the hypothetical young niece is ill and requires care traditionally provided by women. The implication is that a properly mature, masculine person would be able to resist these purportedly trivial demands and that therefore this excuse is not acceptable. He contrasts this voice with examples, in Catalan, of what he deems to be appropriate excuses. The fact that his Castilian appears in a voice other than his own, rather than emphasizing a simultaneous orientation, sketches two opposed characters: an infantile, effeminate Castilian speaker and a mature, tough-guy Catalan speaker.<sup>13</sup>

This image of the tough Catalan speaker and the sissy Castilian speaker reverses common stereotypes of the two kinds of speakers (see Pujolar 1997:134-135; Frekko 2009), although perhaps this Castilian voice is reminiscent of the spoiled nouveau-riche that comedian Pere parodied (Woolard 1995). While Jordi’s modeled speech is incongruent with stereotypes of Castilian speakers, his use in his own voice of Castilian slang “*colar*” (‘to go over,’ ‘to get past someone;’ literally ‘to strain,’ ‘to filter’)

draws on the metaphorical value of Castilian to project a congruent tough, urban coolness.

The use of *colar* is in fact not his only unmodeled use of Castilian. While the dominant code in his utterances is Catalan, he switches frequently to Castilian. This is especially interesting to note because phonological evidence indicates that Jordi's first language may actually be Castilian. For example, he pronounces the Catalan words *casa* ('house'), *excusa* ('excuse') and *músic* ('music') with medial /s/ (as the words are pronounced in Castilian) instead of /z/ (as they are pronounced in Catalan). Moreover, in the following example, Jordi appears to switch accidentally into Castilian with the word *mi* ('my') which causes a brief dysfluency before he recovers and returns to Catalan.

### Example 7

<p>Jordi: A més és que a part de que          m'agrada com a cantant com a          músic, mira, ara perquè no hi és,          i però jo li transmeto <u>ja mi, mi</u>  <i>opinió és que té molta energia</i>          i molt de feeling. Sobretot té molta          energia i molta frescura a la en la          interpretació</p>	<p>What's more is that in addition to          liking him as a singer, as a          musician, look, now because he's          not here, but I transmit to him  <u>already my, my opinion is that</u>          he has a lot of energy and a lot of          feeling. Above all he has a lot of          energy and a lot of freshness in          his— in his interpretation</p>
---	--

These features give the impression of a speaker whose fluency may be greater in Castilian,<sup>14</sup> but who is availing himself of Catalan. His use of Castilian is reminiscent of the new kinds of unmarked switching among young native Castilian speakers, noted by Pujolar (2001) during fieldwork in the early 1990s. Pujolar studied two groups of working-class young people in Barcelona. While nearly all members of both groups had the ability to use Catalan (and some used Catalan at home, school, or work), Catalan appeared rarely and only in modeled form in the first group (in the exceptional cases, the speaker offered an explanation for the use of fresh Castilian). Pujolar links the preference for Castilian to the group's identification with Spain and the desire of the group's men to express transgression and masculinity, values strongly associated with Castilian and seen to be incompatible with Catalan.

While the first group was apolitical, the second group was overtly politically oriented, and supported both Marxism and Catalan independence—but not the “exclusivist Catalanist stances” (Pujolar 2001:239) associated with the Catalan middle class. While some members spoke mainly in Catalan, and others mainly in Castilian, a few members of this group adopted a “code-switched style” (Pujolar 2001:242), which reflected their simultaneous orientations to both languages and their limited competence in Catalan. While both groups had Castilian as the main group language and members of both groups used modeled Catalan to a certain extent, only members of the second group, which consciously rejected hegemonic language ideologies, used Catalan in fresh, unmodeled talk. Jordi—a man working the night-shift at a surveillance job—may be this same kind of new Catalan speaker, a few years after Pujolar encountered him in the working-class margins of Barcelona. For example, here is an exchange in which in two turns Jordi uses both languages. These uses of Castilian do not appear to index metaphorical connotations or others’ voices.

### Example 8

1	Jordi: Eh, una cosa, que m’agrada molt el la la part que feu del del Segarra del	Uh, one thing, I like a lot the the the part that you [pl. fam.] do by Segarra by
2	Virtu: De Carles Segarra	By Carles Segarra
3	Jordi: De Carles Segarra, molt bé, molt bé, eh?	By Carles Segarra, really, really good, eh?
4	Virtu: És tremendo aquest home	That guy is tremendous
5	Jordi: <u>És un puntazo</u> el noi aquest, eh?	<u>He’s amazing</u> , that guy, eh?
6	Virtu: Sí	Yes
7	Jordi: <u>És</u> , <i>tiene la inspiración divina</i> aquest també	<u>He is</u> , <i>he has divine inspiration</i> , that guy too

Jordi seems to represent a generation of Catalan speakers for whom the use of frequent contrasts between Catalan and Castilian is perceived as congruent and hence does not necessarily carry tropic value.

## **Discussion**

The fact that speakers such as *Virtu* coexist with speakers such as *Jordi* points to the fractured, partial nature of language ideological processes. While Catalanization seems, somewhat ironically, to break down boundaries between languages and identities (allowing speakers such as *Jordi* and other New Catalans to emerge), my data reveal the continued existence of speakers for whom the two languages and two identities (should ideally) coexist in stark contrast to each other. I have argued that speech modeling is a mechanism that permits both heteroglossic practice and the projection of monoglot identities. While many authors have argued successfully that code alternation can act as an index of simultaneous orientations to complex identities (Auer 1998, Blom and Gumperz 1972, Rampton 1995, Woolard 1998), this case demonstrates that speakers can also use multiple codes to achieve the opposite effect.

The articles in this volume highlight the “productiveness of proscription” (see Introduction). While Castilian is by no means “proscribed” or “taboo” in public-sphere Catalonia, I have described a situation in which Castilian is clearly dispreferred for at least some speakers. This language ideology inspires among speakers a range of creative ways of using Castilian while simultaneously containing it.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This research was supported by grants from Fulbright I.I.E, the Social Science Research Council International Dissertation Research Fellowship, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the University of Michigan College of Literature, Science and the Arts and Goucher College. Thanks to Michael Lempert and Luke Fleming for organizing the original 2008 AAA session in which a shorter version of this paper appeared and for developing the session into this special issue. I want to thank the following people for their invaluable comments on earlier versions of this article: Javier Doblaz, Erika Hoffmann-Dilloway, Judith Irvine, Michael Lempert, Lesley Milroy, Valentina Pagliai, Jennifer Reynolds, Chantal Tetreault, and two anonymous reviewers. I offer thanks to the scholars and language professionals who facilitated my fieldwork, especially Albert Branchadell, Susan DiGiacomo, Susanna Fosch, and Melissa Moyer. Last and most importantly, I extend my heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the participants in my ethnographic work.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Catalan upper class has been primarily Castilian speaking since the 17th century (Amelang 1986).

<sup>2</sup>In situational switching, the social context of use determines code choice. Metaphorical switching occurs when there is no strong preference for either code (as opposed to situational switching, in which code choice depends on the situation). In metaphorical switching, each code indexes the kind of situation in which speakers generally use each code, thus adding a metaphorical layer of meaning. As Blom and Gumperz (1972) point out, for example, using a bit of dialect in a conversation one is carrying out in the standard can connote confidentiality.

<sup>3</sup>However, at the time that this research was conducted—the late 1970s/early 1980s—an asymmetrical norm was beginning to emerge, in which each speaker used his or her own native language.

<sup>4</sup>The other two occur when Virtu is asking the politically charged question of whether Yolanda has ever gone/ will go to the airport to meet the Madrid soccer team. This break from Catalan to perform her professional role as interviewer can be read as an attempt to mitigate the potential breach between the two speakers raised by the question.

<sup>5</sup>An important exception here is the leakage of Castilian into the reporting frame in turn 13. Here, while the use of Castilian undermines the congruence between Virtu's entextualized voice and the enregistered voice associated with her professional role, the overall avoidance of admixture within the turn does suggest separate codes and voices.

<sup>6</sup>While Bakhtin has taught us that no discourse is ever completely “fresh,” I describe as “fresh” speech that is not immediately traceable to another origin, in contrast to “modeled” speech, which is.

<sup>7</sup>I interpret this utterance as ironic and playful. Juan implies jokingly that he was sitting by the phone waiting for Virtu to call him, when in fact, as will become clear, he was not actually expecting the call.

<sup>8</sup>Juan is referring to the American National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

<sup>9</sup>Interestingly, this pattern applies unevenly to the different participants depending on their roles. As an employee of the station, Virtu is most subject to the station's preference for Catalan (and she is subject to it with varying degrees, depending on interlocutor). Next come other professional speakers. Finally, native Castilian speakers are not subject to a preference for Catalan.

<sup>10</sup>While the vast majority of Anna's Castilian appears in modeled form, her speech also shows a considerable amount of leakage of Castilian into her reporting voice. These uses of fresh Castilian tend to occur after she has already uttered a lexical item in modeled form. Virtu does not initiate modeling herself in these conversations but once Anna has used a Castilian form, Virtu often repeats it.

<sup>11</sup>This practice might usefully be seen as an oral analogue of a practice Urla (1995) describes for Basque radio stations. Written material often uses Basque orthography in spelling Castilian words. Urla (1995:257) argues that “these parodic hybrid spellings create a kind of symbolic allegiance with Basque oppositionality which allows youth to simultaneously use Spanish while distancing themselves from any associations it has with state hegemony.” Such practices allow even radio programmers who do not speak Basque to align themselves with pro-Basque efforts.

<sup>12</sup>It is possible that my consultant maintained Catalan because of my presence as a researcher of Catalan. However, because it was congruent with self-reporting by other people with similar social and political orientations, and because the encounter did not feel “performed,” I concluded that my presence was not the cause of his behavior.

In any case, if my presence indeed triggered his response to the tourist, this performance would support my argument that it can be problematic for a Catalan-speaker to use Castilian in some situations (hence the particular need to avoid doing so “on the record” in front of me).

<sup>13</sup>While Jordi’s modeling uses Castilian for pejoration, most instances of modeling, even among Catalan speakers, do not involve pejoration (see examples from Virtu and sports journalist above).

<sup>14</sup>The case of Jordi’s accented Catalan is an example of heteroglossia within Catalan. Another instance of this phenomenon is even more salient, because the speakers address it metalinguistically. One of Virtu’s callers points out the fact that she and Virtu both have a (stigmatized) Western Catalan accent. Virtu, however, denies having as noticeable an accent as the caller.

## REFERENCES

- Agha, Asif. 2005. “Voice, Footing, Enregisterment.” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(1):38-59.
- Amelang, James S. 1986. *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490-1714*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Auer, Peter, ed. 1998. *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bailey, Benjamin. 2007. “Heteroglossia and Boundaries.” In Monica Heller, ed. *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, pp. 257-274. Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bakhtin, M. M. 1981. “Discourse in the Novel.” In Michael Holquist, ed. *The dialogic imagination: four essays*, 259-300. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bilaniuk, Laada. 2005. *Contested Tongues: Language Politics and Cultural Correction in Ukraine*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Blom, Petter and John Joseph Gumperz. 1972. “Social meaning in linguistic structures: code-switching in Norway.” In John Joseph Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes, eds. *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, 407-434. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Calsamiglia, Helena and Amparo Tusón. 1984. “Use of Languages and Code Switching in Groups of Youths in a Barri of Barcelona: Communicative Norms in Spontaneous Speech.” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 47:105-121.
- Errington, James Joseph. 1998. *Shifting Languages: Interaction and Identity in Javanese Indonesia*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Frekko, Susan. 2009. “‘Normal’ in Catalonia: Standard Language, Enregisterment and the Imagination of a National Public.” *Language in Society* 38:71-93.
- Gal, Susan, and Judith Irvine. 1995. “The Boundaries of Languages and Disciplines: How Ideologies Construct Difference.” *Social Research* 62:967-1001.
- Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Heller, Monica. 1999. *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity: a Sociolinguistic Ethnography*. London; New York: Longman.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. 2007. *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Hill, Jane H. and Kenneth C. Hill. 1986. *Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of Syncretic Language in Central Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Hill, Jane H. and Judith T. Irvine. 1993. *Responsibility and Evidence in Oral Discourse*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Irvine, Judith. 1996. "Shadow Conversations: the Indeterminacy of Participant Roles." In Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban, eds. *Natural Histories of Discourse*, 131-159. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press
- Irvine, Judith, and Susan Gal. 2000. "Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation." In Paul V. Kroskrity, ed. *Regimes of language*, 35-83. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 1999. *Ideologies in Action: Language Politics on Corsica*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Makoni, Sinfree and Alastair Pennycook. 2007. *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*. Clevedon, England and Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- Pujolar, Joan. 1997. *De Què Vas, Tio?* Barcelona: Empúries.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2001. *Gender, Heteroglossia and Power: A Sociolinguistic Study of Youth Culture*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rampton, Ben. 1995. *Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents*. London and New York: Longman.
- Reynolds, Jennifer F. 2008. "Socializing *Puros Pericos* (Little Parrots): The Negotiation of Respect and Responsibility in Antonero Mayan Sibling and Peer Networks." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 18:82-107.
- Tetreault, Chantal. 2009. "Cité teens entextualizing French TV host register: Crossing, Voicing, and Participant frameworks." *Language in Society* 38:201-231.
- Urciuoli, Bonnie. 1996. *Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experiences of Language, Race, and Class*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Urla, Jacqueline. 1995. "Outlaw Language: Creating Alternative Public Spheres in Basque Free Radio." *Pragmatics* 5:245-261.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1985. "Language Variation and Cultural Hegemony." *American Ethnologist* 12(4):738-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1988. "Codeswitching and Comedy in Catalonia." In Monica Heller, ed. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 53-76. Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1989. *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. "Catalan as a Public Language." In Milton M. Azevedo, ed. *Contemporary Catalonia in Spain and Europe*. Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. "Changing Forms of Codeswitching in Catalan Comedy." *Catalan Review: International Journal of Catalan Culture* 9:223-252.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "Between Friends: Gender, Peer Group Structure, and Bilingualism in Urban Catalonia." *Language in Society* 26:1-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. "Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8:3-29.